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LIMERICK;

ITS

HISTORY AND ANTIQUITIES,

ECCLESIASTICAL, CIVIL, AND MILITARY,

FROM THE EARLIEST AGES,

WITH COPIOUS HISTORICAL, ARCHÆOLOGICAL, TOPOGRAPHICAL, AND GENEALOGICAL NOTES AND ILLUSTRATIONS; MAPS, PLATES, AND APPENDICES, AND AN ALPHABETICAL INDEX, ETC.

Compiled from the Ancient Annals, the most Authentic MS. and Printed Records, Recent Researches, etc., etc.

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Ὄψις τε ἐμὴ καὶ γνώμη καὶ ἱστορίη
ταῦτα λέγουσά ἐστι.—HERODOTUS, *Euterpe*, ch. 99.

"I have related what I have seen, what I have thought, and what I have learned by inquiry".—CAREY'S TRANSLATION.

T. C. 1

BY

MAURICE LENIHAN, ESQ.

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J. F. FOWLER, PRINTER,
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HISTORY OF LIMERICK.

DEDICATION.

TO THE RIGHT HONOURABLE

EDWIN RICHARD WINDHAM WYNDHAM QUIN,

THIRD EARL OF DUNRAVEN AND MOUNT-EARL,

LORD LIEUTENANT AND CUSTOS ROTULORUM OF THE COUNTY OF THE CITY,

AND OF THE COUNTY OF LIMERICK,

ETC., ETC., ETC.

My Lord,

The associations of a History of a locality in which your Lordship must necessarily take a deep interest, from the manifold ties, both ancient and modern, which so intimately connect you with many of the transactions recorded in the following pages, and your Lordship's well-known attainments as a scholar and antiquarian, would, independently of your large possessions and eminent position in the county, remind me of your Lordship as the most appropriate personage to whom such a book should be dedicated.

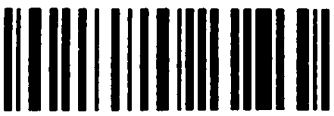
I therefore take the liberty of requesting your acceptance of a work of no inconsiderable toil, in which I have endeavoured, faithfully and impartially, to record events, the perusal of which, it is to be hoped, may both interest and instruct.

I have the honour to be, my Lord,

Your Lordship's most obedient servant,

MAURICE LENIHAN.

Limerick, February 20, 1866.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PREFACE.

I HAVE already stated, in the prospectus of this book, that historical truth, local and general interest, fulness of details, and the publication of new and authentic matter, derived from original sources, were the main objects which I proposed to myself in undertaking the laborious and difficult task of writing a History of Ancient and Modern Limerick. Originally appearing at intervals in the ephemeral shape of a contribution to the newspaper of which I am the proprietor, the plan of the work, as at first contemplated, included only the history of the last sieges; but the resources developed in the course of the studies which I found indispensable for a competent discharge of the duties that I had undertaken, accumulated so much interesting matter, and attracted so much attention and encouragement from some of our most eminent scholars and patriots, that I was induced to think of giving these occasional contributions to local history a fuller and, I hope, a more permanent form. My own enthusiastic love of the subject, no doubt, as well as these friendly criticisms, made me underrate the labour and care, to say nothing of the other high qualifications and responsibilities involved in such an undertaking; and, in fact, as my materials increased by the addition of family muniments, pedigrees, and official documents, I found that the publication of my notes and memoranda alone would extend to three or four volumes. Of course, so weighty a work was beyond my private means, upon which exclusively I have had to rely for the publication of my book, and which have been the more heavily taxed because I resolved to publish it at so extremely low a price, compared with other works of the kind. I had, therefore, to choose a medium between a historical epitome, and a publication which would have been more fitly called Historical Collections for a History of Limerick, than by its present title.

In such circumstances, fine writing, ambitious narrative, studied graces of style, and philosophical reflections, have often to be sacrificed to the stern requirements of facts and figures. In a work too which alternates between sublimity and commonplace, sustained elevation, or even equality of style, is not to be always expected. All that could reasonably be looked for was truth, lucidity and interest of narrative, and accuracy of information, and whether I have realized these objects or not, public opinion will find no difficulty in deciding. My chapter on the county history, topography, and antiquities, alone contains condensed information which might easily be expanded into a goodly volume, for which, in fact, I still have copious materials in MS. I hope, however, my endeavours to render the book a readable as well as an instructive one, will not be entirely fruitless. As another contribution, collected from the best sources, to our local histories, which are so very few when compared with those of other countries, the work possesses an additional interest.

Should it attain the success I hope for, I shall be induced to try the history of Tipperary, and perhaps of Clare, for which also I have ample materials.

As for the spirit in which any reflections I have made in the course of the work may have been conceived, I think it unnecessary to offer any apology. Whatever my opinions may be on political, social, or religious subjects, I have not allowed them to interfere with strict impartiality as a historian. Had I, or could I have, written without making any reflections at all, I might as well have published a dry list of chronological events, instead of a history, and I could, in such a case, neither have felt nor imparted that degree of interest to the work which would insure its popularity or even its perusal. Such as it is, its publication in book form has originated in a suggestion of my venerable friend the Most Rev. Dr. Leahy, the learned and gifted Archbishop of Cashel and Emly.

That scarcely any diversity of opinion exists as to whether another History of Limerick was required at the present day, is, I believe, a settled point. A century has well nigh passed away since John Ferrar compiled his small history and directory; and more than eighty years have elapsed since the second and larger edition appeared. Ferrar drew all his materials from the Rev. James White's MSS., omitting much that did not suit the times and his patrons, and from Dr. Smith's MSS. in the Royal Irish Academy. Of the grand and salient features of the history he gave but little; he suppressed many annals; whilst the sieges and battles of Limerick, the heroism of its defenders, their triumphs and their sufferings, are passed over in a very short space: he left untouched many of the principal incidents, even in the sources from which he professed to draw, and other more important fountains of knowledge were to him sealed altogether. The immense mass of matter which has been brought to light in reference to Ireland since he wrote, through the labours of our archæologists and historians, through the Royal Irish Academy, the Gælic Society, the Archæological and Celtic Societies, etc., through the extraordinary labours of my late lamented friend Professor Eugene O'Curry, the late Dr. O'Donovan, the late Dr. Petrie, Dr. Todd, etc., attests his deficiency in resources which are now abundant. Of the larger history of Fitzgerald and MacGregor, although possessing a certain amount of merit, which I am far from undervaluing, it will not, I trust, be deemed rash or invidious to say, that it is quite as much a history of Ireland as of Limerick; that its copious details, even if desirable in a local history, are often put forward upon the authority of some persons who were either imperfectly acquainted with the subject, or partially disqualified from offering their statements and opinions by personal and political prejudices and prepossessions; and that a very considerable quantity of the matter which fills the two bulky volumes, can have little interest to readers who sit down with the wish to be informed of the facts of the particular history which the title page professes to give. Thanks to the labours of recent archæologists, to the wide spread of education, and to the more intimate intercourse between men of all opinions which exists in these days of frequent and rapid locomotion, many of the prejudices against nationality, so common even in the days of the last historians of Limerick, have already passed or are rapidly passing away, and have been succeeded by a spirit of honest inquiry, candid admission, and a love of historical truth, which have been greatly fostered by the eminent men and by the publications to which we have

already referred. I do not write by way of depreciating those who have trod the anxious path of local historical research before the present work was projected and undertaken; but I desire to show that a History of Limerick was an absolute desideratum which ought to be supplied. I have been engaged for some years, not only in collecting and preparing materials for this work, from rare and valuable published authorities, but I have supplied myself with manuscript materials of unquestionable authority—chiefly amongst them the MSS. of Dr. Thomas Arthur, a native of Limerick, the friend of Sir James Ware, the physician of nearly all the eminent Irishmen of his time, and a relative of the illustrious Archbishop Creagh; to which MSS. there appears to have been little or no access before those invaluable materials for the history of Limerick came into my possession, though constituting some of the most ancient written records of many of the most important of local events—some of the most curious and interesting of which have never hitherto seen the light, but all of which I have given. The White Manuscripts, from which Ferrar professed to draw, but much of which, I repeat, he left untouched, I have in my possession at present; and I have also had access to the interesting chartulary and annals of Edmond Sexten, preserved in the British Museum. I should add that some years ago I purchased the valuable Limerick MSS. of John D'Alton, Esq., M.R.I.A., from which I have derived most important matter. Most of the other authorities I give below. As an instance of the fuller and more accurate details, to which I flatter myself this history will owe some of its advantages over former ones, I may refer to the period of the Sieges, a portion of the history to which Limerick is indebted for its chief celebrity, and visited by the lovers of national independence and military heroism. In treating of this and other parts of the work, I can safely aver I have spared no laborious exertions to acquaint myself both by reading, inquiring, and personal investigation, with all the narratives and traditions which bear upon the subject. On the history of its religious houses, and on the ecclesiastical history generally of Limerick, I have also taken particularly great care, and expended considerable time and labour, constantly referring to original documents, such as the Black Book of Limerick, for the more ancient details, and to original sources of information for the more modern, and setting down nothing for which I had not sufficient authority, although I am not of course so vain as to think I have escaped an occasional error.

In the list of authorities the reader will find, I hope, a sufficient guarantee of my industry as a student, and fidelity as a historian; but it would be ungrateful to omit my acknowledgment for many obligations conferred by kind friends who have consulted the public libraries for me, and lent me their family papers and other useful materials, besides other literary assistance. In the history of the Catholic Bishops after the Reformation, I have to express my thanks for the valuable assistance of the learned antiquarian, Mr. Hanna of Ballykilner, county Down.

The present Lord Gort has most obligingly furnished me with many interesting records, and valuable notes from the Carew MSS., now in the Lambeth Library; and his brother, the Hon. John P. Vereker, late Lord Mayor of Dublin, has supplied me with much available matter from his own interesting collections of papers. For the deeply interesting notes on the

Jesuit Fathers, I am indebted to the kindness of the Rev. Father Hogan, S.J., a laborious and patient searcher after historical truth in this respect. L. Waldron, Esq., D.L., the late M.P. for the county Tipperary, has afforded me information as to the existence of materials in the British Museum, etc., whilst De Lacy Pierce, Esq., and his nephews, of the Adelphi Chambers, London, have most obligingly contributed various illustrative documents derived from the same source, and from their own historical collections and papers. I have got some notes, too, of much interest, from the Hon. Robert O'Brien, from General Sir Charles R. O'Donnell, and from the late lamented John Windele, Esq., Cork; while in translation, research, revision, and general literary assistance, I have enjoyed the constant, efficient, and friendly aid of Thomas Stanley Tracey, Esq., A.B., ex-Schol. T.C.D., who was conveniently near me.

The reader will find in the Index the fullest references to almost everything in the book besides what is contained in the table of contents, the latter, in general, giving only the chief heads of the subjects in the text.

List of principal authorities used in this work:—

Annals of Four Masters,
Annals of Munster,
Annals of Ulster,
Aphorismical Discovery, etc., MS., T.C.D.
Archdall's Monasticon,
Arthur MSS.,
Anderson's Ireland,
Atkinson's View, etc.,
Billing's Fragmentum Historicum,
Black Book of Limerick,
Book of Friars' Preachers of Limerick in British Museum,
Boate's Natural History,
Borlase's Rebellion,
Bourchier's Historia Ecclesiastica Franciscorum,
Book of Distribution of Irish Forfeited Estates,
Burgundian Library MSS. (Brussels),
Book of Rights,
Bruodin's Chronicles,
Buchanan's History of Scotland,
Cambrensis (Giraldus) Irish History in MSS.
Camden's Britannia,
Camden's History of Elizabeth,
Campbell's Philosophical Survey,
Campbell's Political Survey,
Clynn and Dowling's Annals,
Campion's History of Ireland,
Carte's Life of Ormonde,
Castlehaven's Memoirs,
Clarendon's History of Rebellion,
Comerford's History of Ireland,
Colgan's Acta Sanctorum, etc.,
Conway Correspondence MSS.,
Cox's Hibernia Anglicana,
Crossley's Peerage of Ireland,
Curry's Civil Wars of Ireland,
Carve's Itinerary,
Dalton's MSS.,
De Burgo's Hibernia Dominicana,
De Burgo's Extracts from the Protestant Historians,
Dalrymple's Memoirs,
Dewar on Ireland,
Dunraven's (Earl of) Memorials of Adare,
Ferrar's History of Limerick,
Fitzgerald and M'Gregor's Hist. of Limerick.
Frazer's Handbook of Ireland,
French's (Bishop of Ferns) Unkinde Desertor and Bleeding Iphegenia,
Froissart's Chronicles,
Gordon's Ireland and Rebellion,
Hamilton's Calendar of State Papers,
Hanmer's Chronicles,
Hardiman's History of Galway,
Harleian MSS. in Brit. Mus.
Harris's Hibernica,
Harris's History of Down,
Heylin's History,
Holingshed's Chronicles,
Hoveden's History,
Keating's History of Ireland,
Kilkenny Archæological Society's Journal,
Keogh's Botanologia and Zoologia,
King's State of the Irish Protestants,
King James's Irish Army List,
Lewis's Topographical Dictionary,
Lanigan's Ecclesiastical History,
Liber Hymnorum,
Local Traditions,
Ledwich's Antiquities,
Leland's History of Ireland,
Leyden's Agonia et Victoriæ Martyrum Franciscorum,
London Gazette, 1650-1-2, etc.,
Lodge's Peerage of Ireland,
Ludlow's Memoirs,
Lynch's Law of Elections in Ireland,
Lynch's Feudal Dignities,
Lynch's Cambrensis Eversus,
Lloyd's Ancient Church Government in England and Ireland,
Mason's Statistical Survey,
Mason on Irish Parliaments,
Marlborough's Chronicles,
Morrin's Calendary of the Patent and Close Rolls of Chancery,
MacCurtin's Vindication, etc.,
Memoirs of an Octogenarian (J. Roche, Esq).

M'Dermot's History of Ireland,
Monasticon Hibernicum,
Molyneux's Diary of the Siege,
MS. Annals (unpublished) of County and City of Limerick,
MSS. collections of the Smyth Papers, etc.
Morrison's Itinerary,
Massingham's Florilegium, etc.,
Macaulay's (Lord) History of England,
Nairne's Stuart State Papers,
O'Heyne's History of the Dominicans,
O'Reilly's History of Ireland,
O'Reilly's Irish Writers,
O'Connor's Rerum Hibernicarum Scriptores,
O'Halloran's History of Ireland,
O'Renehan's Collections,
O'Curry's MS. Materials,
Orrery's State Letters,
Ouseley's MS. Corrections and Emendations of Ferrar,
Petty's Survey of Ireland, Tracts, etc.,
Pacata Hibernia,
Petrie's Round Towers, Tara, etc.,
Parker's (Captain) Memoirs,
Parliamentary Gazetcer of Ireland,
Philopater Irenæus,
Reports of Commissioners of Public Records, Ireland,
Report of the Great Fishery Trials of Malcomson *versus* O'Dea, etc.
Rutty's Mineral Spas, etc.
Rushworth's Historical Collections,
Rymer's Fœdera,
Report of Corporation Commissioners,
Rothe's Analecta Sacra,
Reports on the Fisheries,
Sexten's Chartulary in British Museum,
Smith's Histories of Waterford, Cork, and Kerry,
Southwell MSS.,
Spenser's View of Ireland,
Strafford's Memoirs,
Sir John Davies's Historical Tracts,
Strafford's Letters,
Stanihurst De Rebus Hibernicis, etc.,
Story's Civil Wars of Ireland,
Stuart's History of Armagh,
Seward's Topographia Hibernica,
Smith's MSS. in the R.I.A.,
State Paper Office Records,
State Papers of Henry VIII.,
Tours in Ireland (by several authors),
Vallancey's Irish Collections,
Voltaire's Siecle de Louis XIV., etc.,
Wakefield's Ireland,
Walshe's Remonstrance and Letters,
Ware's Antiquities, Bishops, History, etc.,
White's MSS.,
White's Apologia,
Wynne's History of Ireland,
Wood's Ancient Ireland,
Wright's Ireland, etc.,
Walker's Irish Bards,
Walker's Dress and Armour of the Ancient Irish,
Warner's History of Irish Rebellion,
Watters's Irish Birds.
Young's Tour,

These, and a great number of others, are the authorities, to which reference has been made, and from which matter has been collated by me. In the Appendices I have added a considerable quantity of matter which was not available until the latest moment; and I contemplate, in the next Edition, to supply such additional facts and historical matter as may be developed by the State Papers, etc., in the course of publication. To unavoidable errors, which I have endeavoured, as far as possible to correct, the reader will, I hope, extend a generous forbearance.

MAURICE LENIHAN.

February 20th, 1866.

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ERRATA.

In the Greek verses on Garryowen some of the vowels have been misplaced.
Page 341, note 3, for Henry O'Sullivan *read* James O'Sullivan.
Page 482, note, last line, for "established" *read* "abolished".
Page 439, lines 1 and 2, for "commons" *read* "customs".
Page 326, for Heney *read* Henry.
Page 745, note §, for John Massy, Esq., *read* John Kelly, Esq.

Index, page 761, for Arthur, father, *read* Archer.
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" " page 763, *read* Cashin's School, 322; Castleconnell described, page 727.
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HISTORY OF LIMERICK,

ANCIENT AND MODERN.

CHAPTER I.

FOUNDATION AND OCCUPATION OF THE CITY BY THE DANES—ORIGIN OF THE NAME OF LIMERICK—EARLIEST NOTICES—INTRODUCTION OF CHRISTIANITY INTO—WARS OF THE DANES, ETC.

THE City of Limerick, the principal part of which is built on an island on the South side of the Shannon, is situated in 52° 40′ north latitude, and 8° 35′ west longitude, at the interior extremity of the estuary of the river Shannon, between the counties of Limerick and Clare, and 129 miles W.S.W. from Dublin. It is a maritime county of a city, occupying an area of 60¾ square miles, or 38,863 acres, and contained a population of 53,448 in 1851, and of 44,476 in 1861. It is connected by Railway with Dublin, Cork, Waterford, Ennis, Nenagh, Roscrea, and all the intermediate towns, and a line of steamers, the property of the Limerick and London Steam Shipping Company, plies between it and London and Glasgow, &c. At Spring tides vessels of 600 tons burden can moor at its quays; whilst large docks, which were opened in 1853 by Lord St. Germans, Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, add to the accommodation for vessels of heavy burden; and from the advantage and beauty of its situation, and the extent of navigation which it commands, it must have been regarded from the earliest times as a port of great importance, although situated so high up the river, and although its navigation is still partially obstructed. The site may have been selected as the first part of the Shannon fordable above its mouth; considering its many advantages, it is not surprising that in distant ages it attracted the attention of those adventurous strangers, who, coming from the rugged coasts and islands of the Baltic, found here what they never met in their various wanderings, a good climate, a rich soil, and peculiar facilities for carrying on their commercial enterprises.[1] Though known to the annalists, as we shall presently have occasion to remark, long before the Danish invasion of Ireland, the building of the city is generally referred to the same time and cause as the foundation of Dublin and Waterford, the time being after the second coming of the Scandinavians, who on this latter occasion chose the best parts of the island, which they fortified in such a way as the exigencies of the times and the circumstances of the locali-

[1] Stanihurst.

ties required, and made them the centres and bases of their commercial and military enterprises. Whilst Dublin and Waterford could boast of superior advantages from their closer proximity to the sea, Limerick possessed an admitted superiority in other respects. It commanded a noble river, crowded with fish, which bore the ships of the strangers in safety into the interior of a wealthy country, which with many other recommendations, made a strong impression in after times on King John of England, and caused the city of Limerick long to retain its pride of place as "the fairest of all the cities in Munster."[1]

Limerick has been the capital of North Munster (Tuath Mhumha), which, according to Keating, extended from Leim Chonculaiun (Loop Head) to Bealach Mor (Ballaghmore, in Upper Ossory), and from Shebh Echtghe (Slieve Aughty, on the frontiers of the counties of Clare and Galway) to Shebh Ebhlinne (now Sleibhte Fheidhlinmidh, in the county of Tipperary). The southern boundary of this great territory is still preserved in that of the diocese of Killaloe. The kings of Limerick, according to the Book of Rights, gave tribute to the kings of Cashel.[2]

The notices which occur in ancient writers of the history of Limerick, anterior to the coming of the Danes, are neither numerous nor reliable. It has been supposed to be the *Regia* of Ptolemy, a writer who derived his information from the discoveries made by the Romans between the age of Augustus and the Antanines,[3] but the name of Rosse-de-Nailleagh, as it is designated in the Annals of Multifarnham, is of higher antiquity, and that of Luimneagh, occurring in the Psalter of Cashel, so far back as A.M. 2870, and A.M. 3973, when Ireland was divided, and Luimneach fixed as the western extremity of the southern half.

Hollinshed, who describes Limerick as being amongst the principal cities of Ireland of his own time, viz., in the middle of the sixteenth century, gives an explanation of the origin of the name of Limerick which more authentic enquiries prove to be apocryphal. Admitting the building of the city by Yvorus, he says that at an epoch previous to its foundation, the ground which it subsequently occupied was an island stored with grass, upon which in old times one of the Irish potentates, while waging war against another native king, had encamped; and of which his numerous cavalry eat up the grass in the space of twenty-four hours. From which circumstance he says the place was called "Loum-ne-augh," that is to say, made bare, or eaten up by horses. But in a very ancient legend, which is preserved in the *Books of Lecan* and *Ballymote*, and which describes the origin of the name in words translated for us from the original by the late lamented Professor O'Curry, a dialogue takes place in which, in reply to the question, "Luimneach, why so called?" the

[1] Stanihurst.

[2] "The King of fair Casaill,
He is entitled from the Chief of Luimneach of the Sea
To a splendid cheering banquet,
Thirty vats it is known,
With the necessary viands. BOOK OF RIGHTS.

The Restrictions of the King of wide Luimneach [are]
To have his stewards on his noble steeds,
To have but three in his kingly confidence,
And [that he should] communicate his secret to the queen.
The prerogatives of this gifted King are,
That none should be in his full confidence,
That he be of beautiful form,
And there he aspire to Teamhair. BOOK OF RIGHTS, p. 263.

[3] Ware.

following answer is given :—There was an appointed meeting held here of the men of Munster and the men of Connaught, to which the respective kings of both parties brought their gladiators. These were the two sons of Smucaille, the son of Bacdbh, and their names were Rinn and Teabhar (that is, Spear and Sword). Of these champions, one put himself under the protection of Bonhbh Dearg (Bone the Red), the great Tuath Dedanaan Chief of Mag Femen in Tipperary; and the other had taken the protection of Dehall, chief of the Hill of Crudchain (in Roscommon). These champions having met in the assembly, exhibited specimens of their gladiatorial accomplishments, after which, they descended to the strand to compete in single combat for the championship of the two Provinces. The hosts, on both sides, were clad in gray-green "Luimins" (cloaks), and when the combat commenced, and the assembled crowds pressed down to see and enjoy it, the heat became so great, that they threw off their "Luimins," in heaps on the strand; and so intensely was their attention engaged by the combatants, that they did not perceive the flowing of the tide until it had swept them away, upon which some of the spectators cried out—"Is Luimenochola in t-inbhear anossa," i.e. "cloaky or cloakful is the river now," hence the name Luimenach. "From this legend it would appear," says Mr. O'Curry in his letter to the author, "that Luimeneach-Liathanglas, (and not Lethanglass) or Luimenach of the Gray Green, was the proper old name of Limerick." It is thus it is written in Rumann's *Extempore* poem on the Sea, composed for the Danes of Dublin before A.D. 742, in which year Rumann died.[1]

An early record of the name of Limerick is contained in the Annals of the Four Masters,[2] where in the 15th year of King Cormac (A.D. 221) a battle, we are told, was fought here. A battle, at the same time was fought at a place which is supposed to be the Hill of Grian, over Pallasgrene, in the barony of Coonagh, Co. Limerick.[3] In a century afterwards, viz. in the year 334, the Great Crunthaun, one of the most remarkable of the ancient Kings of Ireland, a descendant from Oliall Ollum of the line of Heber, died in Limerick. This king succeeded Eochaidh Moighmeodhin upon the throne, reigned seventeen years, carried his name into Britain in the reign of Valentinian, where he was aided by the Picts, who were then his tributaries,—thence sailing to Armorica, now Bretagne, in France, he plundered that country, and returned with great booty and hostages to Ireland.[4] He is also mentioned by others of our early annalists and historians, and the occasion of his death is related as having been caused by the wickedness of his sister, who administered to him a dose of poison.[5]

Lovely and attractive for the charms with which even in far distant times it was surrounded, Limerick, soon after the arrival in Ireland of the Apostle St. Patrick, received the inestimable blessing of Christianity. We are told that in the year 434, the first district which St. Patrick visited, after his departure from Cashel, was the extensive flat portion of country between Cashel and Limerick called Muscrighe Breogain. The apostle founded several

[1] Petrie's Round Towers.
[2] Annals of the Four Masters. O'Donovan's Edition, Vol. I., p. 113.
[3] Ibid. Note.
[4] Bede and Psalter of Cashel.
[5] "Having won many battles and wonderful fame, notwithstanding his fine accomplishments, Criomthan could not secure himself from the large attempts of his sister, Mung Fionn, who poisoned him with a prospect to obtain the crown for her son Brian, whom she had by Eochaidh Moighmedhin. However, the better to oblige the king to take the fatal dose, she drank it herself, which also dispatched her at Innis Dongulas. The king died near Limerick."

churches in the district, and left some of his teachers at one of them, viz. Kilfeacte. Thence he went to the territory called Arva-cliach, in the adjacent counties of Tipperary and Limerick, in part of which, Hy-Cuanach (now the Barony of Coonagh) he was at first instantly opposed by the dynast Oldid. But a miracle having been performed by the Saint, Oldid and his family were converted and baptised; while at Ara-chihach, Colgan states that Patrick foretold many occurrences, among others the foundation of a monastery at Kill-ratha, and of a church at Kill-teidhill, in the county of Limerick. We find the Saint next in the tract of country east of Limerick, where he was hospitably entertained by a chieftain named Locan, and met with young Nessan, whom at the same time he placed over the monastery of Mungret, which he had founded. The inhabitants of Thomond, hearing of the advent of St. Patrick, crossed the Shannon, for the purpose of seeing him, and when they were instructed, were baptised by him in the field of Tir Glas (Terry Glass, in Ormond). He was waited on by prince Carthen, son of Blod, who is said to have been converted and baptised at Sanigeal, now Singland, near Limerick. Colgan remarks that this family was the same as that of the O'Briens of Thomond, and that Carthen was the chieftain of North Munster.

St. Patrick, on his way to Connaught, passed the Shannon at Limerick; and it was in the vicinity of the city, in Singland (Sois Angel) the Saint is said to have seen the vision of the angel. The holy well and stony bed and altar of St. Patrick are to this day existing in Singland. Tradition speaks of his having preached here. He appointed first Bishop of Limerick Saint Manchin, "a religious man, having a complete knowledge of the Scriptures, and placed him over the subjects of Amailgaid, King of Connaught, then lately converted to the Christian faith. The mountain of Knock Patrick, in the western barony of Connoloe, county of Limerick, the base of which is washed by the Shannon, whose course for sixty miles may be traced from its summit, is the place from which tradition alleges our Apostle to have blessed Connaught.[1] We thus catch a glimpse, through the dimness and obscurity of distant time, of the halo which encircled the name and character of Limerick. We thus perceive the close acquaintance which its inhabitants made with Christianity, when Europe for the greater part was shrouded in the darkness of Pagan superstition. Were we in search of further evidences of the early Christian devotion of the people of the district, it is supplied by abundant facts. In the fifth century St. Sinan founded the monastery of Canons Regulars of St. Augustine at the island of Inniscathy, on the Shannon. In the sixth century St. Ita, an illustrious native of the county, whose festival is celebrated on the 14th of January, founded at Cluain Credhail (Kileedy), a nunnery of Canonesses Regular of St. Augustine. St. Eden founded Cluin Claidech in the same century, and St. Mochelloch, Kilmallock, in the seventh century—these two last mentioned were for Canons Regular of St. Augustine.[2]

[1] A beautiful sonnet from the pen of the late Sir Aubrey de Vere, Bart. of Curragh Chase, embodies the tradition in language of fire and beauty.—*Lamentation of Ireland and other Poems.*

[2] *Allemande* gives the order of St. Augustine the first place before all others that were in Ireland—first, because it is the most ancient of all the regular orders in general—deriving its origin from the apostles themselves, and allowing St. Augustine, afterwards Bishop of Hippo, in Africa, only to have formed a particular congregation, which was subsequently divided into many others—secondly, it is certain that the particular rules which prevailed in this country in the 5th, 6th, and 7th centuries, consisted of religious men who were regular canons, or something so like them, that at the time in which those rules were obliged to be incorporated into the rule of St. Benedict, or into that of the Regular Canons of St. Augustine, they all made choice of the latter, as being much more agreeable to them than that of St. Benedict. In short, so numerous

Doubt has existed as to the date of the foundation by St. Manchan of the Cathedral of Limerick, and as to the time the Saint lived, but this arises from the similarity of the name with that of Mancheus, whom the Annals of Ulster call Abbot of Menedrochit, and say that he died in 651 or 652. The commemoration of the death of Mancheus is pointed out under the name of Manicheus, the "Wise Irishman," in the books de *Mirabilibus Scripturæ*, by some erroneously ascribed to St. Augustine. The name too, not only is not unlike, but the times occur exactly, the festival of St. Manchin being celebrated in January.[1] St. Manchin lived two centuries at least before the period assigned to St. Mancheus by the martyrologies. The Annals of Innisfallen, A.D. 567, state there was a great battle fought here in that year. It was here that Saint Cumin Fodha, son of Fiachna, Bishop of Clamfearta Breainirn now Clonfert, died on the 12th of November, A.D. 661, and on this occasion Colman-na-Claisagh, the tutor of Cumin, composed these suggestive and touching verses which show that the Shannon then was called by the name of Lumineach:—

"The Lumineach did not hear on its bosom of the race of Leathcluinn,
Corpse in a boat so precious as he, as Cumine son of Fiachna;
If any one went across the sea to sojourn at the seat of Gregory, (Rome,)
If from Ireland, he rejoices in none more than the name of Cumin Fodha,
I sorrow after Cummine from the day his shrine was covered,
My eye-lids have been dropping tears; I have not laughed, but mourned
Since the lamentation of his barque."[2]

These verses establish the fact of the constant intercourse of Ireland with Rome, the uninterrupted devotion of the Irish Bishops to "the mother and mistress of all Churches."

Records of the barbarous and unrelenting cruelties of the Danes, of sacrilegious attacks made by them on those sacred edifices and holy men which were now becoming numerous, are found in the Annals long before Yorus surrounded the city with a wall, and erected the fortress which enabled his countrymen to hold their position for some ages after against the combined strength and opposition of the native Irish. In 843 Foranan, Primate of Armagh, was taken prisoner at Cluan-Combarda,[3] (a place unidentified by the commentators) with his relics and people, and brought by the pirates to their ships at Limerick. The statement is corroborated by the Annals of Clonmacnoise, which designate Forannan Abbot of Armagh, and allege that the crime was perpetrated by the Danes at Cloneowardy, adding that his family, attendants, &c., relics and books, were led from thence to the ships in Limerick.

Our annals, during those dark and dismal ages, present but little, on which to dwell with satisfaction. The Danes, to retain their hold of maritime places, were busy and aggressive. The Irish in turn revenged the injuries and injustices of their cruel oppressors; but in the midst of every difficulty and danger, religion was speeding its bright way. The succession of bishops, in several of the Irish sees, had continued with regularity since the preaching of St. Patrick.[4] Up to this period "Luimenach" was the original name of the

were the monasteries of the Regular Canons of St. Augustine, not only in the early ages of the Irish Church, but at the suppression of the monastic institutions by Henry VIII. and Elizabeth, that the number of houses then are said to have had, far and away, exceeded the houses of the other orders.—*De Burgo's Historical Collections, &c.*

[1] Ware.
[2] Annals of the Four Masters.
[3] Annals of the Four Masters.
[4] Ware.

Lower Shannon, as appears from the life of St Carbrach of Lismore,[1] but in the year 861, it ceased to be the name of the river and was usually applied to the Danish fortress already referred to, and the city now became known by the designation which before had been exclusively given to that portion of the river between it and the sea, and by which it is called to this day.[2] The Danish occupation was ever a source of intense dissatisfaction and commotion. Perpetual war was its result; the invaders, who were everywhere regarded with horror, were no where more detested than in the neighbourhood of the Shannon, of which they endeavoured to monopolise to their exclusive possession. In 884 the Connaught men attacked and destroyed numbers of Danes. But the day was approaching in which the sacrilegious tyrants were destined to meet a decisive check—in which the Irish by their strong arms were to win for a season protection and tranquillity. Cashel had long before embraced the Christian faith, had two of its bishops—viz. Olchobar who died in 851, and Cenfelad, who died in 872, who were kings as well as bishops; and their jurisdiction extended to Emly,[3] and they were the predecessors of the learned and warlike Cormac, son of Cullenan, who derived from Engusa Nafrach the first son of the king of Cashel who was baptised by St. Patrick.[4] The aggressions of the Danes of Limerick had everywhere become so intolerable that Cormac resolved to curb their insolence. To reduce the people to order, to quell their intestine dissensions, to show the results of those insane divisions which even in the time of which we treat, had rendered them feeble when opposed by a united enemy, was the grand aim of Cormac Mac Cullenan, who during the heat of conflicts and troubles ascended the throne of Cashel, in 901, and wore the mitre of the united sees of Cashel and Emly. His example and influence were all-powerful in the achievement of the grand object on which he had set his princely heart.

"Such," says Keating, "was the state of the kingdom when Cormac wore the crown of Munster, that the contests and animosities between the petty princes were happily concluded, insomuch, that the Danes, fearing the effects of this reconciliation, desisted from their usual hostilities. Though the desire of plunder remained and nothing of their savage disposition abated, yet they apprehended their lives were in certain danger from the natives, who, by their common union and friendship, were able to drive them out of the kingdom; and therefore a great number of these foreigners retired to their ships of their own accord and bade adieu to the island." We here perceive what one able and wise ruler was enabled to effect for his country.

[1] Book of Lismore. [2] Ware. [3] Ware.

[4] Annals of the Four Masters.—In the Psalter of Cashel, written by his own hand, Cormac thus proclaims the glories of his Dalcasian troops, who always fought for the Kings of Cashel:—

"May heaven protect the most illustrious tribe
Of Dalgais, and convey its choicest blessings
On their posterity. This renowned clan,
Though meek and merciful as are the saints,
Yet are of courage not to be subdued.
Long may they live in glory and renown,
And raise a block of heroes to the world."

Keating's History of Ireland, Vol. II.

And O'Dugan, in his poem, says of them:—

"The Dailgaisian troops, with glory fired,
Fought for the honour of the Kings of Cashel,
And carried into other provinces
The terror of their arms."

But Cormac was not destined to remain long in the peaceable possession of his rights. Flan, son of Melsechlin, king of Ireland, with a great army invaded Munster, A.D. 906, and destroyed it as far as Limerick; Malachy or Melsechlin, who had been king of Temora, ascended the throne of Ireland, on the death of Hugh, A.D. 879. Cairbhall, son of Muiregan, aided Flan in this expedition: Cormac fled, but the year following, resenting the injuries he had sustained, he entered Meath with his irresistible Dalcassians, overthrew Flan in battle, took pledges from him for the performance of certain articles of agreement, and returned in triumph to Cashel, where he was welcomed by the joyous acclamations of his people, who regarded him as their deliverer from the bondage of domestic as well as foreign enemies.[1] The spirit of Flan was unsubdued by the triumph of Cormac's arms; another and a more successful attempt was made by him soon afterwards in 908 to recover the losses he had endured. Confederating with the Kings of Leinster and Connaught, he again invaded Munster with a powerful force. The opposing armies met on the 16th of August on the plains of Moy-Albe; the battle was fierce, sanguinary, and protracted, and resulted in the death of the indomitable King-Bishop Cormac, whose army, losing heart at his fall, were overpowered; and on that fatal day most of the Chiefs or Leaders or Princes were also killed; amongst them are noticed Fogertach of Kerry, and Kellach of Ossory.[2]

The death of Cormac was speedily followed by further attempts of the Danes to destroy whatever they could lay hands on—to spoliate whatever they could plunder—to wreak vengeance on the holy places in which the monks and religious dwelled, and to show that nothing less than wholesale murder and rapine could satisfy their thirst for blood and booty. Freed from the authority of Cormac, they roamed wherever they pleased, curbed but partially by the native princes, who had again their own intestine feuds to engage them in arms. They now made a successful raid on Clonmacnois, to which they had easy access by the Shannon; they devastated the islands on Lough Ribh, destroyed the shipping of Limerick, and carried away immense quantities of gold, silver, and all manner of riches from the monasteries and shrines in the islands.[3] They were so daring, in their ruthless prowess, that in 922 they were able to make prisoner of O'Flaherty, son of Inmameen, and convey him from the island of Loch Ribh to Limerick.[4] These plundering expeditions of the Danes were favorite occupations in which they ever and anon indulged during these troubled years of their occupation of Limerick. Proceeding from Limerick, their next attempt was on Lough Orisben, and its

[1] Ware, and Annals of Four Masters.

[2] Carodacus Shancarvensis (who is quoted by Ware) also says that Cormac was at this time killed by the Danes. Ware adds that he remembers having read in an ancient MS. in the Cottonian Library, that Cormac was killed by a herdsman at Beanree, near Leighlin, while on his knees at prayer, returning thanks to God for the success of his army, which had then been engaged. His body was conveyed to Cashel, and there buried. He was learned particularly in the antiquities of his country. He wrote, in the Irish language, the Psalter of Cashel, which is yet extant, and held in the highest estimation. Ware states that he had some collections from it in an ancient parchment book, called "Psalter Namaan," written 300 years at the time he mentions the fact; and that, in the same book, there were many miscellanies, partly Irish and partly Latin, collected by Ængus Celede (Aengus the Culdee), among which there was a bare Catalogue, viz. the names only, of the Kings of Ireland, from Heremon to Brian Boroihme. Our author remarks that Cashel was heretofore the chief seat of the Kings of Munster, and one of the first Synods of Ireland was held there by St. Patrick, St. Albeus, and St. Declan, in the time of King Engusa.—*Ware, Keating, Annals of Four Masters, O'Flaherty, &c.*

[3] Annals of the Four Masters, Vol. II., p. 609.

[4] Annals of Four Masters, Vol. II., p. 611.

islands;[1] we should remark, that when Cormac quelled the Danes in Munster, Edward, King of England, conquered them in that country. But in Ireland, their power was growing stronger every year, until the coming of other events which we are quickly approaching, and in which another King of Cashel arose to bring them to subjection. Not content with ravaging the districts bordering on the Shannon, they in 928 encamped in Maiagh Roigne, a celebrated plain of Ossory; but those who remained on Loch Orisben felt the vengeance of the Connaught men, who, in 930, committed a great slaughter on the Danes.[2] We find, however, that the latter retaliated sorely. In the fifteenth year of Donmachadhi, the Danes of Limerick plundered Connaught in 932, as far as the plains of Boyle, in the County of Roscommon; in a few years afterwards, Aralt, or Harold, grandson of Imhar, i.e. son of Sitric, lord of the Danes of Limerick, was killed in Connaught by the Caenraigi of Aidhne in 939.[3]

From the time of their invasion of Ireland in the year 807, to the years we have reached, the Danes always ravaged the country with fire and sword. They bore a mortal hatred to Christianity and its professors, and their chief glory was in the massacre of the Saints who occupied the monasteries and cells of the country.[4]

Through these times the page of history is red with details of these atrocities. Victories followed each other on the part of the invaders, until they had the surrounding country under a terrorism and subjection, which the natives could not remove. It was not, however, without earnest and constant efforts and exertions on the part of the Irish princes, to suppress their atrocities, that they were able to persevere. At length in 943, Callachan, King of Cashel, taking a lesson out of the book of his illustrious predecessor, Cormac, called his chiefs together, exhorted them against the Danes, and as no part of Ireland suffered more from their plunders, murders, &c. than Limerick, and the borders of the Shannon, Callachan selected the city of Limerick as the field of battle.[5] In the second page of the Wars of Calla-

[1] Lough Corrib, county Galway, is now the name of the place thus indicated. It appears from O'Flaherty's Ogygia (pp. 178-9) that A.M. 2834, this Lake was called after Orbserius, the son of Allodius, who had transacted great commercial affairs between Ireland and Britain. These are the words of the Ogygia:—

"Orbserius (Filius Alladii, A.M. 2884) mercator erat negotiationibus inter Hiberniam et Brittaniam tractandis insignis; Mananan Mac Lir vulgo dictus: Mananan ob commercium cum Mannia insula, et Mac Lir i. e. mari satus ob nandi, atque urinandi peritiam; quod portuum quoque discrimina apprime calleret; ac aeriæ præscius vicisitudinis a tempestatibus pæcaveret. Succubuit vero in prælio apud Moycullen in margine spaciosi lacus Orbsen, qui per Galvium fluvium in sinum Galvorensum exoneratur ab Ulliuno Nuadi regis Hiberniæ per Thadœum filium nepote confossus. Pugnæ laco Ullinus laco Orbsenius nomen indidit; de his ita Flannus a Monasterio—*O'Flaherty's Ogygia* pp. 179—8.

[2] Annals of Clonmacnois, quoted in O'Donovan's Annals of the Four Masters.

[3] A Sept seated in the Barony of Kiltartain, county of Galway. This fact is mentioned in another way, but to the same effect:—"Harold O'Hynn, King of the Danes of Lymbrick, was killed in Connaught at Ratherney."—*Annals of the Four Masters.*

[4] Saxo Grammaticus says that Tridelth Froths, and Haco Danos, invested Ireland many years before this time; and Turgesius, it is certain, not only subdued the greater part of Ulster, but expelled Faranan, Archbishop of Armagh, together with all the religious and students. Those moats and raths which are yet seen in many parts of the country, and no where, that we are aware of, in such great numbers as in the Parish of Kilmealy, county of Clare, and one of which of great extent and beauty is on the estate of Charles Bianconi, Esq. D.L., Longfield, Co. Tipperary, at Ardmayle, near his residence, are said to have been raised by Turgesius and his followers, as fortifications, and in some instances, as sepulchres for their great men and captains. Wormius states that this was the customary way of burying the chiefs among the Danes.—*Wormius De Danis Monumentis. Ware*, p. 57.

[5] "Callachan, King of South Munster, assembling his chiefs, exhorted them to arm everywhere against the Danes, whereupon Limerick was selected for their first attack. A thousand of

chan, in the old book of Lismore, where the election of that Prince to succeed to the sovereignty of Munster about A.D. 920, is described, (writes the late Professor O'Curry to the author), there occurs this passage :—

"It was then arose the seventeen tribes (of the Eugenians) gracefully and readily to inaugurate Ceallachan * * * * *

"The best of those nobles were the tall graceful *Sullivan*, at the head of the festive race of Fingham; and the accomplished (in arms) *Reardon*, at the head of the brave *Clann Donnohaile;* and the valiant *Caeleighe;* and the heroic champion LAINDECAN; and the brilliant *Daineachaidh;* and the brave *Cuilen;* and the lucky *Ecertach;* and the sound active *Ligan.*" It was immediately after this inauguration that the King took his resolution to meet the Danes; Heralds were sent out requiring them to surrender Limerick, and give hostages for their future good behaviour: the reply of those marauders, however, was, "that so far from waiting to be attacked, they would march out of the city to give open battle." They were as good as their word. In four divisions they accordingly marched out of the city. Each of the divisions had four hundred men armed with coats of mail, besides light armed troops, and Singland was the ground on which the memorable battle was fought—Singland, which we shall see as we proceed, was the place on which other memorable engagements were decided in long ages afterwards. O'Sullivan, who acted as General, under Callaghan, harangued his men in an animated speech, which was answered with a clash of shields and swords by his soldiers. The fight commenced by a discharge of stones from the slings of the troops, by flights of arrows, spears and lances. The heavy armed troops then engaged breast to breast in a dreadful contest, while the Danes left nothing undone to prevent this furious onslaught of the army of the King of South Munster, from making an impression on their troops. Callaghan, at length, singled out Amlav (Auliff) the Danish commander, and by one stroke of his sword split helmet and skull, and laid him dead at his feet. O'Sullivan followed the bright example and engaged Moran, who was called son to the King of Denmark, and by a well aimed stroke between the helmet and breast-plate, cut off his head; O'Keeffe ran Magnus, the standard-bearer, through the body; and after a gallant defence Louchlin was killed by O'Riordan. The Danes now gave way on every side, and the Irish pursued them into the city, putting numbers of them to the sword in their castles and houses. But instead of keeping possession of the city Callachan was content with exacting large contributions from the Danes, part of which was paid down in gold and merchandise, and hostages taken as security for the remainder. "This success," says Keating, "gave new life to the prospects of the Irish."[1]

After this battle Callachan marched towards Cashel, and plundered the country, meeting five hundred Danes he put them to the sword. But this victory on the part of Callachan did not quell them sufficiently. Mahon, the son of Cennediegh, upon the assassination of Feargna, seized the throne of Munster, and reigned twelve years. Resolving to give the Danes no peace, he with his brother Bryan, gave them battle at Sulchoid, now Sollohead, in the county of Tipperary, in which bloody engagement two thousand

his chosen followers marched upon this service, headed by Callachan, under whom were O'Donovan, O'Sullivan, O'Keeffe, O'Reardan, O'Landecan, Hugh Mac Cullenan, and other chiefs."

[1] This event, or something like it, is thus mentioned by the Four Masters, under A.D. 945. "A battle between the birds of the sea and the birds of the land at Luimneach." (vol. ii. d. 657). The birds of the sea are obviously the pirate Danes.

Danes were killed on the spot, with their principal commanders, who were Teitel, a person of great strength, and Governor of Waterford; Runan, Governor of Cork; Muris, Governor of Limerick; Bernard and Toroll. The remains of the Danish army retreated to Limerick, where the Irish soldiers pursued them, and entering the city with them, made a terrible slaughter. "The victors pursued the flying enemy into the city of Limerick, and chased them through the streets, and into the houses, where they were slain without mercy or quarter. The plunder of the city was bestowed upon the soldiers by Mahon, where they found an immense booty of gold, jewels, furniture, and silver to an immense value. After they had rifled the houses they set them on fire, they burned the fortifications, demolished the walls, and perfectly dismantled the city and made it incapable of defence."[1] This was one of the greatest battles in the ancient annals of Ireland.

CHAPTER II.

THE REIGN AND ACHIEVEMENTS OF BRIAN BOROIMHE.

We now come to a most important and eventful period of our history, in which one of the greatest of Ireland's Kings and warriors makes his appearance.

In A.D. 969, says the Annalist, "The Foreigners of Limerick were driven from Inis-Sibtond, (now the King's Island), by the son of Ceinneidigh;"[2] he adds in a separate paragraph that in this year "two suns of equal size were seen at high noon." Undoubtedly this was one of those optical illusions or mirages, which science now clearly explains. Some years subsequently, according to the Four Masters, (Keating makes the event ten years earlier), O'Brien, the son of Kennedy, King of Munster, besieged Limerick, which continued to be inhabited by the Danes; his troops were victorious; he set fire to the city. He also engaged the Danes of Inis-Cailthe, whom he defeated with the loss of eight hundred killed, and Imohair (Humpiry), and Dubhgeann, their principal commanders, were taken prisoners.[3] In this latter year "an army, which was led by Domnhall, son of Dubhdabhoireann, to Limerick, the two sons of Brian, namely, Donchda and Fadgh, met them, and a battle was fought, wherein the people of the south of Ireland were defeated, and Domhnall fell and numbers along with him."[4] The Danes, during a portion of this time, were reduced to the greatest extremities; but at intervals they recruited their strength and retaliated severely on the Irish. There was no Prince in the Island who opposed their insults more than Brian Boroimhe.

"The Glories of Brian the Brave," must be ever heard throughout the island with thrilling sensations of delight and satisfaction. This glorious monarch, whose wisdom and energy are famed in history, and whose career

[1] Keating. [2] Annals of Four Masters, Vol. II. p. 695. [3] Keating's History of Ireland. [4] Annals of Four Masters, Vol. II. p. 783.

is so closely identified not only with Limerick, but with the kingdom generally, was of the Dalcassian race; the succession of the kingship of Munster was alternate between the Eugenians and the Dalcassians, "but the former," (says Eugene O'Curry in his manuscript notices of Irish History, p. 213) "being the most powerful in numbers and in extent of territory, monopolised the provincial rule as far as they were able. The line of the Dalcassians were, however, always kings or chiefs of Thomond in succession, and kings of the province as often as they had strength to assert their alternate right, and it is a fact beyond dispute that the kindred of the late Marquis of Thomond (viz. the present Lord Inchiquin, his brothers and family) hold lands at the present day which have descended to them through an unbroken ancestry for 1600 years." Cormac Cass, the founder of the Dalcassian line, was King of Munster about A.D. 260; Aengus *Tireach*, about A.D. 290; Connall of the swift steeds in 366; *Carther in Fin* in 439; *Aedh Caemh*, from 571 to his death in 601; *Lorcain*, in 910; *Cenneidigh*, or Kennedy, the father of Brian *Boroimhe*, in 954; and Brian himself from 975 to the year 1002, when he became monarch of all Erinn, and as such reigned till his death, at the battle of Clontarf in 1014. He fought 49 battles against the Danes and their allies, and in every one of them was victorious. The deeds of this magnanimous hero can never be effaced from the memory of the Irish people.

During the greater part of three centuries, namely, from the reign of Eonchada, or Donough, who had lived for twenty-seven years in perfect tranquillity, until their final expulsion by Brian Boroimhe, the Danes, who in Donough's reign had invaded Ireland, held their ground. Glancing back for a moment, we are shown the state of the island generally, of religion, of education, of arts, of arms, amid the troubles with which the invaders afflicted the island. It was three hundred and seventy years from the time of the introduction of Christianity by St. Patrick, to their ill-omened arrival on our shores; and three hundred years had elapsed before they were finally expelled by the victorious monarch of Ireland at Clontarf. Darkened though those ages were with the disastrous influence of the invaders, some of the brightest names that adorn the pages of our history, flourished and shone out with a splendor which has lost none of its radiance in the lapse of centuries. Following St. Patrick was the learned Bishop of Sletty, the illustrious St. Fiach, who handed down in a poem of fire and beauty, the actions and praises of the great Apostle of our nation. Next we have the celebrated Cathill, or Cathald. Sedulius, too, the poet, the orator, the divine, who, educated from his infancy by Hildibert, the Archbishop, was accomplished in all branches of literature and science, and travelled through Italy and France for his further improvement. He visited the East, and returning through Rome, was distinguished for his wonderful erudition in the Eternal City. He was the author of many Latin books, in prose, a Paschal song in metre, consisting of four books, fourteen books on St. Paul's Epistle in prose, a Hymn on Christ's miracles, two books of the same in prose, and several others, of which the titles have been lost. His name is enshrined among the writers of Ireland; and Ware does not forget to award him the honorable place which his merits won. Following in succession, came Saint Collum-Kille, one of the leading spirits of the age in which he lived—the Apostle of the Picts, the founder of the world-renowed Abbey of Iona, denominated also Huy-a-y-Columkille, of which monastery he was the first Abbot; eminent in his life for every virtue, his erudition is acknowledged all over the world. His

monasteries for many years supplied the Churches of England, and some of those in Ireland, with Bishops. And while the lives of the saints and sages were brightening up, and dispelling the gloom which had so long hung over the destinies of our country, distant lands were enlightened by the reflection of their holiness and learning, and Armagh, all the while, gave its uninterrupted successors to Saint Patrick in the Episcopacy, first in the person of Senanus, afterwards of St. Benignus, Jerlath, Cormac, &c. During these times it has been stated, an English Prince had been at Lismore, where he imbibed those principles of order and government which made his reign illustrious, and, notwithstanding the barbarous aggressions of the invaders, the Irish proved their progress in arts, arms and religion.

Nearly at the same time that Malachy the Great was engaged in conquering the Danes of Dublin and the Islands, Brian Boru was successfully engaged in reducing the Danes of Limerick. He had avenged the murder by Ivor, King of the Limerick Danes, of his brother Mahon, eldest son of Kennedy, and on the defeat of Molloy, slain at the battle of Ballagh Leachta,[1] he succeeded to the throne of Munster. Though the Danes at this time were nominal Christians, they refused to preach to the Saxons in England, which discreditable circumstance occasioned the dispatch of missions from Iona, the monastic settlement of St Columkille. The Danes were so hateful to the Irish, and reciprocated the feeling so thoroughly, that they avoided all religious intercourse with the Irish Church, and connected themselves with the See of Canterbury in England.[2]

What Alfred, Edmond, and Athelstane had done less effectually for England, was now being performed for Ireland by Malachy and Brian; but it was not until the latter became monarch of all Ireland that those fierce northerns, whose ravages made even Charlemagne weep, who took Rouen, besieged Paris, wrested Normandy from Charles the Bald, and founded a dynasty in England, were compelled, after terrible havoc, to vacate the country, or to settle down as tributaries, and to engage in the peaceful pursuits of commerce.[3] To detail the barbarous ravages, imposts, and even mutilations which these northern savages inflicted upon the people of Ireland up to the time of Turgesius and King Malachy is unnecessary. The general History of Ireland is full of them. The transfer of the sceptre of Ireland from Malachy the Great, the representative of Heremon, the elder son of Milesius, to the heroic Brian Boru, the descendant of the younger brother Herber, took place according to the Annals of the Four Masters in the 76th year of Brian's age, his reign as Ard-righ or supreme monarch of Ireland, lasting twelve years, to his death at Clontarf, A.D. 1014. We are inclined, however to believe, that the Ulster Annals which give the birth of Brian sixteen years later, that is, in 941, is the more correct account of the two.

[1] Annals of the Four Masters.

[2] The character for merciless cruelty which the Danes, as these Scandinavians were called, established for themselves wherever they made their appearance, has descended in the oral as well as in the written traditions of Ireland. It had no slight effect upon a few amongst the irregular troops at the battle of the Boyne, and notwithstanding the elements of civilization, amongst which Grose wrongly, we think, reckons the Gothic Church architecture, introduced by this highly spirited and enterprising race, as well as the practice of commerce and other arts, any attempt to popularize their name would be a signal failure. Sir Edward Bulwer Lytton, himself of Danish descent, has said much in their favour in his beautiful, though slightly prejudiced Romance of "Harold;" but this is not history.

[3] Mr. Walker a member of the Royal Irish Academy, has an Icelandic manuscript dated in 1010, which mentions Rafer, a merchant, an Icelander, who had resided many years in Limerick. —*Note by Ralph Ousely, Esq., M.R.I.A., Limerick*, 1793.

This transfer took place at Athlone in 1003, where Brian, joined by the men of Leinster and the Danes, defeated Southern Hy-Niall and the Conacians; and whether the original motive of Brian's opposition was selfish, as asserted by Tighernach,[1] who was almost a cotemporary writer, or the exigencies of the time, the consequences were the terminating of the frequent and fatal quarrels between the inferior princes and chiefs, and final subjugation of the Danes. On the abdication of Malachy, who still retained the title of King of Meath, and afterwards served under the supreme King, Brian became sovereign in chief, and having received the homage of Cahall O'Connor, King of Connaught, and other Kings of that province, he set out for Ulster at the head of an army of twenty thousand men.

Brian's progress to enforce the submission of the Northern Princes appears to have been unopposed until he reached the locality known as Ballysadare, when the determined attitude of the enemy compelled him to retreat. But in his next expedition he was more successful. Accompanied on this occasion, as before, by the dynasts of Leath Mogah, he traversed Meath, and was honorably received at Armagh by Maelmurry, the Archbishop, and left a gold collar weighing twenty ounces, as an offering on the high altar of the Cathedral. After this munificent oblation, the value of which may be estimated as about £800, he proceeded to the royal seat of the Dalriadans in Antrim, called Rathmore-Muige-Line, where he received hostages from the Princes of that territory as well as from the other chiefs of Leth-Cuinn.

Brian made various expeditions of this character, and frequently brought away such chieftains as resisted him to his fortress at Kincora—amongst others, the Lord of Kinel Connel upon his refusing to give him hostages, which Brian at last extorted by force from the Kinel Eoghain, thus completing the subjugation of the illustrious house of the northern Hy-Nialls. This event took place about six years after Brian's offering at Armagh which, occurred in 1004, on which occasion he signed a confirmation of the usual grant to the Clergy of Armagh, under the style of "Imperator Scotorum," an entry which is still extant in the Book of Armagh.

After this victorious progress through Ulster, Brian proceeded to Tara, where he was solemnly crowned.—He had now subjugated all his enemies, and had time to turn his thoughts to the improvement of his kingdom, to which he contributed in an extraordinary degree by the enactment of salutary laws, by the re-establishment of churches and educational establishments, and by the construction and repair of bridges, causeways and various public works, restoring to their old possessors the property taken from them by the Danes, raising fortresses and palaces, and putting an end to the existing confusion in genealogies by ordaining that all the branches of the Irish races should in future have surnames.

Brian's authority as supreme King was now fully established, and after the peaceful interval, which he had employed to such good purpose, the advantage of even an enforced alliance between the several inferior Kings was shown by new projects on the part of his antagonists, the Danes. The deposed monarch Malachy having been defeated by Maolmordha, King of Leinster and his Danish allies, had presented himself at Kincora to solicit the assistance of Brian, but had been unsuccessful; in the summer of the same year Brian found the movements of the Danes so menacing that he

[1] Annals of Tigernach.

was compelled once more to take the field; and having devastated the territory of Ossory in his march, pitched his camp in the locality at present known as Kilmainham. Having returned, however, to Kincora with his spoils, the Danes, encouraged by his absence, and recovering from the severe defeats which they had sustained from his son Morrogh, had summoned their allies from Scotland, from the Orkneys, from the Hebrides, from the Shetland Islands, from the Islands of the Baltic, and even from Denmark, Norway and other parts of Scandinavia, inviting the northern pirates to make a common effort for the complete subjugation of Ireland. The summons was obeyed with alacrity.

On Palm Sunday, the 18th April, 1014, a powerful fleet, containing the contingents furnished from all parts of the world where the Danes resided, including some Norman, French, Belgians, and Britons from Wales and Cornwall, arrived in the bay of Dublin, under the command of Brodar, the Danish admiral.—The entire of these combined forces amounted to 12,000 men, and their Irish allies, the Lagenians, numbered 9,000, in all 21,000 men—the Lagenians being furnished by the counties of Wexford, Carlow, Wicklow, and Kildare, with part of the Queen's and King's County, the Princes of which were in alliance with the Danes, and related by blood to Sitric, King of Dublin, whose mother, Gormlaith or Kormloda, the repudiated wife of Brian Boru, is said to have invited the noted pirates, Brodar and Upsœus, or Upsacus, to join the confederacy against her royal consort.

About 20,000 men composed the amount of Brian's army, of whom the Dalcassians or troops of Thomond collected from Clare, Limerick, and Tipperary, were commanded by himself in person, by his eldest son Murrogh, aided by his five other sons, Teige, Donagh, Donal, Conor, and Flan, and by Turlough, the son of Murrogh, and fifteen other nephews and relatives of Brian. These constituted the first of the three lines into which Brian's army, as well as that of the Danes, was formed in this famous Battle. The second body composed of the Conacians (Connaught men) under King Teige O'Connor and other chiefs. The third was formed by Desmonians and Desians, under Kian and other chiefs of Desmond. Malachy, King of Meath, who did signal services in this battle, and who subsequently succeeded Brian, was appointed to assist the Dalcassians in the first division, while the Ultonians co-operated with the Desmonians in the third division, as did also Donald and the Scotch Stewards of Lennox, and Marr. The annals of Innisfallen speak of one of the Maguires of Fermanagh being amongst the Ultonians; but it does not appear from the Annals of the Four Masters or the Annals of Ulster that the north sent any forces.

The left of Brian's army, which, like that of the Danes, was divided into three bodies, was commanded by Malachy, King of Meath, who, according to Keating,[1] retired with his troops in the beginning of the action, and refused to take part in it, to be avenged of Brian for his lost crown. This statement is accepted by M'Geoghegan and others; but if it were true, it is not at all likely that Malachy would have been universally recognised as the worthy successor of Brian, or rather the recoverer of his lost right.[2]

[1] Hist. 2, 250.

[2] O'Halloran, however, has likewise ascribed this act of treachery to Malachy, and he adds that it occurred at the very moment that the Dalgais with the whole right wing marched to attack, sword in hand, the Danes commanded by Brodar and Aisgiodal, whereupon Morrogh, with great presence of mind, cried out to his brave Dalgais "that this was the time to distinguish themselves, as they alone would have the unrivalled glory of cutting off that formidable body of the enemy."—*Hist.* 244. *Hist.* 3, 263.

In the meantime, the left, under the King of Connaught, attacked the Leinster Danes and their insular allies, while the troops of South Munster fell upon the Lagenians and their traitor King, Maolmordha.

In the Annals of the Four Masters[1] we find it distinctly stated, that Malachy drove the foreigners and the Leinster men "by dint of battling, by bravery and striking," from the river Tolka (Zulcainn) to Dublin (Athclaih), and in all probability the Dalcassian writers have invented this slander against Malachy in order to elevate the character of his competitor, Brian, whose command of the army devolved upon Malachy after the death of the Monarch. Ware, Vallency and Lanigan have also fallen into what Moore calls "the general error" concerning Malachy's treason.

Having made his arrangements for battle, Brian harangued his troops, reminding them that the foes with whom they had to contend were the perpetual oppressors and murderers of their kings, dynasts and clergy—had never shown any mercy to age or sex—had spoiled and burned their churches, and had trampled under foot the most sacred relics of their saints, calling upon his troops to take full revenge for their treacherous acts, and for their profanation of so many churches on that Friday in Holy Week (on which the battle was fought) upon which Christ had died for their redemption, who would undoubtedly be present with them, as a just avenger of his holy religion and laws. Here the annalist repeats the charge against Malachy, and describes the prodigies of valour as well as military skill exhibited by the heroic Brian, who, as appears from other accounts, had been induced to retire to his tent, where he was attacked while in the act of prayer by Broder, the Danish chief, and slain with a blow of his battleaxe, but not until he had received a fatal sword thrust from the hand of the monarch.

Then follows an account of the marvellous achievements of Morrough, Brien's eldest son, who though aged 63 years,[2] slew several Danish officers of distinction, cutting down amongst the rest two standard bearers of the Danish army, as the Danish historians also record, and dispatched two others who had assailed him simultaneously. The heroic Morrough, who had occasionally retired with some of the chiefs to drink and cool their hands at the river, which was at last stopped by the Danes, at last encountered Prince Anrud, of Norway, just at the time when Morrough was unable to employ his sword from the swollen state of his hands. He therefore grasped the Norwegian with his left hand, shook him out of his armour, cast him to the earth, and pierced him through with his sword. But the Norwegian even in dying was not unrevenged, for while Morrough stooped over him he snatched his knife or dagger and plunged it into his breast. The wound in a short time proved fatal, and Malachy assumed the command.

The death of Brian took place about this period of the conflict, and the Irish were so exasperated by the death of their king, that a total route of their enemies resulted after the command was taken by Malachy, who again reigned eight years, four months and ten days, until the year 1022, when he died, aged 73 years.[3]

[1] An. 1013. [2] O'Flaherty, Ogygia, p. 435.

[3] Ibid, p. 436.—The passage in the Dublin edition of the Annals of Ulster, which describes the Danish loss at 13,000, and that of the Leinstermen at 3,000, is evidently erroneous, if not unauthentic. The Ulster Annalists, who say nothing of O'Carroll, of O'Neil, or Maguire of Fermanagh assisting Brien in this battle, state that the loss of the Danes did not exceed 7,000. The Annals of Boyle agree with the Four Masters that besides the 1000 Danes in armour, 3000 others were killed, who, if added to the 3000 Leinster troops, would bear out the estimate of the Annals of Ulster.

The body of young Turlogh O'Brien was found in the waters of Tolka with his hands entangled in the hair of a Dane. Of the other distinguished families of Ireland almost every one lost a member. On the day after the battle the wounded were conveyed to the camp at Kilmainham, and on the next day the monks of St. Columba at Swords came to bear away the body of Brian in order to bury it in the Cathedral of Armagh, where it was deposited at the north side of the Cathedral, and those of Murrough and his relatives at the South. For twelve successive nights, according to the Annals,[1] the clergy of St. Patrick kept watch over the dead, chaunted hymns and offered up prayers for the souls of the heroes.[2]

It appears from an account[3] taken from the archives of Denmark by Torfæus, historiographer to Christian V, that equally with the Irish, Danes were engaged at opposite sides in the battle of Clontarf. This historian describes Brian as "a Prince justly celebrated for clemency, lenity and many other virtues."

Among the inferior notabilia of the battle of Clontarf, which lasted one, not three days, as the Latin writers quoted by Lanigan has it, we may mention that tradition says that Brian sailed under the shadow of the towers and steeples of the monasteries and churches of the Holy Island (Innis Cailthra) on Lough Dergh, as he proceeded up the Lake from Kincora, and that in the Norse, Broder, the slayer of Brian, is stated to have called all present to witness that it was he who killed him.[4]

[1] Some, however, say that they were buried at Kilmainham, in the old church known as "Bully's Acre," with the bodies of Thadeus O'Kelly, and other lords—while some assert they brought it to Cashel. Dr. O'Donovan remarks (*Annals of the Four Masters*, 1013, note b.) that Moore has adopted in his interesting account of this battle the falsifications made in the Dublin copy of the Annals of Innisfallen by Dr. O'Brien, who was assisted by John Conroy—such as the presence of Tadphy Tadhg O'Connor, son of the king of Connaught and of Maguire, in the battle at which it seems they were not present. The Annals of Clonmacnoise state that all the Leinster chiefs, except O'Moore and O'Nolan, took part with the Danes, and that the O'Neals forsook King Brian in this battle, as did all Connaught (?) except Hugh, the son of Ferral O'Rorke, and Teigue O'Kelly.

[2] Annals of Ulster and Innisfallen, An. 1014.

[3] History of the Orkneys, 10 c. p. 33.

[4] The appearance of the fort of Kincora at this day indicates clearly that it was fortified, as its Danish name (*Worsaee, quoting the Danish Sagas)* Kincoraborg would also show. Keating, indeed, gives a pretty lengthened list of places of strength erected or improved by Brian, besides Kincora, within a few miles of which he repaired the round tower of Tomgraney, built a church at Inniskeltra, and erected another at Killaloe. Amongst other places we find Cahir, Cashel, Roscrea in Tipperary, and in the county of Limerick, Lough Gur, Bruree, Duntryleague and Knockany.

CHAPTER III.

BRIAN AND HIS IMMEDIATE SUCCESSORS; AND THE KINGS OF THOMOND.

ALTHOUGH the battle of Clontarf may be said to have decisively crushed the power of the Danes, they still continued for some time to possess considerable wealth and influence in the principal cities and towns of Ireland, especially the seaports, where for the encouragement of commerce, to which they appear to have been as much addicted as to fighting and plundering, even Brian Boru had been willing they should remain. From their first invasion in A.D. 794 to the taking of Dublin by the Anglo-Norman invaders, and the death of Asculph Mac Thorkill in A.D. 1171, about a century and a half after the battle of Clontarf, we find this valiant and politic, but barbarously cruel and sacrilegious people engaged in contests with the natives for 377 years; and not till after the invasion of the Normans, a kindred people, as were indeed the Anglo-Saxons[1] also, shall we lose sight of the Danes as a distinct community. At the present day we have many respectable families who are said to be of Danish blood, such as Harold, Godfrey, Stack, and Trant, in Limerick and Kerry; and Plunket, Gould, Gilbert, Galway, Palmer, Sweetman, Dowdall, Everard, Drumgoole, Blacker, Betach, Cruise, Skiddy, Terry, Revel, and some say Fagan, (of Feltrim), in other parts of Ireland.

In Limerick in particular we find the Danes giving the following Bishops,[2] the see being confined to the city as elsewhere, and these Bishops going for consecration to Canterbury, to whose Archbishops they promised canonical obedience, while the Irish Bishops were under Armagh, and were consecrated either in Ireland or in Rome. The Danish Bishops of Limerick were Gillo or Gilbert, Apostolic Delegate of Ireland, Bishop from 1110 to 1140, a most remarkable and learned Prelate. Patrick Harold, who died in 1151; Torgesius, and Brictius, who attended the Council of Lateran in 1179, Of the lives of these Bishops, and of the part taken by them in the ecclesiastical affairs of the diocese and kingdom generally, as far as appears in the authorities accessible to us, we shall treat, when giving the lives of the Bishops of Limerick. In reference to the early Bishops of the See, we shall follow, for the most part, the learned Sir James Ware.

If Brian's eminent qualities and powerful resources had compelled an acquiescence in his claims to the chief monarchy while he lived, the legitimist claim met a prompt recognition after his decease. In conformity with the view taken of his usurpation by some of the annalists, who call it "rebellion with treachery," the Annals of Innisfallen as well as those of Ulster count the years of Brian's reign amongst those of the deposed Prince who preceded and succeeded him. The example thus set by Brian, who, with the exception of Bœtan, was the only chief Monarch not chosen from the Hy-Niall race for upwards of 500 years, was one cause of the troubles which we have now to record, and which owing partly to the laws of succession, are unfortunately

[1] Sir F. Palgrave. [2] Ware's Bishops.

but too often met with in the events of Irish history. Even in the year 1016, when the unusual entry in the Annals of Ulster, of "Sith in Erinid" "Peace in Ireland," which like the shutting of the Temple of Janus in Rome was looked on as quite a remarkable occurrence, even in this very year King Malachy, now once more supreme King, was obliged to enforce his supremacy by invading Ulster. Having obtained hostages he again defeated the Danes, subsequently the northern O'Neills, assisted by the Eugenians or people of South Munster, and soon after accompanied by Donogh, son of Brian Boru, invaded Connaught, and forced its princes to give hostages.[1] After defeating the Northerns at the Yellow Ford, now called Athboy, he retired A.D. 1022, to a small island in Lake Annim, in Meath, where this excellent prince devoted his last hours to works of penitence and devotion, providing amongst other deeds of mercy for the support of 300 orphan children.[2] We now return to the Princes of Thomond.

The unnatural feud between Teigue and Donogh, the sons of Brian, is the principal event in the history of Limerick from the battle of Clontarf to the murder of the elder of these princes. This latter treacherous act which took place in 1023, is ascribed by the Four Masters[3] to the Eili, and is expressly said to have been perpetrated at the instigation of Donogh, who had recently sustained a defeat at the hands of his brother in the part of Thomond on the eastern side of the Shannon. The previous year 1022 had witnessed the death of the illustrious Malachy, successor of Brian in the monarchy, which may have probably suggested the idea of the fratricide as a means of removing the principal obstacle between Donogh and the throne of Tara.

The country of Thomond, which extended from the Shannon to the Slieve Bloom mountains, had been subjected[4] to two invasions before the assassination of Teige; on the first occasion by the Desmonians under Donald, the father of the Prince of Desmond, who had also been slain by Donogh, and who were defeated by the brave Dalcassians the year after the battle of Clontarf; on the second occasion by the army of Connaught, which plundered and destroyed both Kincora and Killaloe. This was also doubtless occasioned by the ambition of the King of Connaught, encouraged by the unnatural quarrel which had so fatal a termination. Donogh prospered so much that he obtained hostages three years after his brother's death from various chiefs of Leinster; he exacted[5] the homage of the Danes of Dublin, was now recognized as monarch of Leath Mogha or the southern half of Ireland, when he was defeated by the Ossorians and had a formidable antagonist to his claims in his nephew Turlough, the son of the assassinated Prince, Teigh, who was supported by Diarmid Maelnambo afterwards King of Leinster, at the instigation of Diarmid whose territory of Hy-Kinsella,[6] Donogh had invaded, burning Ferns and committing other devastations in Wexford. Several sacrilegious robberies were perpetrated at this time at Clonmacnoise, &c. It is to the credit of Donogh that he made satisfaction to the clergy of Clonmacnoise for a most revolting sacrilegious robbery, on which occasion the robbers stole a model of Solomon's temple, probably a tabernacle, and a gold plated silver chalice, the former a gift of a Prince of wealth, the latter tastefully engraved by a sister of King Turlough O'Connor. In 1129, some of the Danes of Limerick were executed for

[1] Annals of the Four Masters, and Innisfail.
[2] Annals of Four Masters.
[3] Do. an. 1023. See also Tigernach.
[4] Annals of Four Masters. an. 1041.
[5] Tigernach and Inisfail, an. 1026.
[6] Annals of Innisfail and Four Masters.

despoiling the monastery of Clonmacnoise. In the year 1050[1] a Synod was held at Killaloe, to provide some remedies against a prevalent distress, occasioned by bad seasons, and to restrain crimes, under Donogh and Cele, "the head of the piety of Ireland," as the annalists call him, upon which occasion, as our authorities inform us they "enacted a law and restraint upon every injustice, great and small; and God gave peace and favourable weather in consequence of this law."

The power of Donogh now began to decline, for he had sustained two serious reverses. During his absence in Desmond, his enemy Diarmid had invaded Munster with an army of Lagenians and Danes, of whom he was now acknowledged king, and severely avenged Donogh's, and Connor Melaghlin's raid into Fingal, on which occasion they had made many prisoners in the great stone church of Lusk. The second blow was inflicted on Donogh, in Thomond, where Torlough, the son of Teighe, maintained his ground against Donogh's son, Murrough, assisted by his Connaught allies, as he had been by Hugh O'Connor and by the king of Leinster in Middle Munster. In the latter the Lagenians and Danes burned one of the forts strengthened by Brian Boru—namely, Duntryleague; and during another expedition, under Diarmid, which took place in 1056, they destroyed another of these forts—that at Lough Gurr, finishing their ravages by the destruction of Nenagh.

Donogh's deposition was now a proximate event.—Diarmid invaded Munster, once more burned Limerick and Emly, and defeated Donogh in a severe battle in the glen of Aherlow. Hugh O'Connor destroyed Kincora, with the town and Church of Killaloe; and Turlogh and the Lagenians once more burned Limerick in the year 1063, and exacted hostages throughout Munster. At last being utterly defeated by Turlogh and the King of Leinster, at the foot of the Ardagh mountains, he abdicated the crown of Munster, thus transferring his royal honors to his nephew. In the hope of atoning for his sins he afterwards set out on a pilgrimage to Rome, where he died with every appearance of sincere penitence, in the Monastery of St. Stephen, in the year 1064. Some writers assert that Donogh not only left the crown and regalia of Ireland with the Pope but made *him* over his kingdom, an empty compliment, if it took place at all, which is not probable, as it is not mentioned by any of the old annalists. It is added by those who tell this story, that the crown was afterwards given to Henry the II. by Pope Adrian the Fourth after the Norman conquest.[2]

[1] Annals of Four Masters.

[2] Donogh was connected with the Royal family of England, having married Driella, sister of Harold, afterwards King of England. Harold took refuge in Ireland (*Saxon Chronicle, an.* 1051) during the rebellion of his father against Edward the Confessor, and was furnished by Donogh with a squadron of nine ships, with which he harassed the coast of England. In the time of Donogh the celebration of Athletic games was encouraged, and more taxes were raised and more ordinances made than during the period which had elapsed since the coming of St. Patrick. —*Annals of Innisfail, an.* 1023 (*recte* 1040).

Two interesting relics supposed to belong to Brian Boru are still in existence—namely, his harp and his sceptre. The latter was presented to the museum of the Royal Dublin Society, where it is preserved, by the Dowager Marchioness of Thomond, after the death of her husband in 1857. The harp, according to the statement given in the fourth volume of the "Collectanea de Rebus Hibernicis," remained, with the crown and other regalia of Brian Boru, in the Vatican, until the reign of Henry VIII., when that "Defender of the Faith" received the harp with his new title. The Pope, it is said, kept the crown, which was of massive gold. Henry gave the harp to the first Earl of Clanrickarde, and it was presented by a lady of the De Burgh family to that of M'Mahon, of Clenagh, in the county Clare. In 1782 it was presented to the Right Hon. Mr. Connyngham, who presented it to Trinity College, where it still remains. Moore thinks the harp is modern, because it bears the O'Brien arms (in silver); but on this principle we might doubt the antiquity of the round tower on Devenish Island because it bears a modern inscription.

Since the death of Malachy, who was himself formally recognised by the states of Meath only, though tacitly accepted by the nation, the ascription of the title of supreme king by our native historians appears to have resulted rather from deference to might than to right—at least the most powerful for the time being of the Royal races of Ireland were recognised as the nominal monarchs, or as the Irish express it, *Righ go Freasabhra*, "kings with opposition." As the plan which we have laid down for ourselves will not allow of our introducing more of the general history of Ireland than may serve to illustrate that of Limerick, we can refer but briefly to the exploits of Dermot, King of Leinster, who is by some historians reckoned as nominal monarch after the death of Donogh, whom he obliged to abdicate the crown, in favor of Turlogh, the son of Teige, and grandson of Brian Boru. There is a great similarity indeed in the military history of all the enterprising kings of this period, and Dermot's included the crushing of a rebellion raised by Murchad, the son of Donogh; the compelling of the king of Connaught to give hostages; the exacting tribute from the people of Meath and Dublin; and if we can believe the continuation of the Annals of Tigernach, the subjection of the Welsh and Hebrides, or at least to the extent implied by the fact that they were obliged to pay him tribute. At last this vigorous monarch again entered Meath in 1072,[1] and was defeated with great slaughter at the battle of Odhba, being himself killed, and leaving Turlogh, by his death, the most powerful king in Ireland.

Turlogh now entered upon the usual course of one determined to be recognised as the Sovereign-in-Chief, no competitors of his own family existing since A.D. 1068, the year of the death of Morrogh "of the short shield," who was slain during a foray into Teffia, a territory now forming a part of Westmeath and Longford; while the King of Connaught, Aedh of the Broken Spear, who had defeated Dermot, Turlough, and their "great army of Leathmogha," as the annalists call it, some five years before, had himself fallen in turn, in battle with Art O'Rourke, Prince of Breffny, who had invaded his territories. Connor, too, the son of Malachy, had fallen in the year 1073, by the hand of an assassin, and Turlogh, now admitted to be the most potent of the native Kings, prepared himself for an expedition into Ulster, where the indomitable O'Neills maintained their independence.

The Annals of the Four Masters for this year[2] record a curious anecdote of Turlough in reference of his having carried off the head of the murdered King of Meath from the Abbey of Clonmacnoise on a Good Friday, immediately before his Northern expedition.—"It was brought back again from the South with two rings of gold along with it through the miracles of God and Kiaran. A great disease seized the King Turlough O'Brien, which caused his hair and beard to fall off through the miracles of God and Kiaran, for when the head of Connor was brought into his presence, a mouse issued out of it and went under his garment, which was the cause of his disease." The Annals of Clonmacnoise[3] mention the same curious story, and state that Brien "was like to die until he restored the said head with certain gold."

It was during an expedition undertaken into Meath, immediately after this, to punish Morrough Melaghlin, the brother and murderer of Connor, that he carried off the head of one of the bitterest of his enemies, as related above.

[1] Annals of Four Masters, of Innisfail, and Tigernach.
[2] A. D. 1073.
[3] A. D. 1070 (recte 1073).

In 1075 Turlogh marched into Connaught, and received homage and hostages from O'Rourke, O'Reilly, O'Kelly, MacDermod, and other Princes.

In the following year, accompanied by the army of Munster, Turlogh marched into Meath, and received the submission of King Melachlin, the latter being accompanied by the Bishop of Armagh, styled by the Annalists the Successor of Saint Patrick, who brought with him the *Bachal Isa*, or "Staff of Jesus." In this year, according to the Four Masters, Dunlevy O'Heoghy and the chiefs of Ulidia went into Munster to serve for pay.

In 1084, the chief of the Ulidians, having engaged the services of Donogh, the son of O'Ruarc, nicknamed "the Cock," who commanded the forces of East Connaught, marched into Leinster and encamped at Monecronogh, where he was encountered by Murtagh O'Brien, son of Turlogh, at the head of the troops of Leinster, Ossory, Munster, and the Danes of Dublin. Four thousand persons were left dead on the field in this action, which appears to have been a drawn battle. O'Ruarc was amongst the slain, and his head having been brought to Limerick, it was exposed on Singland, near the city, probably in the locality now occupied by the Water Works, near Gallows Green.

While Turlogh's army was engaged in Leinster, the Ulstermen entered Thomond, and burned Killaloe, Tomgraney, Scariff, and Moynoe, of which O'Halloran says in his usual patriotic style, "then flourishing cities on the banks of the Shannon, now scarce retaining the traces of villages." But Turlogh had his revenge, for in the next year (1085) he once more invaded the north, ravaged the territory, and took Muireadhach, Prince of Muintercolics (the tribe name of the Magranalls or Reynolds) in the southern half of the county Leitrim.

This was the last expedition of this vigorous monarch, who died in 1086, at Kincora, in the 77th year of his age, from the effects of a disease resulting from the incident which we have quoted from the Annals of the Four Masters, and Clonmacnoise. His forgiveness of his nephew, Murched, who raised a formidable rebellion in Thomond, in the second year of his reign, and to whom, though he renewed his revolt after being forgiven, he assigned ample possessions in Cuonogh and Aharla, in the county Limerick, prove him to have been a man of a generous and forgiving disposition. As a proof of the high character he enjoyed amongst his contemporaries, we may refer to this letter[1] addressed to him by the illustrious Lanfranc, Archbishop of Canterbury, as "The magnificent Turlough, King of Ireland," in which, he says, that "God was mercifully disposed towards the people of Ireland, in giving him royal power over that land, and stating that though he has never seen him, he loves him from the description he had received of his pious humility, his severe justice, and his discreet equity." As additional proofs not only of the high estimation in which Turlough was held, but of his being recognised as monarch of Ireland by his contemporaries, we may mention that another letter was addressed to him some years after by Gregory VII., in which he is called "the illustrious King of Ireland;" and, at the request of the chiefs of Man, Turlough sent a prince of the blood royal to be regent during the minority of their youthful king.[2]

In Lanfranc's letter to Turlogh he complains that in his kingdom marriages were often irregularly contracted; that bishops were consecrated by one bishop; that infants were baptised without consecrated chrism; and that holy

[1] Usher Vet. Epist. Hibern. Syll.
[2] Chronicle of Man, A.D. 1075.

orders were given by bishops for money. As Lanfranc makes the same complaint about irregular marriages in his letter to Gothric, King of Dublin, Dr. Lanigan[1] supposes these abuses were confined chiefly to the Danes; while as to the second and third objections, Lanfranc was mistaken as to what is required by evangelical and apostolical authority and the canon law. Besides, the Irish still retained the order of *chorepiscopoi*. The charge of simony, Lanigan thinks, may have been partly true; but that crime was not confined to the Irish, nor to the church of any particular time or locality.

CHAPTER IV.

HISTORY OF THE KINGS OF THOMOND, CONTINUED.

KING Turlough was succeeded by his second son, Murtagh O'Brien, not undeservedly surnamed *More*, or the Great, as king of Thomond, and nominal king of Ireland, A.D. 1106. Of his two brothers, the eldest had died at Kincora, and the other, Dermott, having been banished into Connaught, Murtagh became the sole, but by no means the undisputed sovereign. The provincial kings joined Dermot, who was subsequently slain in Meath in his brother's army, A.D. 1103, in a coalition against the king of Thomond, as pretender to the chief sovereignty of Ireland; and another formidable opponent appeared in the person of Domnal M'Loughlin, chief of the Hy-Niells, who, having enforced homage from the king of Connaught, united that prince's forces to his own, and with the combined army invaded Munster. Rory O'Connor's West Connaught men had defeated Murtagh's fleet, when attempting to dislodge them from their position on Innishayrcuch (Horned Island) in the Shannon, previously to the junction of the Northern forces with those of Connaught, and Murtagh now found himself unable to retaliate with effect until the most terrible devastations had taken place in his dominions. The invaders burned Limerick, devastated the country as far as Emly, Lough Gur, and Bruree, beseiged and demolished Kincora, and carried off the head of O'Ruarc from the place of its exposure at Singland.[2] Murtagh, determined to strike the first blow at the king of Connaught, dispatched a fleet in the following year, 1089, as far as Loughree, on the Shannon, and greatly to his discredit plundered the churches[3] on the various islands, and along the shores of the lake, including those of Innisclothran, Innisboffin, and Innis-aingin. The Dalcassian troops were, however, intercepted in their retreat by the king of Connaught, who had occupied Inishayrcuch and Rughra; and being obliged to turn back to Athlone were encountered by Donald O'Melaghlin,[4] king of Meath, who gave them a safe conduct to Thomond, on condition of leaving behind their vessels. With these vessels the kings of Meath and Connaught immediately afterwards descended the Shannon, and once more invaded Thomond.

[1] Ecclesiastical Hist. of Ireland, chap. xxiv.
[2] Four Masters, ad. an. 1088.
[3] Ibid. ad. an. 1089.
[4] This name appears in a variety of spellings.

In the year 1090 a congress was held on the banks of Lough Neagh[1] where the two princes, Murtagh and Mac Loughlin (or O'Loughlin), agreed to divide the kingdom of Ireland between them, the former ruling Leath Mogha, or the southern half, and the latter Leith Cuin, or the northern moiety. On this occasion they pledged themselves by the most solemn oaths, "upon the relics of the saints of Erin, and the crozier of St. Patrick." At this meeting the kings of Connaught and of Meath were also present, and gave, as did also Murtagh, hostages to the head of the Hy-Niels; but if this was an admission of his claims to the chief sovereignty, it was cancelled by a similar tender of hostages to Murtagh by the new chief monarch, M'Loughlin, who, notwithstanding this solemn convention, was engaged in hostilities with the king of Thomond in this very year,[2] and obliged to do him homage. In 1094 Murtagh again invaded Leinster and Meath, defeated O'Connor Faly; attacked the Meathians, and having slain Donald O'Melaghlin, king of Tara, divided his territories between his two brothers.

According to Sir James Ware, a present of Irish pearls was made in the year 1094, by the bishop of Limerick, to Anselm, archbishop of Canterbury, by whom the present was graciously received.

In the years 1095 and 1096 peace prevailed in consequence of a pestilence which the annalists say spread over all Europe, and carried off a fourth of the population of Ireland, including many persons of distinction, and amongst the rest Godfrey Erenach. In the meantime Murtagh had employed himself in rebuilding Kincora, and, having completed the work of re-edification, once more undertook an expedition as far as Louth, where, however, by the interposition of the bishop of Armagh, the effusion of blood was prevented.

In the year 1101 Murtagh convoked a great assembly at Cashel, and made a donation to the church, such as "no king had ever made before," granting Cashel to the "religious of Ireland in general without any claim of layman or clergyman upon it," as the annalists express it, thus dedicating the seat of the Munster kings to God and to St. Patrick,[3] who had there preached the Gospel to Ængus, king of Munster and his court.

It was about the time of this splendid donation to the church that Murtagh made his famous expedition into Ulster, and, having led a large body of troops into Innis-owen, devastated the peninsula, destroyed the churches, and, in revenge for the destruction of Kincora, utterly demolished the venerable palace of the Hy-niells, called Aileach or the Eagle's Nest, ordering his soldiers to carry away the very stones to Limerick in their provision bags.[4]

In the year 1103 Murtagh sustained a decisive defeat from Macloghlin, on

[1] Annals Innisfail, an. 1074 (recte 1090).

[2] Four Masters, 1090.

[3] Annals of Innisfallen, 1101.

[4] Mr. O'Curry adds that "with these stones [which the soldiers brought in their sacks] Murtagh O'Brien afterwards built a parapet upon the top of his royal palace, (which is situate on the site of the present Cathedral of Limerick) as a perpetual memorial of his victory over the ancient enemies of his house." Mr. O'Curry adds, "I may mention that this was not a wanton deed of destruction on the part of O'Brien, but a retaliation for a similar insult which the Northern bands, two hundred years before that, offered to the Dalcassians, when they made a sudden and unexpected rush into that country, and cut down, and carried away by force, from the celebrated woods of *Creatalach* (Cratloe, I believe) as much prime oak as roofed and adorned the same palace of *Aileach*." The Grainan of Aileach is situate in the county of Donegal, about a mile from the county of Derry, and on the top of a mountain 802 feet high, to which it has given its name of Grainan. The Ordnance Survey of Londonderry (page 217) gives a graphic description and account of this very curious and celebrated ancient construction; and we refer the reader to that extremely interesting volume for the fullest particulars on the subject.

the plains of Cobha in Tyrone,[1] on which occasion the royal tent and many valuable jewels were captured.[2] The following years are chiefly occupied with resultless campaigns between Murtagh and Macloughlin, and the interposition of the clergy in bringing about temporary pacifications. In 1114, say the annals,[3] "a great fit of sickness attacked Murtagh O'Brien, so that he became a living skeleton, and resigned his kingdom; and Diarmuid (his brother) assumed the kingdom of Munster after him without permission." During Murtagh's absence in Leinster, Thomond was invaded by Torlogh O'Connor, king of Connaught, who plundered the country as far as Limerick, and carried off spoil and prisoners. On this occasion Donald O'Brien, son of Teige, was slain while defending his country against the invaders. In the second year after also, 1116, Torlogh O'Connor again invaded Thomond, and advancing without resistance, demolished Kincora as well as the fort of Boromha, which had been erected by Brian Boru—an insult which the Dalcassians vainly attempted to avenge under Dermod, brother of Murtagh O'Brien, who led an army into Connaught, but was repulsed and obliged to make a precipitate retreat. In 1117, Thomond was again invaded by the forces of Connaught, commanded by Brian, son of Morrogh O'Flaherty, and the son of Cathal O'Connor, who defeated the Munster troops first at Leacan in West Thomond, and afterwards at Latteragh in Ormond, with still greater loss. The death of Dermod O'Brien was followed in a year by that of his brother Murtagh. This event took place in 1119, and this eminent prince, whose character ranked so high in his lifetime that he was often consulted by the king of England, Henry I., was buried in the cathedral of Killaloe, which, from the time of the donation of Cashel to the Church, to the period of the Anglo-Norman invasion, became the residence of the descendants of the illustrious Brian Boru.

Murtagh had three sons, Domhnal, appointed Governor of Dublin, who embraced a monastic life in 1118; Mahon, the ancestor of the Mac Mahons of Corkabaskin, and Kennedy, of whom there is no further notice. Murtagh O'Brien, as Malmsbury, a contemporary author, informs us,[4] made alliances with other foreign princes besides Henry I. of England. He gave one of his daughters to Arnulph de Montgomery, eldest son of the Earl of Arundel in England, whom he is said to have assisted in his rebellion against Henry I.; and another to Sicard, son of Magnus king of Norway. Keating states his belief that Murtagh died at Armagh. He was the last supreme monarch of his race.

[1] Annals of Four Masters.

[2] About this time took place the celebrated Synod of Uisneach, in Westmeath, presided over—according to the Abbe M'Geoghegan, by Gilbert, Bishop of Limerick, under circumstances hereafter to be referred to.

[3] Annals of Four Masters.

[4] Malmsbury De Reg. Angle, lib. v.

CHAPTER V.

ANNALS OF THOMOND.

Sir James Ware and O'Flaherty[1] are of opinion that parties were so evenly balanced after the death of Murtagh O'Brien, that for seventeen years after that event no dynast was sufficiently powerful to assume the title of monarch of Ireland. But after the death of Donald Mac Loughlin, who reigned without competition during the two years that he survived Murtagh, Turlogh O'Connor, son of Roderick, king of Connaught, is considered to have the fairest claim, and is accordingly set down by most historians as the next monarch of Ireland. Some, however, only assign to Turlogh the rank of king of Leath-Cuin, while Connor O'Brien is regarded as possessing an equitable claim to be considered monarch of Leath-Mogha.

Turlogh, although a brave prince, did not disdain to avail himself of the arts of policy to strengthen his own interest to the prejudice of O'Brien. He sowed dissensions between the Eugenians and Dalcassians, touching their claims to alternate succession[2] to the throne, and succeeded in creating temporary divisions amongst the Dalcassians themselves. In the year 1124, O'Connor constructed a fleet on Lough Derg, conveyed them across the falls of the Shannon, at Doonas, plundered the country of the Hy-Conaill, at Foynes' Island, and captured the fleet of Desmond.—Cormac Macarthy, the king of Desmond, was shortly after defeated by O'Connor, near Kilkenny, and obliged to seek an asylum in the monastery of Lismore. But O'Brien, having effected a reconciliation between the members of his own family, by giving Torlogh, Thomond, west of the Shannon; and the other brother, Ormond, proceeded in the same year, 1127, to Lismore, and, with the consent of the Eugenian chiefs, restored Cormac, dethroned his brother Donough, set up by O'Connor, and forced him to fly with his adherents into Connaught. In the year 1135, Cormac invaded Thomond, and was opposed by an ancestor of the Macnamaras,[3] Cumara, *i.e.* the "Dog of the Sea," who was slain in the battle.—Cormac was defeated at Clonkeen-Modinog, near Cashel, on which occasion several of the princes of the Eugenians, together with O'Loghlin, king of Burren, were left dead on the field. The next year, 1136, is given as the date of Turlogh's recognition as supreme sovereign, although O'Brien had just given decided proofs of undiminished vigor, by routing the united armies of the king of Leinster and the Danes of Dublin, after which he had led his victorious troops into Connaught, when an arrangement was entered into between O'Brien and O'Connor, by the interposition, or under the sanction of the archbishop of Tuam.[4]

In the war between Connor O'Brien and Macarthy, O'Brien was supported by Dermot Macmorrough, king of Leinster, who obtained an unfortunate notoriety by bringing the English into Ireland. This happened in 1137; and the new allies, assisted by a fleet of the Danes of Dublin and Wexford, having besieged Waterford, Donogh Macarthy was compelled to submit, and to give hostages of the Desies and the Danes of Dublin, as a return for their services. Connor, now styled Lord of Thomond and Ormond, gave hostages to the king of Leinster, for defending Desmond for him from the Macarthies; and thus it appears that Turlough's claim to the monarchy was now admitted,

[1] Ogygia.
[2] Annals of Innisfail, Munster Annals Apud Vallancy.
[3] Annals of Four Masters.
[4] Ibid. Ad. An. 1133.

even by O'Brien himself, though so fiercely appropriated by the O'Briens for more than a hundred years. In the next year, 1138, the Annals of the Four Masters[1] mention the treacherous assassination at Cashel, of Cormac, the king and bishop, the founder[2] of the beautiful church still called Cormac's Chapel, the murderer being Turlogh, son of Dermod O'Brien, who afterwards succeeded to the crown of Thomond. Thus the Mac Carthies were expelled, and Connor O'Brien was now left in sole possession of the crown of Munster, to which he added that of the Danes of Dublin, against whom he marched an army in 1142, and forced their submission. In the next year Connor O'Brien died at Killaloe, where he was interred in the Cathedral, and was succeeded by his next brother Turlogh. Connor died possessed of all the rights and powers annexed to the sovereignty of Leath Mogha. He was a prince of great courage, perseverance, and ability; and though he had committed in his various expeditions several acts of spoliation on the Church, he is stated in the records of the Abbey of St. Peter at Ratisbon, to have founded and supported it while he lived, and to have sent munificent presents in aid of the Crusaders to Lothaire, the Roman Emperor.[3]—Connor was surnamed na Catheragh, or "of the cities," on account of the many he founded and improved, says O'Halloran, which also accounts for his other nickname of "spattered robe"—according to others from his having built or strengthened a fort on Lough Ree.

Turlough, the brother and successor of Connor O'Brien, whose son Murtagh was obliged to content himself with Thomond, began his reign by a war with Turlough O'Connor and an invasion of Leinster. He was set upon the throne of Limerick by Murtagh M'Niell of the line of Heremon, who succeeded to the monarchy of Ireland. In punishment of O'Connor's raid into Munster, in sustainment of the claims of Connor, grandson of Murtagh-More O'Brien, Turlough O'Brien marched into Connaught, and cut down the Ruaidh Rheithigh[4] (the red birch tree of Hy-Fiachra Aadhne, under which the kings were inaugurated), and demolished its stone fort, but returned without effecting any important results, and in 1144 was reconciled to O'Connor at Terryglass, in Ormond—though, as we learn from the Four Masters,[5] the truce only lasted a year, the next year having been signalised by so many predatory excursions that Ireland was made "a trembling sod," to use the expressive language of these annalists. Turlough founded a monastery for the Cistercian monks in 1148, the great monastery of Nenay, or Commogue, in the county of Limerick, dedicated to the Blessed Virgin.

In the year 1149, the King of Munster once more led an army into Connaught, destroying the Dun or Castle of Galway. In the next year he marched to Dublin, plundering Slane, in Meath, on his way, and exacted hostages from the Danes of Dublin. In the following year (1151), while absent in West Munster, opposing the Macarthies, he was deposed by his brother, Teige Gle, whom he had released from prison, assisted by the king

[1] Ibid. Ad. An. 1138. [2] Ibid. Ad. An. 1134.

[3] "In the Chronicles of Reinsburgh or Ratisbon, in Germany, it is related that Dyonisius, Christianus and Gregory, three successive Irish Abbots, of the Benedictine Monastery of St. James's at the west gate of Ratisbon, sent their own Irish messengers at three several times into Ireland with the Emperor Conradus's letters recommending them. To these messengers was delivered so great a sum by the aforesaid Conor O'Brian, otherwise Calla Slapper Sallach, King of North Munster, or Limerick, that thereby their cloister was from the very foundation, in a short time, rebuilt so magnificently that it surpassed all in those days; and besides, with said money, the monks purchased for their maintenance, both within the town of Ratisbon, and in the country, a perpetual revenue and estate, and notwithstanding all, a great quantity of said money was still remaining.—*Peter Walsh.*

[4] Annals of Four Masters, 1143. [5] Ibid, 1145.

of Connaught, who, invited by Teige Gle, and joined by Dermot Macmorrogh, advanced into Munster, and ravaged the country, until they reached Moinmore, or the Great Bog, which, according to Dr. O'Donovan,[1] is Monimore, in the parish of Emly, Barony of Clanwilliam, and county Tipperary. In this fiercely contested battle, the armies of Leinster and Connaught, led by Roderick, whose troops had once more destroyed Kincora, during their late invasion of Munster, were opposed by O'Brien, accompanied by the Dalcassians alone; and, notwithstanding the desperate valour of these noble warriors, were completely successful. The army of Munster was totally defeated, and the king of Thomond, with his army, left dead on the field.[2]

Altogether there fell of the Mononians five thousand men. The loss on the other side was severe, but not at all to be compared with that of the army of Munster, which the monarch now divided into two principalities, appointing the two treacherous Munster princes its rulers. Roderick, the last monarch of Ireland of Milesian descent, now entered Thomond, and having proceeded as far as Croom, which he burned, returned after the capture of great spoils.

The unfortunate Turlogh O'Brien having ineffectually attempted to procure shelter among the Danes of Limerick, fled to Ulster, where he was sheltered by the native chieftains, to whom he was able to make ample recompense for their hospitality, having carried with him many jewels and valuables to the number of sixty, besides the drinking horn of Brian Boru, and one hundred and twenty ounces of gold.[3] In the arrangement which followed the defeat of Turlogh, Desmond fell to Dermod M'Carthy, and Thomond to Teige O'Brien. The fortunes of Turlogh O'Connor had scarcely obtained the ascendant over those of O'Brien when a new rival appeared in the person of Murtagh O'Loughlin (MacLoughlin or O'Neill), representative of the royal Hy-Niells of Tyrone, and the host and champion of the king of Munster, in whose favour he formed a league of the Ulster princes, and having conquered Turlogh O'Connor, replaced Turlogh O'Brien on his throne, or as the Four Masters say, to one-half of his kingdom. On the return of Teige O'Brien into Thomond he was barbarously deprived of his sight by his brother Dermod Finn, and died the next year, 1154. Turlogh O'Brien having made submission three years after his restoration, Roderick, his father, incurred the resentment of O'Neill, who, accompanied by Dermod MacMurrough and his troops, entered Desmond, and exacted the submission of the Macarthies. He next laid siege to Limerick, then chiefly inhabited by Danes, drove out Turlogh O'Brien, expelled the Dalcassians from Thomond, and divided Munster between Dermod Macarthy, whose father had been murdered, as before mentioned, at Cashel, and Connor, the son of Donald O'Brien, in whose person, as the senior representatives of Murtagh-More O'Brien, the

[1] Note to Four Masters, 1151.

[2] Amongst the families still extant, who lost some of their members in this second Clontarf, the Annals of the Four Masters give the following from the book of Lecan:—"The following were the chieftains that were here slain:—Muicertagh, son of Conchovar O'Brien, the second best man of Dalgais; Lughaidh, son of Donald O'Brien, two of the Hy-Kennedigh (O'Kennedys); eight of the Hy-Deaghaidh (O'Deas), with Flahertach O'Dea; nine of the Hy-Seanchain (O'Shannons or Sextons); five of the Hy-Cuinn (O'Quins); five of the Hy-Grada (O'Gradys), with Aneslis O'Grada; twenty-four of the Ui-Aichir (O'Hehirs); the grandson of Eochaidh Ua-Loingsy (O'Lynchy or O'Lynch); four of the Ui-Neill Buidhe (Yellow O'Neills); and five of the Ui-Eachthiern (Ahearnes or O'Hearns); with numbers of good men besides them.

[3] This was a changeable, windy, stormy winter, with great rain. Foirdhealbhach Ua Briain went to Luimneach, but he did not get shelter in Munster; and he took many jewels with him, i.e. ten score ounces of gold, and sixty beautiful jewels, besides the drinking horn of Brian Boroimhe, and he divided them among the chiefs of Silmuiredagh, &c. &c. (the O'Connors of Connaught and other chiefs, the O'Rourkes and the O'Farrells.)—*Annals of the Four Masters*, 1151.

right line of succession was restored. But Turlough O'Brien being once more restored by Roderick O'Connor,[1] who entered Munster after O'Neill's departure for the North, cruelly put out the eyes of the lawful king Connor O'Brien, as well as those of his son—acts of barbarous policy to disqualify them for the throne, the fruits of which he did not long enjoy, being deposed by his son Murtagh and banished into Leinster. This occurred in 1165, but Murtagh was not recognised as king until 1167, in which year his father, Turlough O'Brien, died. He was slain, however, in the next year by Connor O'Brien, grandson of Connor Na Cateragh, but after a short interval, the assassin and his accomplices were themselves put to death by Dermod Fioun, the brother of his grandfather, aided by O'Faolain, prince of the Desies.

In the reign of Torlogh O'Brien several interesting events occurred in the history of the Church, amongst others the great Synod or National Council of Kells, at which Cardinal Paparo, Legate of Pope Eugenius III, presided, and distributed the palliums brought by him from Rome to the four Archbishops of Armagh, Cashel, Dublin and Tuam—a concession promised by Innocent II. to St. Malachy, Bishop of Down, who, with a view to obtain this favor, had himself journeyed to Rome in the year 1139. St. Malachy again visited the Continent in the Pontificate of Eugenius III, and died in the Abbey of Clairvaux, then presided over by Saint Bernard, who wrote his biography, and made those strictures on the state of the Irish Church, the severity of which is partly to be ascribed to the austerity of St. Bernard's character, partly to the want of exact information. Another event referred to this reign which is supposed to have led to the introduction of the English, an important epoch in the history of Ireland, at which we have arrived, was the alleged abduction of Dervoghal, the wife of O'Ruarc, prince of Breffny, by the cruel and sacrilegious tyrant MacMurrough, who was obliged to make ample satisfaction for the outrage. But the truth of this story, which has been so long held as an authentic piece of history, has of late years been seriously questioned; and we have heard from the late Professor O'Curry, that he had in his possession some Irish manuscripts which invalidate the claims of this episode of the Irish Helen to be regarded as a portion of our authentic history. The date of the Synod of Kells is 1152. By it tithes were first introduced into Ireland, but they were not enforced until after the English invasion, A.D. 1172, when they were established by the Synod of Cashel.[2]

[1] It was in the year 1161 Roderick O'Connor built a famous castle of "lime and stone at Tuam."

[2] During the reign of Murtagh Mac Neill, Monarch of Ireland, there was convened a national Synod at Kennanus or Kells in the county of Meath; the design of this Council was the reformation of discipline and manners, and to institute two new Archbishopricks in Ireland, viz. those of Dublin and Tuam. The persons appointed by the Pope to preside in this Council were Giolla Criost O'Conaire, Bishop of Lismore, and Pope's Legate, and the Roman Cardinal Johannes Papiro (Paparo); the four palls or copes were then conferred on the four Archbishops. This Council, says Keating, is thus recorded in an old Book of Cluainadnach, viz. in the year from the Incarnation, being bissextile, 1157 (52 for 57 is a mistake) was celebrated in the spring, a noble Council at Caennanus, in which Synod presided Cardinal John, a Presbyter of the blessed St. Lawrence, and the Assembly consisted of twenty-two Bishops, five Bishops elect and so many Abbots and Priors belonging to the blessed Apostles Peter and Paul, and our apostolic father Eugenius. This Cardinal condemned, and by all proper methods extirpated simony and usury, and commanded tithes to be paid by apostolical authority. He delivered four *copes* (palls) to the four Archbishops of Ireland:—to the Archbishops of Dublin, of Tuam, of Cashel, and Armagh Primate over the rest; and as soon as the Council was ended the said Cardinal passed the seas. Thus that old Book. Amongst the Bishops that assisted at this Council was Turgesius, Bishop of Limerick. The suffragans then appointed under the Archbishoprick of Cashel, were Limerick, Killaloe, Inniscatha (which, about the beginning of the twelfth century, was united to Limerick), Waterford, Lismore, Cloin, Cork, Ross and Ardfearth. Sir James Ware says that this Synod was held in 1152.—*Antiq. Hiber.*, cap. 16.

In 1164, Donald, or Daniel O'Brien, surnamed the Great, succeeded his brother Murtagh in the crown of Limerick. Roderick O'Connor, about this time, assumed being monarch of Ireland and held many wars with Donald, who would not acknowledge his sovereignty; at length, in the year 1167, they made peace and concluded an offensive and defensive alliance with each other. This Donald, king of Limerick, was a most virtuous, religious, and warlike man; according to Hugh MacCurtin, he built and endowed eighteen monasteries. But as we find most ancient authors confound his actions with those of his son, Donogh, who succeeded him, before we give an account of the landing of the English in Ireland, we shall give a particular account of all the monasteries founded as well by Donald as by his son Donogh, and shall distinguish between each.

MONASTERIES FOUNDED BY DONALD, KING OF LIMERICK.

Holycross.

1169. This abbey of Holycross, in the county Tipperary, was founded by Donald O'Brien, king of Limerick; it was so called for having a great relic of the holy cross in it: the words of the charter began thus: "Donald, by the grace of God, king of Limerick, to all kings, dukes, earls, barons, knights, and other Christians of whatsoever degree throughout Ireland, perpetual greeting in Christ, &c." The Bishop of Lismore, as Pope's Legate, the Archbishop of Cashel and the Bishop of Limerick signed this charter as witnesses. King John, when Earl of Morton, confirmed this foundation. The abbot of this house had title of Earl of Holycross, had a seat in the house of peers in Ireland, and was commonly Vicar-General of the Cistertian Order in Ireland. The house was a daughter of the Cistertian abbey of Nenay, in the county of Limerick.

Suiry or Inislaunog.

1172. Most authors say that this year Donald O'Brien, king of Limerick, founded this abbey for the Cistertian monks in the county of Tipperary, on the banks of the river Suir. Colgan says that this abbey was long before Donald's time, and that it was he who rebuilt and endowed it in 1187.

The Cathedral of Cashel.

1172. About this time, Donald O'Brien, king of Limerick, built a new cathedral in Cashel, from the ground and endowed it; he converted the old cathedral of Cormac into a chapel or chapter-house; he likewise bestowed large revenues on the see of Cashel, to which his son Donogh, surnamed Carbrac, gave others in Thomond, and amongst the rest two islands called Sulleith and Kismacayl. This donation was confirmed by King John on 6th September, 1215.

Nunnery of Limerick.

1172. The said Donald, king of Limerick, founded a nunnery for Augustinian nuns of the Order of Canons Regular, in Limerick, in the English town. This house was dedicated to St. Peter and was called St. Peter's cell.

Nunnery of Kil-oen.

1172. The said Donald founded at Kil-oen, in the county of Clare, a nunnery for Augustinian nuns of the Order of Canons Regular of St. Augustin.

Clare or Kilmoney.

1194. Donald, king of Limerick, or as others say his son, Donogh, in 1200, founded an abbey for Canons Regular at Kilmoney, near Clare, on the River Fergio (Fergus).

Inshenegananagh.

The said Donald either founded or rebuilt for the Canons Regular an abbey in the island called Innisnegannenagh, or the island of Canons, in the Shannon, between Limerick and the sea, nearly opposite Foynes island.

Feal.

1188. This was first an abbey and then a cell of Cistertians united to the abbey of Nenay.

Curcumroe.

1194. In this year, Donald, king of Limerick, founded for Cistertian monks this abbey of Curcumroe, or Corcamroe, in the county Clare; it was called the abbey of Our Lady of the Fruitful Rock; it was situated in a very pleasant place and was daughter to the abbey of Furness in England. The cell of Kilsane was annexed to this abbey. Some say this abbey was founded by Donogh Carbrac, son of Donald, in 1200.

Kilcoul.

1194. The same Donald founded in the county Tipperary, for the Cistertian monks, the abbey of Kilcoul, as appears by the charter of confirmation, granted to it by King Henry III., and which mentions it to be founded by King Donald O'Brien. The records of the Cistertian order mention it to be founded in the year 1200, and that consequently it must be by his son Donogh Carbrac. This house was a daughter of the abbey of Jerpont.

The Cathedral of Limerick.

1194. About the time of the English first coming into Ireland, this pious king, Donald O'Brien, of Limerick, gave his own palace to the Church and of it made a Cathedral, which before was the small Church of St. Munchin, now a parochial Church; he built and endowed this new Cathedral which is dedicated to the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin Mary. The charter which he granted to Brictius,[1] bishop of Limerick, about this time, 1194, is as follows:—"Domnald, king of Limerick, to all the faithful of God, both present and to come, greeting: Know all, that I have given to Brictius, bishop of Lumneach, and his successors, and to the clergy of St. Mary, Lumneach, in free and perpetual alms, the land of Imurgan and the land of Ivamnacham, from the arch of Imuregram to the land of Imalin, and from the ford of Ceinu to the river Sinan, with all its appurtenances, and in confirmation hereof I set my seal. Witness, Mathew, Archbishop of Cashel, and Ruadri va Gradei." See fully on this subject the chapter devoted to the Cathedral.

[1] Black Book of the Bishops of Limerick.

MONASTERIES FOUNDED BY DONOUGH CARBRAC, KING OF LIMERICK.

Kilsane.

1198. Kilsane, for Cistertian monks, in the county of Limerick. It in sometime became a cell belonging to the abbey of Curcumro, county Clare.

St. Saviour's of Limerick of Dominicans.

1227. Donogh Corbrac O'Brien, king of Limerick, this year built and endowed, in the city of Limerick, a convent for the Friars of the Order of St. Dominick, under the invocation and title of St. Saviour. This convent had large possessions in lands in and about the city; the fishing of the salmon-weir belonged to it, and St. Thomas's island where was a chapel of ease. The land going to Parteen, called Mona-na-Brahir, likewise belonged to it. In this year, 1241, this King Donagh was buried in this convent and a magnificent statue was erected over his tomb.

In 1644 this convent was in Rome erected into a university.

[See the chapter relating to this convent and the Order of Dominicans in Limerick.]

Ennis of Franciscans.

1240. This year, Donogh Carbrac O'Brien, king of Limerick, built for the Franciscans a most sumptuous convent in the town of Ennis, or Ennis Cluanruada, county Clare. The Church is yet standing, and a portion of it has been used for many years by the Protestants for their service.

Galbally of Franciscans.

1240, or thereabouts, this same Donogh Carbrac O'Brien, king of Limerick, founded for the Franciscans a convent in Galbally, being on the borders of the county Limerick and the county Tipperary.[1]

[1] Of Monasteries and Convents, (including some few afterwards founded, and which shall be more fully noticed in the proper place), the following, alone, were in the City and County of Limerick, viz.:—

Canons Regular of St. Augustin.
Kilmallock
Inniscatha
Rathkeale
Kynnythin
Limerick
Mungaret
Cluanclaidech

Dominicans.
Limerick
Kilmallock
Ballingall—Carmelites, according to Ware, built by the Roches in the 14th century. Pat. 39th Elizab. called a Carmelite monastery, and granted to the Provost, &c. T.C.D.

Franciscans.
Limerick
Askeaton
Adare
Adare—Observantine Franciscans, founded by Thos. Fitzmaurice and Joan his wife, A.D. 1264 (*Ware*, vol. II. p. 28.)
Adare—Augustinians
Near Ballingurry—Franciscans

Canon Regular Nuns of St. Augustin.
Limerick
Cluain-Credhil, now Clarina
Hydh Ita
Monastirne
Calliagh, near Loughgur

Cistertians or Bernardines.
Nenay
Feal
Kilsane
Wooney

Newcastle—Knights' Templars
Anug—Knights' Templars.
Adare—Knights' Hospitallers
Adare—Trinitarians
Limerick—Knights' Templars.
Limerick—Augustinians
Any—Augustinians
Ballintubber—Carmelites, some say Templars, granted to Robert Browne of Baltinglass

Total Monasteries and Convents—30.

To gratify the curious, we here insert certain catalogues with regard to the kingdom of Ireland in general, in order to show in what a flourishing state it was from the first preaching of Christianity until the coming of the English, both in learning, religion, sanctity, hospitality, and force of arms. Extracted out of Colgan's Lives of Irish Saints, and Gratianus Lucius, or John Lynch, Archdeacon of Tuam's Cambrensis Eversus.

Kings of Ireland who were deemed Saints:—

St. Cormacus, Rex Momoniæ
St. Cormacus, Rex Lageniæ
St. Aidus, Rex Lageniæ
St. Felimeus, Rex Momoniæ
St. Kellachus, Rex Cormacæ
St. Moelchobius, Rex totius Hibæ
St. Brien Boru, Rex totius Hibæ
St. Theodoricus, Rex Momoniæ
St. Flathatus
St. Sabina, Regina
St. Temaria, Regina
St. Brecanus, Hibernus Rex Walliæ
Twelve in all.

Irish Princes who were Saints:—

St. Dermitius
St. Guinerus, Myr.
St. Hispadius, Myr.
St. Fintanus
St. Colmanus
St. Cormachus
St. Fichinus
St. Fierga
St. Sugadius
St. Maidocus
St. Furseus
St. Carthacus
St. Foilanus
St. Foilomanius
St. Sernocus
St. Papanus
St. Fingar
St. Abbanus
Sa. Piala, Myr.
Sa. Dympna, Myr.
Sa. Cumania
Sa. Ernata
Sa. Ethna, pa.
Sa. Fidelmia
Sa. Ethna, 2a.
Sa. Sobellia
Sa. Kentibernia
Sa. Conchonna
Sa. Brigida
Sa. Maura
Sa. Lafara
Sæ. 12 Filiæ Augusti Regi
Sæ. 31 Sorores S. Eudæi
S. Eudæus
Sa. Fanchæa
Sa. Derfraicha
Sa. Carechia
Sa. Lochuina
Sa. Dominica, Myr.
Sæ. 12 Filii Si. Brecani Regis
S. Nenidius
St. 12 Filii Sti. Brecani Regis
S. Natalis
S. Florentinus
S. Ultanus
S. Romualdus
197 in all.

Irish Saints writers of rules:—

S. Patricius
S. Columkil
S. Albeus
S. Declanus
S. Congallus
S. Carthagus
S. Moloa
S. Mocteus
S. Finianus
S. Columbanus
S. Kiaranus
S. Brendanus
S. Brigida
Thirteen in all.

The number of Monks in some Monasteries in Ireland:—

300 under St. Fechinus
150 under St. Natalis
150 under St. Maidocus
150 under St. Munchin
300 under St. Tchinus
430 under St. Mochteus
879 under St. Carthagus
1000 under St. Gobbanus
1500 under St. Lasserianus
1500 in Mungret Abbey
3000 under St. Brendanus
3000 under St. Finnianus
3000 under St. Congellus
3000 under St. Geraldus
150 under St. Monnenabirg, in France
300 under St. Columbanus.
3000 under St. Caidocus

Ancient Irish Doctors and Writers:—

St. Sedulius, Dr
St. Cælius Sedulius, Dr
S. Thadæus, Dr
S. Marcellus, Dr
S. Macbethus, Dr
S. Dongallus, Dr
S. Colca, Dr
S. Dubslanius, Dr
S. Comeanus
S. Forchernus
S. Fuinanus
S. Kieranus, 1°
S. Columba, 1°
S. Kieranis, 2°
S. Columba, 2°
S. Finbarrus
S. Ibarus
S. Fiednus
S. Nemidus
S. Mocteus
S. Brendanus
S. Comgellus
S. Odus
S. Patricius, Apost.
S. Fachnanus, the founder of the Academy of Ross
St. Ainchellus
Manslanius
Johannes Soctus Eregina, founder, with King Alfred, of the University of Oxon
Petrus ab Hibernia, Master to St. Thomas
Richard Armachanus
Marianus Scotus
B. Marianus Gorman
S. Gallus
S. Lomanus
S. Patrick, jun.
S. Benignus
S. Evinus
S. Comineus
S. Adamnanus
S. Murus
S. Carnecus
S. Ultanus
S. Eminus
S. Dalanus
S. Herlatius
S. Cathaldus
S. Mocteus, 2°
S. Fintanus
S. Cuthbertus
S. Moelesa
SS. 5 Gildæ
S. Herlatius, 2°
S. Colga Sapiens
S. Cumeanus
S. Sylvanus
S. Tridolinus
S. Daganus
S. Cuthbertus, 2°

B. Claudius Clemens, founder of the Academy of Paris
S. Rupertus
S. Aileranus
S. Moelranus
S. Oengusius
S. Gildas Coemanus
S. Gildas Madusius
S. Delanus, 2s.
S. Duinanus
S. Dageus

For more Irish Writers consult Sir James Ware on this subject.

The number of Monasteries founded by the Irish Saints:—

7 by St. Manchinus
8 by St. Fodolinus
24 by St. Albanus
28 by St. Fidianus
100 by St. Columba
100 by St. Luanus
100 by St. Moluanus
700 by St. Patrick

Monasteries founded by and for the Irish in foreign countries:—

2 at Ratisbon
1 at Fossium in Flanders
1 at Vienna
1 at Nuremberg
1 at Eystadia
1 at Wirstburg
130 in Ireland & 90 Martyrs

Irish Saints who preached the Gospel in other countries:—[1]

IN ITALY—13.

St. Cathaldus at Tarentum
St. Emilianus at Faenza
St. Silanus & St. Frigidianus at Lucca
St. Andrew & St. Donatus at Lupentum, Fieboli
John Albinus, founder of the Academy at Papia or Ticinum
St. Comiaius at Bobium
St. Gunifortius, Myr. at Milan
St. Livinus, sen.
S. Peregrinus of Alps

IN FRANCE—45.

St. Mansuetus, Ap. of Toul
St. Elipius, Myr. at Tonc
St. Finlagenus at Metz
St. Præcordius at Corbeis
St. Forcentius at Amboise
St. Fridolinus at Poictiers
St. Helia at Angouleme
St. Anatolius at Perigord
St. Fiacruis about Lyons
St. Furseus at Peronne
S. Sidonius S. Macallinus
S. Adeodatus S. Mombulus
St. Laurentius at Anghe
St. Momon, Myr. at Leone
St. Florentius
St. Arpogastus about Narbonne
St. Caidocus in Picardy
St. Autbodus, Laudunum

IN BRITTANY.

St. Leiginus
St. Joava
St. Tenanus
St. Geldasius of S. Briene
St. Briochus, and others
St. Maclorius of St. Malo

AT RHEIMS.

St. Gilriandus, St. Hernanus, St. Germanus, St. Veranus } *Brothers.*
St. Abraius St. Petranus
St. Merolilanus St. Frandia
St. Pompa, S. Passima } *Sisters.*

IN BURGUNDY.

St. Columbanus St. Maimbodus
St. Colombanus, jun.

IN THE NETHERLANDS.

IN BRABANT—30.

St. Romoldus St. Pympria
St. Fedegandus St. Gerebernus
St. Himelinus St. Dymphna
S. Livinus, sen., S. Elias, &c.

IN FLANDERS.

Sta. Oda
St. Levinus St. Wasualplus
St. Guthagonius St. Columbanus

IN ARTOIS.

St. Luiglius St. Vulganius
St. Suiglanus St. Fursæus
St. Kilianus St. Obodius

IN HAINAULT.

St. Ettonus St. Wanamphus
St. Adalgisius
St. Albeus St. Molumbus

IN NAMUR.

St. Foronnatus St. Eloquius
S. Vincentius S. Meno

IN LIEGE.

St. Ultanus St. Bertuinus
St. Foillanus St. Tullanus

IN GUILDERS, HOLLAND AND FRIESLAND.

St. Wironus St. Heronus
St. Pelchemus
St. Othgerus St. Acca

IN GERMANY—115.

St. Alto & S. Virgilius
St. Abuinus at Thuring
St. Desibodus at Treves
St. Ethradus at Alsace and Bavaria St. Magnus
St. Marinus, Myr.
St. Fridolinus in Switzerland
St. Gallus in Switzerland
St. Tontanus & St. Colonatus
St. John at Michaelsburg
St. Kiliarius at Wurtzburg
St. Rupertus the Boii, Apostle of Bavaria
St. Albertus at Ratisbon
St. Diocola, St. Fintanus } at Constance
St. Eusebius Curensum
Theodosius, patron of Constance
Frudbart, Kuniald, Vendelin
S. Maccarius Archus
St. Hildulphus Treverensis
S. Arbogastus, St. Florence } Argentinasis
St. Eliphius at Cologne
S. Armichadus of Fuld
S. Kortilla
S. Gidilarius of Saltzburg, Marianus
S. Albinus, Ap. of Thuringia
S. Vatalis Patto
St. Kilian, Ap. of Franconia
S. Harrucus

IN THE ISLE OF MAN.

St. Germanus, first Bishop
St. Connidruis
St. Romulus
St. Machaldus

IN ICELAND.

St. Buo Apost. of whom 8 Martyrs
St. Emulphus, and 24 others

IN GREAT BRITAIN—44.

St. Columba
St. Adianus, Northumberland
St. Fuinanus St. Colmanus
St. Sellachus St. Brendanus
St. Madomnochus
St. Baneus & Tuda
St. Maidocus St. Sennanus
St. Molugga St. Scotinus
St. Ultanus Sa. Burienna
Sa. Tia & Iva
St. Piranus
Sa. Bega & Modwenna
Sa. Ceadda Faelbiius
St. Abbanus St. Eochdius
St. Cuthbertus of Lindisfarm
777 Martyrs
St. Asaph, B. of St. Asaph
St. Keranus
S. Abban of Abingdon
S. Adamannus
S. Botulphus of Botulfstowe or Boston
S. Cerlac, B. of the Mercians
S. Dicullus of Boseharn
SS. Gebanus, Indractus, Drusa
St. Maldulphus of Malmesbury & St. John

[1] We supplement many of the names from the Apologia of Stephen White, S.J. of Clonmel.

Hospitals for receiving Pilgrims and Strangers:—

900 in Ulster
900 in Connaught
930 in Leinster
1030 in Munster

IrishSaints of the same name:—

10 Gobbani
12 Dichuelli
12 Maidoci
12 Odrani
13 Camani
13 Dimini
14 Brendani
14 Finniani
14 Ronani
15 Connalli
15 Cormaci
15 Dermitii
15 Lugadii
16 Lassaræ
17 Sarrani
18 Ernini
18 Foelbei
19 Syllani
20 Kyranii
20 Ultani
22 Killiani
23 Aidi
24 Columbæ
24 Brigidiæ
25 Senani
28 Aidani
30 Cronani
34 Mochemii
43 Laveriani
58 Mochuani
55 Fintani
200 Colmani

The number of Irish Saints who preached in other countries:—

10 preached in Italy
78 preached in France
5 preached in Lorrain
13 preached in Burgundy
50 preached in Netherland
11 preached in Friesland
92 preached in Germany
26 preached in Iceland
100 preached in Scotland
59 preached in England

Councils in Ireland:—

At Lone
At Kevenu
At Meath, 1106
At Cloonia, 1162
At Cashell, 1162
At Cashell, 1172
At Cashell, 1166
At Attabuylochia, 1167
At Fiadmac, 1111
At Rathbraisil, 1115
At Ardmach, 1170
At Mellifont, 1157
At Kells, 1157
At Roscommon, 1158
At Leogane
At Innis Padrighy, St. Patrick

We know of 2229 Irish Saints, even not counting their companions, of whom 300 preached the gospel in foreign countries, not counting their companions. Of these 529 were holy abbots; 330 were bishops and martyrs, and numberless holy bishops; 31 archbishops of Armagh were saints; 21 of whom immediately succeeded each other; 990 Irish monks were martyred by the Danes in the monastery of Benchear; 1200 Irish monks were martyred by the Danes together with their abbot Abel; 777 Irishmen martyrs in England; and only one, St. Odronus, Proto martyr, was martyred in Ireland by the Irish. 23 English saints received their studies and education in Ireland; 3000 others have studied in Ireland; 100 Cambri or from Brittany have studied in Ireland. Innumerable were the Italians, French, in short from all nations who had recourse to Ireland in order to perfect themselves in their studies, and the knowledge of the scriptures; so that it may well be doubted whether Ireland acquired more glory from the great number of saints whom it sent abroad in order to teach and preach the gospel to foreign nations, or from the great number of foreigners who resorted to Ireland in order to be perfected in all manner of literature and knowledge.[1]

[1] There were four principal Universities in Ireland, viz. Ardmagh, Cashel, Lismore, and Dun-da-leathglass. In Armagh, under St. Dubthach, Bishop, anno 513, were 7000 scholars. In Cashel, under Cormac Mac Cullenan, King and Archbishop in the year 901, were 5000 students, and six hundred Conventual monks; the like number were in Lismore and Dun-da-leathglass. Many were the other great schools dispersed throughout the kingdom; whereas even after the coming of the English at Cluanraid near Ennis, there were 600 Scholars, and 350 Monks, supported by O'Brien, King of Limerick. The Irish in these days made a beginning of the University of Oxford in England, founded the University of Paris and that of Pavia. Fifty-two Catholic kings reigned in Ireland until the coming of the English, consequently, 197 kings in all reigned in Ireland until that event. Whoever reads the antiquities must be convinced that it abounded in gold and silver, as every person of distinction wore a golden ring and a golden chain; in the reign of Candaridtheach, their helmets were made of silver, all their chalices and Church utensils were made of gold and silver; and the ounce of gold paid to the Danes yearly, as a tribute for every nose in the kingdom, is a proof of their riches.—*Hugh M'Curtin.*

CHAPTER VI.

THE NORMAN INVASION.

It was thus that Ireland was situated with regard to religion and education, at the period of the invasion, which must have been regarded by the Norman conquerors of England as an inevitable and necessary supplement to the conquest of the Anglo-Saxons, though it was not attempted for a full century after the battle of Hastings. But from the time that Henry II. had obtained from the Englishman, Nicholas Breakspere, who then filled the chair of St. Peter under the name of Adrian IV., the Bull of donation which had been procured under the hypocritical representation that the Irish Church was in a state of deplorable corruption, the attempt at invasion was only a question of time. Unfortunately our countrymen were divided at the time, which made the work of the invaders comparatively easy. The Irish were admittedly more divided then, than they were at any previous period of their history; and if they suspected the lengths to which the ambition of the first invaders would extend, which it does not appear they did, for the Annals of the Four Masters say the Irish thought nothing of these "fleets of the Flemings," as they called the invaders, they were still quite unprepared for the work of treachery which has conferred lasting infamy on the name of Dermod MacMorrogh. We regret to have to record that the house of O'Brien, forgot in this crisis of the national fortunes the noble principle of its founder, Brian, who never on any occasion could be induced to avail himself of the assistance of foreigners against the general interest of the nation. Unfortunately, the king of Thomond had not yet forgiven Roderick for the assumption of the chief Sovereignty, nor forgotten the long continued supremacy of the dymasty to which he himself belonged. The important events of the invasion commencing in the descent of three or four hundred men, and terminating in the recognition by O'Connor of Henry as Suzerain, together with the formation of the armed colony called the English Pale, belonging to the general history of Ireland, cannot with propriety be given in detail in a local history. Stanihurst and a contemporary, Newbrigensis, give a very unfavorable notion of the characters, circumstances, and motives of the leaders of this expedition, which is generally supposed to have occurred in the month of May 1169, at a place near Fethard in Wexford, called Baganbon, where traces of the slight fortification mentioned by Maurice Regan in his Fragment of Irish History still exist.[1]

On the arrival of Strongbow, which had been preceded by that of Raymond le Gros, the invaders made rapid progress. They took Loughgarnan (Wexford), and entered Portlairge (Waterford) by storm. Gillemaire (or Reginald), a Dane who commanded the tower, and Ua Faelain (O'Phelan), lord of the Decies, were put to the sword, with seven hundred men. The invaders next enforced the submission of the Danish occupants of Dublin. O'Ruarc and O'Carroll were obliged to retire after besieging Dublin for three days; and Asgall, or Asculphus, the Danish ruler, was deposed to make room for King

[1] In the local traditions, these entrenchments, which are situated near Fethard, are called "Strongbow's Camp;" but the place of Strongbow's debarkation was at Waterford, as that of Raymond le Gros was at Dundonnel. The name of Baganbon is said to be derived from *Fitzstephen's* two ships, the *Bague* and *Bonne*, which the Anglo-Norman adventurers burned after their landing.

Dermod, who made several destructive forays in Meath and Breffny, and returned to Dublin laden with spoils. Macarthy, with the troops of Desmond, had gained a victory at Waterford, but this was the only success obtained at the time, and it appears to have been of little value.

It is mortifying to have to record of a scion of the illustrious house of Brian,—whose descendants, as we have stated in an earlier chapter, still occupy territories which have been in the possession of this ancient race for full 1600 years—that Donald O'Brien of Thomond, and his valiant Dalcassians, joined the enemies of their country against the Irish monarch, Roderick O'Connor—though we shall find the O'Briens and Dalcassians fighting against and defeating the English shortly after. Towards the close of the year 1170, a Connaught fleet, followed by a Connaught army, descended the Shannon, invaded Thomond, plundered Ormond, and destroyed the wooden bridge at Killaloe. The next year was rendered remarkable for the death of Dermod Macmorrogh.[1]

On the death of MacMorrogh, "Diarmaid na Gall," "Dermot of the Foreigners," as the Irish historians call him, Earl Strongbow got himself proclaimed King of Leinster, to which he had no right whatever according to the Irish laws. In the meantime, while the northern dynasts were employed in quarrelling amongst themselves, the territories of the degenerate king of Thomond were harassed by continual expeditions from Connaught.[2] In the meantime, Henry had determined upon paying a visit to Ireland, and in the month of October, 1172, he landed safely at Waterford, where he established his head quarters.[3]

On the arrival of Henry, who was accompanied in this expedition by a force consisting of four hundred knights and four hundred men at arms, Strongbow presented him with the keys of the city of Waterford, and did homage after the feudal manner for the kingdom of Leinster. Dermod M'Carthy, prince of Desmond, on the next day surrendered the city of Cork, did homage and consented to pay tribute; and King Henry, now an acknowledged sovereign, advanced at the head of his army to Lismore, from which,

[1] "Dermod Macmorrogh, King of Leinster, by whom a trembling sod was made of all Ireland—after having brought over the Saxons—after having done extensive injuries to the Irish—after having plundered and burnt many churches, such as Kells, Clonard, and others, died before the end of a year, (after his ravages through Meath), of an insufferable and unknown disease, for he became putrid while still living, through the miraculous power of God, Columbkille, and Finneen, and the other saints of Ireland whose churches he had violated and burned some time previously. He died in Ferna-mor without making a will, without repentance, without the body of Christ, without being anointed, as his evil conduct merited."—*Annals of the Four Masters.*

[2] It is pleasant to have to state that the Danes and Irish of the towns (Wexford, Waterford, and Dublin) in which the Danes had settled, offered a brave and not always ineffectual resistance to the new invaders. The Danes of Duleek, for instance, had severely revenged an insult offered by the English to their patron saint, St. Kianan, by the Knights of Milo de Cogan; but Asgall, the Dublin Dane, who had procured reinforcements from the Danes of Man and the Hebrides, was not equally successful, being defeated and slain by the same Milo de Cogan, with the leader of his allies.

At last Roderick saw the necessity of an energetic effort, and accompanied by O'Ruarc and O'Carroll, of Oriel, advanced against Strongbow and De Cogan. Unfortunately, however, he abandoned the siege of Dublin, for an expedition into Leinster, whither he proceeded for the purpose of destroying the standing corn, and leaving his camp slightly defended, was defeated, with the loss of so great a quantity of supplies that they victualled Dublin for a year. Another army of O'Ruarc was also defeated by De Cogan. In this battle O'Ruarc lost his son, who had greatly distinguished himself in the engagement which was fought outside the fortifications of the city, and with no other result than the loss of many lives on both sides.

[3] The authorities followed in this account of the English invasion, are, the Hybernia Expurgata of Giraldus Cambrensis, the Metrical Chronicle in Regan, Ware's Annals, O'Flaherty's Ogygia, and the Annals of the Four Masters, under the years in which they occur.

after a brief sojourn, he proceeded to Cashel, where, in Cormac's Chapel, he received in succession the submission of Donald O'Brien, king of Thomond, who surrendered to him his city of Limerick, promised tribute and swore fealty—an example which was followed by Donchad of Ossory, O'Faolan (Phelan) of the Desies, and other chiefs of Munster. We have already mentioned that King Roderick O'Connor had dispatched an army into Thomond to punish the defection of O'Brien, who had formed an alliance with Macmorrogh, and had fought several battles with the Irish monarch, being assisted by Fitzstephen, who was now a prisoner in Reginald's Tower at Waterford,[1] whither he had been brought by the men of Wexford. On returning to Waterford, however, Henry set Fitzstephen free, inflicted severe punishment upon his treacherous enemies, and annexed Wexford and the adjoining territory to his royal domain. There is no authority whatever in the native annals for the statement that Henry was now recognised by a meeting of the states of Ireland; nor that all the Archbishops and Bishops of Ireland now waited upon Henry, and not only tendered their own submission, but gave him letters signed and sealed, and making over to him and his heirs for ever the sovereignty of Ireland.

In the year 1172 was held the celebrated Synod of Cashel, in which various rules were made for the enforcement of discipline and morality, for there was no doctrinal matter discussed at this much misrepresented meeting, whatever assertions to the contrary may have been made by interested parties. The payment of tythes, which had been previously enjoined at the Synod of Kells, was again enforced, at this Synod, as also the catechising of infants, the rejection of marriages with relations, and the exemption of ecclesiastical property from the exactions of laymen, as well as from the *erics* or contributions for homicide. In other respects the Irish laws were not interfered with, the people being governed by their own Brehon Laws and their native usages and institutions from the time of Henry the II. to that of Elizabeth. Matthew Paris, Littleton, Ware, and even O'Connor, have strangely mistaken the nature of another meeting held by Henry at Lismore, which they misrepresent as a parliament that "communicated to Ireland the laws and customs of England." Whereas it appears clearly from the proceedings of the Synod that there was no interference with the old laws and customs. Amongst the territories granted in the county of Limerick to Fitzgerald and his relatives, besides those in Cork and Kerry, were 100,000 acres of land in the barony of Connello, ceded to them by the native family of O'Connell (from whom Castleconnell and Carrig O'Connell, now Carrigogunnell, received their name) "in consideration," says Lynch, "of lands assigned them in the counties of Kerry and Clare, where branches of that family[2] continue to the

[1] Fitzstephen was also confined in Beg Erin, in Wexford Harbour, about two miles from Wexford.

[2] DESMONDS.—The territory which gave its enormous power to the great house of Desmond, was acquired under curious circumstances. King John gave Desmond and Decies to FitzAnthony. This feudal lord, had five daughters, all of whom were married, the youngest being the wife of John FitzThomas FitzGerald. In the Irish civil wars, he was the only one of the sons-in-law of FitzAnthony who took the king's side; so Edward I., as Lord of Ireland, gave him Decies and Desmond in 1258. John FitzThomas came to Dublin with the royal lettters patent, and called upon the Lord Justice to grant him seisin of this fine estate. But Stephen de Longespee, who then held the office, had secret ties which bound him to the other sons-in-law of the late Lord of Desmond, and he would not comply with this reasonable demand. FitzThomas showed the letters patent. The king, said Longespee, has been grossly deceived. Furious at such a charge, the haughty Geraldine departed from Dublin, and set the first example of resistance to the constituted authorities for which his house were afterwards so famous. He called the tenants of

present day." At an earlier period the O'Tracies are mentioned in the Annals of the Four Masters as chief of these territories.[1]

Decies and Desmond together, showed them the letters patent, and then took forcible possession of that extensive country. The King's Treasurer refused to receive the rent due to the crown, the King's Justice refused to acknowledge him as owner of these lands; but FitzThomas eventually succeeded against them both, was created Earl of Desmond, and left these estates to his posterity. And by it a part of them is still held; for the Knights of Glin and Kerry are Geraldines of the Desmond Branch; the great Mitchelstown estate has descended to the Earls of Kingston, as direct heirs to the White Knights, also Geraldines; and FitzAnthony's lordship of Decies, passing to the younger son of one of the Earls of Desmond, is still possessed by his direct heir, the fair lady in whom the great family of Fitzgerald of the Decies ended, having given her hand and property to a Villiers, from which marriage Lord Stuart de Decies descends.

[1] Maurice Regan thus continues the history of the king's movements, as we find him translated in the quaint version by Sir George Carew, Lord President of Munster, contained in Harris's Hibernica:—

"The Kynge, making but little staie at Waterford, marched into Dublin, whych Citie the Earle deliverid unto him; who committed the keepeinge thereof to Hugh de Lacy.

"After some small abode at Dublyn, the Kynge tooke his Jornay into Mounster, where the Archbushop of Cashell came unto hym; at Lismore he gave Direction for the building of a Castle; from whence he returned into Leinster.

"The Kynge made his aboade at Dublin, and the Earle Richard at Kildare; and in thys Tyme of the Kyng's beinge in Ireland all sorts of Victualles were at excessive Rates.

"While the Kynge remained at Dublin, by Messingers and Intelligence out of England he was certified that his son, the yonge King Henry, had rebelled against him, and that Normandy was in Danger to revolt unto hym.

"This ill news troubled the Kynge beyond all Measure; and inforced him to hasten his return out of Ireland. The Cittie of Waterford he left in the Custodie of Robert Fitz Bernard, and Dublyn unto Hugh de Lacy. Robert Fitz Stephen, Meyler Fitz Henry, and Myles Fitz David, were in a sort restrained, and to remain at Dublyn with Lacy. Befor his departur from Dublyn he gave unto Hugh de Lacy the Inheritance of all Meath, to hold of hym at fifty Knights Fees, and unto John de Courcey he gave all Ulster, if he could but conquer it.

"When the Kynge had taken provisionall Order for the Affaires of Ireland, he went to Weixford, where he imbarqued, and arrived at Portfinan in Wales, halfe a League from St. David's, and in his Companie Miles de Cogan, whom he carryed with him out of Ireland; and from thence with all possible Expedition he passed through England, and so into Normandie.

"The King being departid, the Earl Richard returned into Fernes, and ther he gave his Daughter in Marriage to Robert de Quincy, and with her the inheritance of the Duffren and the Constableship of Leinster, with the Banner and Ensigne of the same; the Wordes of the Author are these—

Sa fille i' ad Marie	His Daughter he married
A Robert de Quincy, lad donc	To Robert de Quincy;
Iloc esteit le Mariage	And when the Marriage was solemnised,
Vecent fut le barnage,	He gave to Robert de Quincy
A Robert la Donat de Quincy	Not only the Duffereyn,
Et tut le Duffer altreffi	But the Constableship of Leinster,
Le Constable de Leynestre	And the Ensign and Banner thereof.
Et l'Ensigne et le Bannere.	

From thence he went to Kildare, makeing manie incursions unto Ophalie upon O'Dempsie, Lord of that Countrey, who refused to come upon hym, and to deliver Hostages. He gave Maurice de Prendergast* (in performance of his promise made unto him when he brought him into Ireland) Fernegenal, for the service of ten Knights, which was afterwards conferred on Robert Fitz-Godobert, but by what means he obtained it I know not."—*Maurice Regan's Fragment of the History of Ireland.*

This Fragment is now published by Pickering, the text carefully made out by the eminent scholar, Francisque Michel. And it appears that the poet sets out by stating, not that he is Maurice Regan, but that he obtained his information direct from Maurice Regan.

* PRENDERGAST.—Maurice de Prendergast, one of the most eminent of the companions of Strongbow in the conquest of Ireland, was Lord of Prendergast, a castle and small parish near Haverford West, in Pembrokeshire. He is traditionally reported to have been related to Strongbow by his mother. Dowling's Annals style him "nobilis." Holinshed says he was "a gentleman, born and bred in South Wales;" a righte valiante captain," and a "lustie and hardie man, born about Milford, in West Wales." Whilst Giraldus gives him likewise the character of being "vir probus et strenuus."

He was the first to bring reinforcements to Robert Fitz-Stephen, reaching Ireland the day after that celebrated soldier, having under his command two ships, ten knights, and sixty archers. This was in May, 1169; Dowling says on the 2nd of that month.

The rebellion of the king of Desmond's son against his father, who had put him to death, is explained by the fact of these facile surrenders of the

We find him taking a prominent part in many of the ensuing fights, which are graphically described in the contemporary poem, the "Conquest of Ireland," partly derived from information furnished by Maurice Regan, the secretary of king Dermod.

In the great fight with the Prince of Ossory, when that dynast had almost defeated the joint army of king Dermod and the English, it was the personal influence and words of Maurice de Prendergast that persuaded the allies to make their third and successful assault on the fortifications erected by Donald of Ossory. His address is given in the "Conquest of Ireland," Juic 666, which may be modified into French as follows:—

"Seigneurs barons communals [comrades and fellow soldiers]
Hastivement passons nous icel val.
Que nous fussions en la montagne!
En dur champ, et en la plaine!
Car armes vous aimez, les plusieurs
Vassals hardies et combateurs:
Et les traiteres sont tous nus
Hauberts ni brunes (?) n'ont vetus;
Pourquoi, si tournous en sur champ
Ils n'auront de mort garant." [No security against death].

We thus find that the superiority of the English arms and armour was an important ingredient in the rapid conquest of Ireland.

Dermod M'Morrough eventually became so overbearing to the English, after Strongbow's departure from Ireland, as to disgust many of them, and among others the haughty Maurice de Prendergast. He determined to return to Wales with his retinue, consisting of 200 soldiers. But King Dermod opposing his designs by force and treachery, Maurice joined with Donald, the prince of Ossory, in attacking Dermod with success. But Donald and his Irish could not act long in cordial alliance with the English, who were under the orders of Prendergast; and after many adventures, the latter eventually fought his way back to Wales. The next year, 1170, however, saw Strongbow and Prendergast on their return to Ireland, with fifteen hundred men; where they landed on the eve of St. Bartholomew; or, as the Anglo Norman has it;

"Solum le dit as ansciens
Bien tost apres, Richard li quens
A Waterford ariva:
Bien quinz cent od sei mena.
La vile Seint Bartholomee
Esteit li quens arrive."—Sec. V. 1501.

We next read of Prendergast as ambassador, jointly with the Archbishop of Dublin, from the Normans besieged in that city to their Irish besiegers. But as the latter would not agree to permit the Norman lords to hold Leinster, even as a fief of Roderick O'Connor, the king of Connaught, the negociation had no result, and eventually the Irish were defeated.

"E plus de mil e cinc cent
L ont ossis de cele gent
E des Englois i ont naufrè
Ne mes un serjant a pè.
Le champ esteit remis le jor
A Ricard, le bon contur;
Et les Yreis sunt returnez
Desconfis e debaretez.
Cum Den volait, a cele feis
Remist le champ a nos Engleis;
Tant trovèrent garnesun,
Ble, forin e bacun,
Desque un an en la citè
Vittaille uvent a plentè."—V. 1950.

The above extract shows us at how early a date the "bacun," for which Limerick has been so long celebrated, was an Irish commodity, as it was from the pillage of Roderick's camp, that the English obtained the "vittaille a plonte."

O'Brien, the monarch of Munster, had joined Strongbow, who was his brother-in-law, both having married daughters of MacMorrogh. The gallant Prince of Ossory, deeming it hopeless to contend further with the English, obtained a safe conduct, and visited Strongbow at Idough, where he and the king of Munster were encamped with 2,000 men. Maurice de Prendergast agreed to be his conductor. But when he appeared before Strongbow, the latter violently upbraided him for opposing Dermod, his legitimate monarch; and O'Brien, who coveted the rich lands of Ossory, pressed Strongbow to treat Donald as a traitor.

Irish princes; and it is curious to reflect how easily the same immense property, which now passed from the Mac Carthies to the Geraldines, passed again to other English strangers after the rebellion of the usurping Earl of Desmond, from the descendants of these very invaders. In the latter case the English had no right whatever to transfer the property any more than in the former, for the rebellious Earl of Desmond was not the lawful owner of the property which the English confiscated![1]

In the year 1175, according to Ware, who follows the account given by English authors, Henry II. sent Nicholas Prior of Willingford, and William Fitz-Aldelm, ancestor of the De Burgos, to Ireland, with the bull of Pope Alexander III., which confirmed that of Adrian, and was read and approved of in an assembly of bishops at Waterford, conferring on this Prince the title of Lord of Ireland and other privileges. But there is no mention of this in the Irish Annals.—After discharging this commission, Fitz-Aldelm and Nicholas, it is stated, repaired to the King in Normandy, when they succeeded so far in prejudicing Henry against Raymond, that he ordered his recall.—Just, however, as he was on the point of departing, O'Brien of Thomond surrounded Limerick with a large force, and the troops refusing to march under any but Raymond, Strongbow was obliged to restore him to

"Le reis O'Brien vet conseiller
At gentil cuntguerrer
Qu'il feit prendre li trecheur
Si li feit livrer a deshonur."—V. 2094.

Nor was O'Brien the only chief inclined to this act of treachery.

"E li Baruns, san mentir,
Le voleint tuz consentir."

But Prendergast burned with indignation at such a breach of martial honor. He ordered his own retainers to arms, and took instant steps to secure the sanctity of the oath which accompanied the safe conduct to the Prince of Ossory.

"Quent morice le barun
Garniz esteit del traisun,
Sa gent feseit par tut mander
Que euz se fesent tost armer.
Dunt se est Morice escrié:
Baruns, que avez enpense?
Vos feiz avez trespassez,
Vers moi estez parjurez."

He swore by his sword no one should injure the Ossorian; and he carried out his resolution; for Strongbow gave him up that prince, and he brought him back in safety to his own camp, slaying, of the O'Briens, "u nef u diz," nine or ten whom he found pillaging the Prince's territory.

Wearied with this life, but still a warrior even when a monk, Prendergast gave his lands of that name in Pembrokeshire to the Knights of St. John of Jerusalem, and joined that order. Their chief establishment in Ireland was the famous Hospital of Kilmainham; and of this monastery he was Prior, and died in possession of that dignity in 1205. William, his younger son, was ancestor of the Prendergasts of Mayo, called Mac Maurice after their great ancestor, and who gave their name to the barony of Clanmorris, Claremorris, and other localities in Mayo. Philip, the eldest son, was married to Maude, the daughter of the ill-fated Robert de Quincy, Constable of Leinster, who married Strongbow's daughter by his first marriage, and was slain in battle a few days later. From him descended the Prendergasts of Enniscorthy, Newcastle, Beauver, and Mitchelstown. The latter was formerly described as in the County of Limerick. William de Prendergast of Kilbyde was mayor of Limerick in 1318—See the Plea, No. 88, in the 11th of Edward II. And the name frequently occurs about this time, the family estates extending from Doneraile, by Mitchelstown, to Newcastle, near Clonmel, a mountain district of which the northern slopes still partly belong to the county of Limerick.

[1] It appears from the Irish State Papers that even so late as the year 1508, the Kavenaghs, the representatives of the royal house of Leinster, were paid eighty marks yearly by the English Government as *cios dhu*, or black rent, besides being allowed £40 by the county Wexford on account of their descent, or rather of their still remaining powers to make themselves dreaded within the limits of their ancient sovereignty.

his command, and ordered him to proceed to Cashel, near which city O'Brien, raising the siege of Limerick, had strongly entrenched himself. On this occasion Raymond was, we regret to say, aided by the chiefs of Ossory and Kinsale, to whose exhortations, as well as to the impetuous valour of Meyler Fitzhenry, Raymond was greatly indebted for the victory which he obtained.

The period of Irish subjugation was now not long deferred—though the jurisdiction of the English can hardly be said to have extended beyond the limits of the pale until the reign of James I. The brave king of Thomond was now obliged to ask for peace, and the Irish monarch Roderick, finding it impossible to make head against his enemies, had at last determined to send an embassy to England to make as good terms for himself as he could.[1]

[1] The ambassadors appointed to negotiate for the unfortunate Roderick, were Catholicus or Cayley O'Duffy, archbishop of Tuam, the abbot of Clonfert, and "Master Laurence," Chancellor to Roderick, who, according to some writers, was no other than the illustrious patriot St. Laurence O'Toole, who after doing all he could to save the independence of his native country, retired to France where he died. The contracting parties met at Windsor, and the result is thus briefly described in the Leinster Annals:—"Anno 1175, Catholicus O'Duffy came out of England from the Emperor's son, with the peace of Ireland and the royal sovereignty of all Ireland to Rory O'Connor, and his own Corgeadh (province) to each provincial king in Ireland, and their rents to Rory." By this treaty Roderick became a tributary king, but only two kings of the Irish pentarchy, and three of the principal cities, were exempted from his jurisdiction, and we shall find his descendants, as well as those of the king of Thomond, exercising their sovereignty to a late period in the history of Ireland. In the some council Henry appointed an Irishman named Augustin to the bishopric of Waterford, and sent him to Ireland to be consecrated by Donatus, bishop of Cashel. At this period the following were the chief divisions of Ireland. Desmond, under the Mac Carthys; Thomond under the O'Briens; Hy Kinselagh, or Leinster, under the Hy Kinsallagh line of Mahons; the South Hy Niall under the Clan Colmans, otherwise the O'Malachlins; the North Hy Niall under the O'Neills and O'Donnells, who had not yet submitted to the English; and Hy Brune, together with Hy Fiacra, otherwise Connaught, under the O'Connors. A more detailed list of the Irish territories and chiefs is given by O'Halloran, which may be acceptable to our readers, as containing an account of the principal chieftainries of Thomond, at the time when the fatal chain of foreign domination was riveted by the insensate divisions between the natives, which the new Lord Paramount, Henry II. knew so well how to foment:—

Alphabetical list of ancient Irish territories in Limerick, Clare, and Tipperary, and by what Milesian families possessed, both before and after the invasion of Henry II.

Aherloe, in the county of Limerick, the estate of a branch of the O'Briens.

Aine Cliach, in the county of Limerick, the lordship of O'Kirwick.

Aos-Cliach, extending from Cnoc Greins, to near Limerick, was the patrimony of O'Connell, and Castle Connel his chief residence.

Aradh-Cliach, in the county of Tipperary, near Killaloe, the estate of Mac O'Brien Arad. Its first proprietor was O'Donegan, of the Ernian race.

Ardah, east of Cashel, in the county of Tipperary, the lordship of O'Dea.

Bally-Hallinan, in the county of Limerick, the ancient estate of O'Hallinan; but in later times Mac Sheetries [Qu. Mac Sheehies?]

Brurigh, a royal mansion in the county of Limerick, the seat of O'Donovan, chief of Kerry.

Burren, or eastern Corcamroadh, a barony in the county of Clare, the principality of O'Loughlin.

Cahir, in the county of Tipperary, the estate of O'Lonargan.

Cairbre-Aodhbha, now called Kenry, in the county of Limerick, the ancient estates of O'Donovan, O'Clerine, and O'Flanery.

Callain, in the county of Clare, the territory of O'Hehir.

Carran Fearaidhe, or Cnoc-Aine, in the county of Limerick, the estate of O'Grady.

Ceil Tanan, in the county of Clare, the estate of O'Mollony.

Cineal-Fermaic, in Thomond, the estate of O'Dea.

Clan-Derla, in the county of Clare, the ancient territory of Mac Mahon.

Cleanagh, in the county of Clare, the property of Mac Mahon.

Cluan Mac Diarmada, in the county of Clare, the estate of the Mac Clanchys, hereditary lord justices of Thomond.

Conal-Gabhra, or Ibh-Conal-Gabhra, the present baronies of Connello, in the county of Limerick, the ancient territory of O'Connell; but afterwards we find it possessed by the O'Kinealies, and O'Cuileans, or Collins [and long before the invasion by the O'Tracies and Scanlans].

Conuil-Jachtarach, or lower Conella, in the county of Limerick, besides the Cinealies, and O'Collins, we find the O'Sheehans had lordships there.

The treaty of Windsor took place in the year before the defeat of the king of Thomond. Not long after the latter event Macarthy conferred an extensive territory in the county of Kerry upon Maurice, son of Raymond, who became powerful by his marriage with the daughter of Milo de Cogan, and gave his name to the territory of Clan Morris, and to his descendants of Fitzmaurice as represented by the Marquis of Lansdowne.[1]

Corafin, a territory in the county of Clare, the estate of O'Quinn and O'Heffernan.

Corca-Bhaisgin, now the Barouy of Moiarta, in the county of Clare, the ancient territory of O'Baisen and O'Donal, but for some centuries past the estate of the Mac Mahons of Thomond.

Corcamruadh, a principality in the county of Clare, the territory of O'Connor-Carcamruadh, of the Irian race.

Cosmach, in the county of Limerick, belonging to a branch of the O'Briens.

Cuallachda, in the county of Clare, the patrimony of O'Dubhgin, or Dugin.

Darach, in Thomond, the patrimony of Mac Donnel descendant from Brian Boirumhe.

Diseart-ui-Deagha, in the county of Clare, the estate of O'Dea.

Eile-ui-Fhogerta, in the county of Tipperary, the ancient territory of O'Fogerty.

Eoganacht-Aine-Cliach, in the county of Limerick, the lordship of O'Kerwick.

Eoganacht-Cashel, extended from Cashel to Clonmel; its principal chief was Mac Carthy, head of the Eugenian line.

Eoganacht-Graffan, in the county of Tipperary, the lordship of O'Sullivan; and their principal seat was at Cnoc Graffan on the banks of the Shure.

Faith-ui-Halluran, extending from Tulla to near Clare in Thomond, the estate of O'Halloran of the Heberean race.

Fearan-Saingil, called Single-Land, but more properly the Land of the Holy Angel, near Limerick, the ancient estate of the O'Conuins or Cuneens.

Ibh-Fiarach, now called Tuam-ui-Mheara, in the county of Tipperary, the lordship of O'Mara.

Muiccadha, in the county of Limerick, the lordship of Mac Eniry. The remains of a large monastery, and other public buildings, at Castle Town Mac Eniry, yet bespeak the piety and splendor of this family, of which there are scarcely any remains at this day.

Muin-Tir-Conlachta (I suppose the present Tuam-Greine) in the county Clare, the ancient lordship of O'Gra or O'Grady.

Muifcridh-Jarrar-Feimhin, near Emly, in the county of Tipperary, the estate of O'Carthy.

Muifcridh-Luachra, near Kilmallock, in the county of Limerick, the estate of O'Hea.

Ouen-ui-Glearna, now Six Mile Bridge, in the county of Clare, the estate of O'Kearney.

Pobul-ui-Brien, now a barony in the county of Limerick, the country of a branch of the O'Brien family.

Rath-Conan, in the country of Limerick, the estate of O'Casey. The present Viscount Pery, enjoys a part of his estate, in right of his great-grandmother, the heiress of O'Casey.

Sliabh-Scott, in the county of Clare, the estate of the Mac Bruodins, hereditary historians of North Munster.

Traidaire, or Tradraighe, now a barony in the county of Clare, before the incarnation, the residence of the Clana-Deagha, or Munster Knights, from Daire, the son of Deagha, so called, and which words import the warriors of Daire. Lord Inchiquin is the present chief of Traidaire.

Triocha- cead-o-Claisin, the barony of Tulla, in the county of Clare, the estate of MacNamara, hereditary lord Marshal of Thomond.

Tuam-ui-Mhara, in the county of Tipperary, the lordship of O'Mara.

Tuaath-Muimhain, North Munster, or Thomond, extended from the isles of Aran to Sliabh Eibhline, near Cashell, to Carran Fearaidh, or Knoc Aine, in the county of Limerick; and from Luin na Conor, or Loop Head, to Sliabh Dafa, in Ossory; but in later ages it was circumscribed to the present county of Clare, of which the O'Briens are hereditary princes.

Tullichrien, in the county of Clare, the estate of O'Gorman.

Tuliallaithne, in the county of Tipperary, the estate of O'Ryan, or O'Mul Ryan.—*O'Halloran.*

[1] In the beginning of June 1176, according to Keating (according to others in May 1177), the celebrated Strongbow died at Dublin after a lingering illness, which the native historians as usual, describe as a providential visitation for his rapacions tyranny over clergy and laity. His monument, which is of stone and which has attached a small broken figure, traditionally said to be his son, whom he is said to have put to death for cowardice, stands at the South wall of the nave of Christ Church Cathedral. It is the figure of a stalwart knight, armed cap-a-pee, having the legs crossed as usual with crusaders. Money payments, I have heard, used to be made upon it heretofore, as on "the nail" in Limerick, and over it appears the following inscription, inserted in a tablet in the wall:—

"This auncient monument of Rychard Strangbowe, called Comes Strangvensis, Lord of Chepsto: and Ogny, the fyrst and pryncipal invader of Irland, 1169, qvi obiit 1177. The monument was brochen by the fall of the rooff and bodye of Christes Church, in anno, 1562, and set up agayne at the chargys of the Right Honorable Sir Henrie Sydney, Knight of the Noble Order, L: President of Wales, L: Deputy of Irland."

In the year 1174 the command of the forces was once more given to Harvey of Mount Maurice, who recommended Strongbow to join him in an expedition against Donnell O'Brien, who, following the example of Macarthy in Cork, had wrested the city of Limerick from the English intruders. Strongbow called to his assistance the Danes of Dublin, and Roderick O'Connor advanced into Ormond to repel him, Donnell O'Brien led his brave Dalcassians towards Durlas O'Fogarty (Eliogarty), now Thurles, where they gained a complete and signal victory. According to the Norman accounts, the Dublin Danes were attacked while overcome by sleep, and slaughtered, almost unresistingly, to the number of 400. Ware ascribes the glory of this result to Donnell O'Brien, king of Limerick, but he calculates that the loss of the English was not so considerable as that here given.

This diasastrous defeat had such an effect upon Strongbow that he shut himself up at Waterford,[1] whilst the Irish throughout the country rose up in arms.

In this emergency Strongbow was obliged to have recourse to his old friend Raymond le Gros, whose anger he propitiated by offering him the hand of his sister Basilica, together with the offices which had been previously refused to him.[2] The rapidity and efficiency of Raymond's arrangements were worthy of his promised reward; and having hastily collected a force of 30 knights, 100 men at arms, and 300 archers, he set out accompanied by his friend Meyler, and safely arrived at Waterford, just as the Danes were meditating a general massacre of the English garrison; which, when Strongbow left for Wexford with his new allies, actually took place, except such of the garrison as had been left in Reginald's Tower, which eventually took possession of the town.[3]

During the celebration of the nuptials of Raymond and Basilia de Clare, who brought her lord the dowry lands of Fethard, Glascarrig, and Idrone, besides the high offices before mentioned, and the territory called after him "Grace's County" in the present county of Kilkenny, news arrived of Roderick's advance to Dublin; and Raymond hastily marched to Meath, where he is said by some to have cut off a few of the retiring forces of Roderick; but the more credible account is, that the undisciplined forces of the Irish, who seem to have consisted of raw levies, appear to have been disbanded before Raymond arrived.

Raymond now turned his attention to Limerick, where he had determined to revenge the disastrous defeat inflicted upon his father-in-law at Thurles by the brave king of Thomond, but where he was warmly received by the brave defenders of the walls which hung over the margin of the river, although they were obliged eventually to yield to the invaders, who, after committing the usual ravages, re-established the English garrison, and withdrew with the rest of their forces to Leinster.

In the twenty-fourth year of Henry II. (1177), Raymond le Gros alone discharged the regal functions in Ireland, and committed the city of Limerick to the guardianship of Donald O'Brien, prince of Thomond, who shortly after having broken down the southern point of the bridge set fire to the city. This was actually witnessed by Raymond le Gros as he departed for Dublin.

In 1178,[4] the interminable feuds of the Eoganachts and Dalgais, desolated

[1] According to some authorities in the little Island near Waterford.
[2] Giraldus Cambrensis.
[3] Hibernia Expug. 24.
[4] Annals of Innisfall.

the whole province of Munster. Dr. O'Brien, one of the descendants of the house of Thomond, supplies us with an account of the part borne in them by the O'Briens.[1]

The annals of the Four Masters have a curious entry at the year 1180:—"Lorcan O'Toole, *i.e.*, Laurence, archbishop of Leinster and legate of Ireland, suffered martyrdom in England." His death really took place at the monastery of Eu, in Normandy. He was connected maternally with the house of Thomond. His mother, according to the authorities quoted by Ware,[2] who gives the above anecdote, being Ingen O'Brien, that is, daughter of the prince. His father was the youngest son of Murchertach O'Toole, the head of the second most powerful house in Leinster, and at that time lord of Hy-Muiraadhaigh, comprising the southern half of Kildare, not of Imaile in Wicklow, as Lanigan and Moore state, though their family did at this time take possession of Imaile, which had been previously possessed by O'Teige. Ledwich has curiously and characteristically mistaken Hy-Muiraidhaigh (which is called O'Murethi by Giraldus) for O'Moore. We have been thus particular about this illustrious man, not merely on account of his connection with the kings of Limerick, but of the important part that he played in the history of these evil times.

In the year 1182, the annals of the Four Masters record the treacherous murder of Brian, the son of Turlough O'Brien, by Randal Macnamara Beg.

In the year 1185, "the son of the king of England, that is, John, the son of Henry, came to Ireland with a fleet of sixty ships to assume the government of the kingdom. He took possession of Dublin and Leinster, and erected castles at Tipraid-Fachtna and Ardfinan, out of which he plundered Munster, but his people were defeated with great slaughter by Donnell O'Brien. The son of the king of England then returned to England to complain to his father of Hugo de Lacy, who was the king of England's deputy in Ireland on his (John's) arrival, and who had prevented the Irish kings from sending him (John) either tribute or hostages."[3]

1 "A.D. 1178. Donald O'Brien, at the head of the entire Dalcassian tribes, greatly distressed and reduced all the Eugenians, laid waste their country with fire and sword, and obliged the dispersed Eugenians to seek for shelter in the woods and fastnesses of Eve-Eachach, on the south of the river Lee. In this expedition they routed the O'Donovans of Ive-Figeinte, or Cairbre Aedhbha, in the county of Limerick, and the O'Collins of Ive-Conail Gabhra, or Lower Connello, in said county, beyond the mountain of Mangerton, to the western parts of the county of Cork: here these two exiled Eugenian families, being powerfully assisted by the O'Mahonys, made new settlements for themselves in the antient properties of the O'Donoghues, O'Learys, and O'Driscolls, to which three families the O'Mahonys were always declared enemies to the borders of Loughlene, where Auliff Mor O'Donoghue, surnamed Cumsinach, had made some settlements before this epoch.

2 Ware's Bishops.

3 The ruins of the castle, built at Ardfinan, are still to be seen on a rock overhanging the river Suir, in the barony of Iffa and Offa, and county of Tipperary, where Cox, Leland and Moore have also placed the castle of Tipraid Tachtus. The followers of prince John are described by Giraldus, Hanmer and Campion, in the most uncomplimentary language. Giraldus describes them as talkative, boastful, enormous swearers, insolent; and Campion as "great quaffers, lourdens, proud-bellied swaines, fed with extortion and bribery."—*History of Ireland.*

In the year 1188 we find the following entries in the Annals of the Four Masters:—"Edwina, the daughter of O'Quin and Queen of Munster, died on her pilgrimage at Derry, victorious over the world and the devil." This lady was daughter of O'Quin, chief of Munster-Iffernan, in Thomond,* now represented by the Earl of Dunraven. "John de Courcy and the English of Ireland made an incursion into Connaught, accompanied by Connor O'Dermot; upon which Connor Moinmoy, King of Connaught, assembled all the chieftains of Connaught, who were joined by Donnell O'Brien, at the head of some of the men of Munster."—*Annals of the Four Masters.*

* The O'Quins and O'Deas were the chief families in the district called from the latter, Dysert O'Dea.—*See Bishop O'Dea's Life in the Ecclesiastical part.*

In 1192, the English settlers in Leinster, taking advantage of the quarrels between the sons of Roderick O'Connor, wasted the territory of Thomond, but they suffered severely for their temerity. In the year 1193, say the annals of the Four Masters, "the English of Leinster committed great depredations against Donnell O'Brien. They pursued over the plains of Killaloe, and directed their course westwards, until they had reached a plain near the Shannon, in the parish of Killaloe, in the east of the county Clare, where they were opposed by the Dalcassians, who slew a great number of them. In this expedition the English erected the castles of Kilfeacle (about four and a-half miles to the east of the town of Tipperary), and Knockgraffon (about two miles to the north of the town of Cahir). Donnell O'Brien defeated the English of Ossory and made a great slaughter of them."[1]

The neighbourhood of Thurles was the scene of two defeats of the English by the brave king of Thomond.[2]

At this period, no doubt by English influence, the see of Killaloe was united to Roscrea, or Eile, and to the celebrated see of Inniscattery, or Scattery Island.[3] The death of Aedh or Hugh O'Beaghan, last bishop of Inniscattery, is set down in the annals of the Four Masters at 1188, and that of the last bishop of Eile and Roscrea, namely, of Isaac O'Cuainan, at 1161. The see of Inniscattery extended to both sides of the estuary.[4]

[1] A memorial of these defeats of the English still remains in "THE GRAVES OF THE LEINSTER MEN," which are situated in the barony of Owney and Arra, not far distant from the Corbally Slate Quarries, about two miles N.E. of Derry Castle House, and in the valley that lies between Thoum-Thinna (the Wave of Fire) mountain and the high lands behind Derry, Ryninch, Castletown, &c., &c. These graves are marked on the Ordnance Survey Map of Ireland, so remarkable and historic are they. The view from the graves is grand and beautiful, embracing the Shannon for several miles, the Holy Islands (Inniscailthra), Scariff Bay, and a great part of Tipperary and Connaught. The people look upon these ancient depositaries of the remains of the invaders with unaccountable veneration or rather superstition. It is only lately that the bones of the occupant of one of the graves were disturbed during some drainage operations, when the peasantry declared they discovered a number of supernatural footprints near the resting places of these venerable warriors, and on the margin of a certain reservoir which was formed on the side of the mountain to drive a wheel. The wanton destruction of one of the graves, some time before, had occasioned great indignation among the people. In the year 1194, the annals record the death of the illustrious Donaldmore, king of Thomond, in the following language:—"Donnell, son of Turlough O'Brien, king of Munster, a beaming lamp in peace and war, and the brilliant star of the hospitality and valour of the Momonians and of *all* Leth-Mogha, died, and Murtagh, his son, assumed his place."—*Annals of the Four Masters.*

[2] The Four Masters mention that in A.D. 1213, O'Donnell having, in pursuit of Muireagh O'Daly, plundered and laid waste Thomond, followed him to the gates of Limerick, and pitching his camp at Moin-ui Donnell (O'Donnell's marsh, so-called from that circumstance), laid siege to the city, upon which the inhabitants, at the command of O'Donnell, expelled Muireagh.—*Annals of the Four Masters.*

We find the following entry in the Annals of Clonmacnoise for the year 1216:—"Geoffry Marche (De Marisco) founded a castle at Killaloe and forced the inhabitants to receive an English bishop." The name of this bishop was Robert Travers. He was afterwards deprived (in 1221), and until the time of the Reformation the see continued to be filled almost exclusively by Irishmen, there having been but one Englishman, Robert de Mulfield, who succeeded in 1409.—*Harris's Ware, vol.* 1, *pp.* 521-593.

[3] Usher's Primordia, 873.

[4] Sir J. Ware, in his history of Irish bishops, gives the following account of the bishops and abbots of Inniscattery:—"Nor ought it to be forgotten, that the bishopricks of Limerick and Inis-Catay, or the Island of Gata (the Cat or Monster, which St. Senan is said to have banished), were united about the end of the twelfth or beginning of the thirteenth century. [But, according to Ussher, the possessions of it are divided between the sees of Limerick, Killaloe and Ardfert.]

"We shall here take occasion to mention what occurs in ancient monuments, concerning the see of Inis-Catay. It is said to have been founded by St. Patrick about the middle of the fifth century, and to be governed by him for some time, whom St. Senan succeeded; to which alludes the passage before cited, p. 34, where St. Patrick is introduced prophesying that Senan, not then born, should be his successor. The prelates of this Church are sometimes called bishops and sometimes abbots; and there are very few traces to be met with, concerning them, in antient writers; the following are all I can collect:—

The last days of Donogh Cairbreagh O'Brien, were chiefly occupied with conflicts with the chiefs of Connaught and their allies, the supporters of the sons of Roderick O'Connor, against their cousins, the sons of Cathal Crovderg or the Red-handed O'Connor, and nephews of O'Brien. The death of Cairbreagh took place in 1242. He was succeeded by his son, Connor na Suidane, the founder of the monastery of Corcomroe, in which his tomb and effigy are still preserved. Cairbreagh O'Brien was only the chief of the Dalcassians, not king of Munster. He was the first that took the title of The O'Brien.

The next events of the history of the princes of Thomond, are well condensed by Professor O'Curry, from the valuable Irish tract called "The History of the Wars of Thomond." The natural feelings of the worthy professor are characteristically expressed in the following quotation:—

"The Anglo-Norman power which came into the country in the year 1172, had constantly gained ground; generation after generation, as you are of course aware, in consequence chiefly of the mutual jealousies and isolated opposition of the individual chiefs and clans among the Gaedhils. At last the two great sections of the country, the races of the north and the south, resolved to take counsel and select some brave man of either of the ancient royal houses to be elevated to the chief command of the whole nation, in order that its power and efficiency might be the more effectually concentrated and brought into action against the common enemy. To this end then, a convention was arranged to take place between Brian O'Neill, the greatest leader of the north at this time, and *Tadhg*, the son of Conor O'Brien, at *Caeluisge* [Narrow Water], on Loch Erne (near the present Castle Calwell). O'Neill came attended by all the chiefs of the north and a numerous force of armed men. O'Brien, though in his father's lifetime, went thither at the head of the Munster and Connaught chiefs and a large body of men in arms. The great chiefs came face to face at either bank of the Narrow Water, but their old destiny accompanied them, and each came to the convention fully

"St. Senan, bishop and abbot of Inis-Cathay, was born in Carko-Baskind, a maritime territory in the county of Clare, and was descended by his father Ergindus, from Conair, the first king of Ireland. His mother's name was Comgella, of a Munster family also. He received his first rudiments and the monastic habit from the abbot Cassidanus, and was afterwards a disciple to Natalis, abbot of Kilmanach, in Ossory, and then to St. David, bishop of Menevia, in Wales. Returning to Ireland, he founded many monasteries in several parts of Munster, and at last fixed his seat at InissCathay. He died on the first of March, 544, the same day and year with St. David beforementioned, and was buried in his own monastery at Inis-Cathay. Colgann hath published his life in Latin verse out of the antient book of Kilkenny; to which he hath added a supplement in prose from an Irish manuscript. To these I refer such readers who are desirous of knowing more of St. Senan." So far Ware who gives the following list:—

Odran, bishop of Inis-Cathay, was the disciple and immediate successor of St. Senan. He flourished about the year 580.

Aidin, bishop of Inis-Cathay, as mentioned in the martyrology of Marian Gorman, and his festival observed on the 31st of August.

Another Aidin, abbot of Inis-Cathey, died in 861.

Flathbert, abbot of Inis-Cathay, and afterwards king of Munster after Cormac Mac Culenan, died in 940. He was the great fomentor and firebrand of that war in which Cormac lost his life.

Colla, abbot and doctor or master of Inis-Cathay, died in 994.

O-Burgus, Comorban of Inis-Cathay, died in 1081.

Aid O-Beachain, bishop of Inis-Cathay, died in 1138, and soon after his death the see of Inis-Cathay was united to that of Limerick.

It was in the reign and by command of Cairbreach (so called because he had been fostered in Carbery), that the building of the beautiful Franciscan Abbey of Ennis was commenced. It was finished by his son and successor, Conor na Siudaine, and it is frequently referred to in the annals. A short time previously to the commencement of the work, Donogh Cairbreagh had removed his residence to Clonbroad.

determined that himself alone should be the chosen leader and king of Erinn. The convention was, as might be expected a failure; and the respective parties returned home more divided, more jealous, and less powerful than ever to advance the general interests of their country, and to crush, as united they might easily have done, that crafty, unscrupulous, and treacherous foe, which contrived then and for centuries after to rule over the clans of Erinn, by taking advantage of those dissensions among them, which the stranger always found means but too readily to foment and to perpetuate.

"This convention or meeting of O'Brien and O'Neill took place in the year 1258, according to the annals of the Four Masters; and in the year 1259, *Tadhg* O'Brien died. In the year after that again, that is, 1260, Brian O'Neill himself was killed in the battle of Down Patrick, by John de Courcy and his followers.

"The premature death of *Tadhg* O'Brien so preyed upon his father, that for a considerable time he forgot altogether the duties of his position and the general interests of his people. This state of supineness encouraged some of his subordinate chiefs to withhold from him his lawful tributes.

"Among these insubordinates was the O'Lochlainn of Burren, whose contumacy at length roused the old chief to action; and in the year 1267 he marched into O'Lochlainn's country, as far as the wood of Siubhdaineach, in the north-west of Burren. Here the chief was met by the O'Lochlainns and their adherents, and a battle ensued in which O'Brien was killed and his army routed; and hence he has been ever since known in history as *Conchubhar na Suibhdaine*, or Conor of *Suibhdaineach*."

CHAPTER VII.

LIMERICK UNDER THE ENGLISH.—CHARTERS AND GRANTS.

THE introduction of the English government into Limerick did not take place until the death of Donald O'Brien. John, Earl of Morton and Lord of Ireland showed great zeal and determination in establishing the English interest in the city. He granted a charter on the 19th of December, 1197, the 9th of Richard I.,[1] by which he extended to the city, the privileges

[1] We translate from the Arthur MSS. the following. [Fitzgerald gives only the *recitation* of an abstract of John's *second* charter]:—

True Copy of the first Royal Charter granted to Limerick by John, Lord of Ireland, &c.

John, Lord of Ireland, Earl of Morton, to the Archbishops, Bishops, Abbots, Earls, Barons, Justiciaries, Bailiffs, and to all his servants and faithful subjects of all Ireland, greeting; Know ye that we have given, and by this charter confirmed, for us and our heirs, unto the citizens of Limerick, that they and their heirs do have and hold the City of Limerick, with all the appurts. and burgages, internal and external, to the City appertaining, in fee firm, by the return which was appointed by Hamond de Valois, with pleas and aiguists, and that they have all the liberties and free customs through all Ireland which the citizens of Dublin have; Wherefore we will and firmly prescribe, that our citizens of Limerick and their heirs after them do have and hold all the liberties and free customs aforesaid and as presented. For the rest, know ye that [we hold as] ratified and well pleasing, and established for ever, the deliverances [*liberationes*] of burgages, with all the liberties and prescriptions which Hamond de Valois made in the city of Limerick as he let the aforesaid burgages to my citizens of the same city.

[Whereof] These are Witnesses,

HUGO DE VALOIS,
RICHARD DE FORCE,
FULKE DE CAROLUPO,
HUBERT DE BURGO.

Killaloe, 18th day of December, in the 9th year of the reign of King Richard [*A.D.* 1197-'8].

already granted to Dublin, enabling the citizens to choose a Mayor and Duumviri, or two Bailiffs, a designation by which they were named until the reign of James I., when by charter of that monarch, the citizens were allowed to choose Sheriffs in place of Bailiffs, etc.—these, with the mayor, performed the municipal government of the city. In 1198, however, the English were driven out of Limerick by M'Carthy of Desmond; but soon after they may be said to have held firm possession, though their tenure was frequently disputed. We have on record as to the exact time the walls of the city were first built; but from the Patent rolls, in the early portion of king John's reign, we find that the city was at that period surrounded by walls, and that the king made several grants to his followers within and without the walls.[1]

In the same year he gave to Hamo de Valois, two cantreds of "Hochevele" in the Land of Limerick for the service of ten knights, (Char. Rol. 82). On the 12th of January, 1200, he granted to William of Braosa the honor of Limerick, with its appurtenances, &c. This charter was given at Lincoln, and bears the signatures, as witnesses, H, Archbishop of Canterbury; R, Bishop of St. Andrew's; R, Earl of Chester; R, Earl of Leicester; G. Fitzalen, Earl of Essex; William Briwerr, Hubart Bard, Walter de Lascy; Simon Pateshill. It states that it (the charter) was given by the hand of Symon, Archdeacon of Wells, at Lincoln, granting and confirming to Braosa the honour of Lymerick, with all its appurtenances "retaining in our demesne the city of Lymerick and the Bishopricks and Abbeys, and retaining in our

[1] In the second year of his reign the king gave to Galfridus Fitzrobert one-burgage* below (within?) the walls of Limerick, to be held by free service 12d.; and granted and confirmed to the same for homage and service, five knight's fees,† at Radagar, in the Cantred of Huhene, to be held of one and one-third knight's fees—*Charter Role A°.* 1°, *Rotulo* 14 *and* 15. In the same year he gave to Robert Sergeant four burgages, of which two are without the city of Limerick, between the city and the bridge, whatever part of the bridge is next the wall, and two in the island towards the city, near the bridge, wherever the bridge may be, for the service of 4s. per an., and he granted unto the same for his homage and service a knight's fee at Clonhulugrdachan and Cloinonochain, in the "theudum"‡ of Huertherain, to be held by the third part of one knight's fee, Hamo de Valentia being the justiciary of Ireland.—*Charter Roles* 78. In the same year he gave to Humphrey de Pykeuile, one burgage below the walls of Limerick, for the service of 12d. per annum; and he gave and confirmed to the same for his homage and service Killerumanith, three knight's fees circumjacent for all service, for the service of one knight.—*Charter Role* 75. In the same year he gave Lauvelekin Fitzwilliam one burgage below the walls of Limerick, for (*per*) the service of 12d. per ann. and five knight's fees, at Insculin and Balieder, Baioni, Corbally, Cullen, Odergraper, Ballydermot, in the Cantred of Huhene, to be held by the service of one knight and two parts.—*Charter Role* 79. In the same year he gave to Wm. de Naish one burgage in Limerick through the service of 12d. per ann. and the castles of Kava Kittel, with a fee of five knights in the nearer place of that castle, in the "theudum" of Lirickmadh, in the Cantred of Huhene, held by the service of one knight's fee and two parts.—*Role* 81. In the same year he gave to Thomas, the son of Maurice, one burgage next the bridge, on the left hand side towards the north, through the service of 12d. per ann. and five knight's fees in the "theudum" of Blenrii (or Olweii, or as I rather think Kenry), in the Cantred of Fontimell, and five knight's fees, in the theudum of Huanarach, which is in Thomond, beyond the water of the Shannon, to be held by the service of three knight's fee and one third.—*Charter Role* 82.

* Tenure in burgage is where the king or other person is lord of an ancient borough in which the tenants are held by a rent certain. It is a kind of lorage.—*Lyt. II.*, § 162, 163.

† A Knight's Fee, *Feudum militare*, is so much inheritance as is sufficient yearly to maintain a knight, with convenient revenue; and in Henry III.'s days was £15 (Camden's Brit. p. 111), in the time of Edward II. £20; a knight's fee contained 12 plough lands, or 5 hides, or 480 acres. *Selden*, however, says the knight's fee had no reference to land, but to the services or number of the knights reserved.—*Tomlin's Law Dict.* Stowe, in his Annals (p. 285) says there were found in England at the time of the Conqueror 60,211 knight's fees, according to others 60,215, whereof the religious houses before their suppression were possessed of 28,015.

‡ The word "*Theudum*," means a fief, most probably one of five knight's fees, which was expressed by the word *Toth*. In the Celtic mythology the word Toth meant the *genius Loci*.

hand the cantred of the Ostmen and the Holy Island, as king Henry, our father, that honour gave to Philip de Braosa, uncle of the aforesaid William" —"to have and to hold to him and his heirs of us and our heirs by the service of sixty knights, except the service of William de Burgo,[1] of all his lands and tenements aforesaid honours to be held, &c., &c.; and we have retained in our demesne and hand all its appurts in wood and plain, in meadow and pastures, in water and mills and fish ponds and ponds and fisheries and ponds, in ways and pathways, &c."

King John, (says Giraldus Cambrensis,) gave to Philip de Braosa the northern division of Munster, namely, the whole kingdom of Limerick, except the city itself, and the cantred belonging to it. At the same time he gave the kingdom of Cork to Cogan and Fitz Stephen. So these three chiefs made a strict mutual alliance, and having obtained possession of Lismore, and of the greater part of Cork, namely, seven cantreds near the city, each containing 100 townlands, they proceeded to Limerick. Their army consisted of seventy men-at-arms, one hundred and fifty horse soldiers, and the proper complement of bowmen. But when they reached Limerick, the citizens set the town on fire. Cogan and Fitz Stephen proposed to ford the Shannon and storm the place. But Braosa proved wanting in courage and returned home.

He afterwards endeavoured to rehabilitate his character for bravery by joining in the crusades, and appears to have died in the Holy Land, when his rights, such as they were, to the kingdom of Limerick passed to his nephew, William de Braosa. But we learn from Dugdale (Baronage I. 415) that king John sold Braosa's lands in Ireland to Philip de Wygornia, (or Worcester,) Lord Deputy in 1184, for five hundred marks. In 1200, however, the unprincipled monarch, resold Wygornia's lands, and those of Theobald Fitz Walter, ancestor of the Ormonde family, to William de Braosa, for 5,000 marks, and 5,000 marks more for the kingdom of Limerick, (see the charters of king John, anno 2, and Dugdale, I., 416.)[2] Fitz Walter repurchased his own estate for 500 marks, through the mediation of his brother Hubert, Archbishop of Canterbury, (see Roger de Hoveden, II., 513,) whilst Wygornia, says that author, "with difficulty escaping from the hands of the king, returned to Ireland, passing through the territories of the king of Scots, and recovered parts of his lands by waging war against the king." The kingdom of Limerick he had never had possession of, so did not probably now obtain it. But he seized on his former estates, chiefly in Tipperary, and held them by force: and his heirs still held lands there by knights' service in 1314, (Carew MSS.) The unfortunate Braosa was unable to pay the instalments due to the rapacious king John; he was fiercely

[1] 1201, King John granted to William de Burgo 5 Knights' fees, called a Toth, wherein is seated Castle Connell, within 4 miles of Limerick, east, provided he fortified the castle, and was to restore it to the king if demanded, by getting a reasonable exchange for it.—*Ware.*

[2] In Pat. Roll. Mem. 23, No. 203, the grant to William de Braosa is set forth—"quæ retinuimus in Dominico nostro, habenda donec Regi placuerit."

In the 4th year of his reign a mandate was issued by the king to Philip de Wigorne, or Worcester, "that he should render to William de Braosa the land and castles of Orngraffan, and other castles of the Honour of Limerick, which are retained by the king according to convention. —*Pat. Roll, Mem.* 10.

In the 6th year of John's reign Limerick was taken from William de Braosa by advice of the Barons of England, "for the peace of the kingdom."—*Pat. Roll, Mem.* 7.

Wigornia, according to Dugdale's Monasticon, was Constable of Ireland. Wm. and Roger de Wigornia gave Sidan, Skbevin, Kilstevenan, &c., in Ireland, to the Monastery of Osney, near Oxford. Confirmed 28th Feb. An. 13 Edward I.—*Dugdale's Monas Angli.*

persecuted by him, was driven from all his estates, and died a penniless exile, whilst the spiteful monarch wreaked his vengeance on his wife and son, who were starved to death, A.D. 1211, (see Dugdale as before.)

Captivated, as we have seen, with the beauty of Limerick, the King caused a singularly choice castle, "egregium castellum," and bridge to be built.[1] In that age the Annals refer to the erection of two bridges over the Shannon, and one over the Suck, by the monarch Turlough O'Connor. There is no doubt those bridges were not of stone, but of wood, and that the first structures of the kind of stone were erected by, or after the arrival of the Anglo-Normans.[2] King John's bridge was perfectly level, crossing the main arm of the Shannon, from the N.E. extremity of the English town, close by the Castle; it was built on fourteen arches, under each of which some marks of the hurdles, on which it was erected, were visible until the bridge was taken down in the year 1838, and the present structure was built. According to tradition the cost of the building of Thomond bridge was but £30.[3] Immediately above the bridge a ledge of rocks crosses the river, over which one can walk with perfect safety at low water.

The "Egregium Castellum" continues to our own time to be one of the finest specimens of fortified Norman architecture in Ireland. The north-west tower is said to have been the first portion of the work that was erected. Nenagh Castle is said to have been built at the same time; it too, is a noble military building in the Norman style. A Constable was immediately appointed to it by the King. The Castle is now used as an Ordnance store,

[1] Stanihurst. [2] Dr. Petrie in the Dublin Penny Journal.

[3] In King John's time the pay of a foot soldier, which was more than a labourer's hire, was three halfpence a day. The small cost of the building of Thomond Bridge need not surprise us. In king John's time and under the Edwards, land was granted in Ireland, by carucates. A carucate was 140 great acres on an average and was taxed as chattels worth £6.

This venerable bridge was taken down in 1838 by the old Corporation, and in two years afterwards, viz. in 1840, the present structure was built, and open for traffic. Though the old Corporation built the new bridge, and gave credit to themselves for doing so, the amount of the contract, a sum of £9000, was paid by the new or Reformed Corporation for this work.

The new bridge bears the following inscription:—

THIS BRIDGE WAS BUILT A:D: 1840
AT THE EXPENSE OF THE CORPORATION
OF THE BOROUGH OF LIMERICK.
THIS TABLET WAS PLACED HERE BY ORDER
OF THE TOWN COUNCIL A D 1843
THE RIGHT WORSHIPFUL MARTIN HONAN MAYOR
IOHN F: RALEICH Esq. TOWN CLERK
FRANCIS I. O'NEIL Esq. TREASURER
JAMES AND G. R. PAIN,
ARCHITECTS

Mr. John Long, the eminent civil Engineer, who built the new bridge over the Shannon at Athlone, and the new docks at Limerick, communicates to us his opinion, that the early bridges were chiefly of wicker work, no doubt very frail and imperfect, and for this reason easily destroyed; the notes in the Four Masters will fortify this opinion. Afterwards stone arches were turned over wicker centres; but they form two distinct periods of bridge building. Until recently one of these wicker bridges stood over the Shannon above Carrick-on-Shannon, and Mr. Long says he has often crossed it. It was built of loose stone piers, such as a common labourer would build, placed close to each other; some rough black oak logs thrown across from pier to pier, and these covered with wicker work in several layers, and gravel, &c. strewn on these. It was very frail, and the horse was unyoked from the cart, and the latter pulled across by men. This, he thinks, was the character of all the early bridges across the Shannon before stone structures were erected, which he believes were not adopted until about Elizabeth's reign.

Vid. fol. 50–51.

Old Thomond Bridge, King John's Castle, and St. Mary's Cathedral.

[*Engraved for* MAURICE LENIHAN'S *History of Limerick.*]

&c., and in the ground within the walls and towers, an excellent Infantry Barracks for four hundred soldiers was erected in 1751. The number of English settlers now began to increase rapidly; and the introduction of English habits, customs, dress, &c. kept pace with the numbers of the new inhabitants. Outside the walls many English families also established themselves.[1]

The politic John was resolved to keep on the best terms with the Bishop and Church of Limerick after he had obtained a firm footing within the city. The question of building the Castle and other fortifications, and of strengthening himself as much as possible, was paramount with him; but he was resolved to do so, not at the expense of the Church, by any encroachment whatever on the domains of the Bishop of Saint Mary's Church in Limerick. It would appear that certain of his partizans had begun to occupy some of the church lands in their zeal to erect the Castle and fortifications; but the King, before 1207, issued a prohibition against the slightest encroachment on the church properties, and in earnest and emphatic language warned, in a letter still extant,[2] and addressed to his justices, bailiffs, barons, soldiers, and all his faithful subjects, in France, England, and Ireland, telling them that the rights of his venerable father in Christ, D. the Bishop of Limerick, should be strictly guarded, in reference to the contemplated Castle, and the other muniments and fortifications, and that nothing whatever should be done to interfere with the church property until his arrival in Ireland, when he expressed his determination to see the Bishop fully satisfied in every thing connected with the projected fortifications. The King furnished the Castle with every requisite for the defence of his newly acquired city. He not only placed constables within its walls,[3] whom he invested with authority, but he

[1] Among the possessors of land in the county of Limerick in the thirteenth century, the following names appear:—Bagod or Baggot, a companion of Strongbow was the founder of the Bagot family now represented by Thomas Neville Bagott, Esq. of Ballymoe, county Galway; Patrick Bagott, Esq., of Bagottstown Castle, county Limerick, *m.* in 1540, Maria, daughter of J. Edmond O'Dwyer, Esq., of Kilnemanagh, county Tipperary: nine Bagots were attainted and their estates confiscated in Carlow and Limerick, in the wars of James II.—a portion of the family escorted king James to France:—Bonervyle, Brown, Butler, Fitzgerald, Sir Thomas de Clifford, Sir David de Rupe or Roche, Naish, Maunsell and Pierrepoint. Walter Maunsell was chief sergeant of the county of Limerick in the reign of Edward the first. Of the early settlers in the city, the following are the names of those that survive in our day:—White, Barrett, Long, Naish, O'Neill, O'Noonan, Sergeant, Young, Dundon, Russell, Flandr, Hallanan, and Purcell. Judging from the municipal roll of the thirteenth century, of which not many names have come down to us, there appears to have been a mixture of Welsh, Normans, Spaniards, English and Italians. *See Sir Bernard Burke's Landed Gentry.*

The name of Robert Bagod occurs very frequently in the sales and settlements of land, &c., that were made during the episcopacy of Gilbert, Bishop of Limerick, whose transactions in this respect were very numerous, as appears by the Black Book. Maurice Bagott of Baggotstown was one of those who were excepted from pardon by the cruel and merciless Ireton, when he obtained possession of Limerick in 1651, through the treachery of Fennel, as will appear more fully in the proper place. Many of the Bagott family have continued Catholics, and are allied to some of the first Catholic families in Ireland.

[2] Black Book of Limerick.

[3] Godfrey de Rupe or Roche was constable of the Castle of Limerick in the year 1216.—*Arthur MSS.*

Before the regular list of these begins, there are scattered notices to be found of the constables of the Castle of Limerick.—*See Liber Munerum Hib.*

Thomas FizHugh de Lees was constable at a fee of ten marks, temp. Edward II.

He was succeeded by Thomas de Winchester, (Patent 28th May, 1326.) He had a warrant in the following July for £20 to repair the buildings and walls of the Castle—then in a very bad state of repair. And in October of that year £80 more was granted to him and John le Blound, Mayor of Limerick, for the same purpose.

William de Swynford was constable in 1335.

Peter de O'Kebournam in 1343.

John Corbet in 1372.

took care to provide it with chaplains. These succeeded each other, as removal or other causes created a vacancy in the office; and on one occasion we find Geoffrey de Mareys, Lord Justiciary of Ireland, on the part of his royal master, making a presentation to the chaplaincy of the King's Castle, of Thomas in the place of Andrew, who had either died, or been placed in some other position.[1] The church lands were extensive, the constant dealings with them, the employment they gave the Courts in Dublin, as well as in Limerick, are shown in the records that have come down to us, and of which the Black Book contains a considerable number. In 1217 a mint was established in Limerick.[2] In 1222 regulations were made concerning the Corporation, which has been recognised by Act of Parliament as a Corpo-

James Earl of Desmond was made constable for life by Patent 23rd August 1423—with leave to execute the Office by Deputy—and inasmuch as "the ancient fees for the custody of the Castle were for the most part annihilated, and the Castle become so ruinous, that the greater part of it was fallen to the ground," he was given £10 for the repair of the Castle, as well as forty marks out of the profits of the Lexwer (Laxweir), while he should occupy the office—twenty marks more, out of the profits of these weirs, were granted to him for five years in 1424.

Sixty marks a year was a large sum in those days—so the Laxweir fishery must have been a very rich one to pay it.

The earliest constables named by Lodge, in his list of patentee officers, are—

Sir Wm. Wyse, Knt., Esquire of the King's Body, appointed by Hen. VIII. Constable for life, with £10 a year fee, the king's island and the king's fisheries there, called the "Leixs Wayres." The £10 payable out of the fee farm of the said city, 25th Feb., 1523.

On his resignation, his son, Andrew Wyse, was appointed, 7th June, 1551.

Richard Chichester succeeded on the death of Wyse. He resigned, and was succeeded by

Hercules Rainsford,

Andrew Creagh,

James Spencer,

Robert Longe, and

John Bleake. After which Chichester was again appointed, by a new patent, 16th Sept. 1588. Bleake, however, recovered the appointment by patent of 14th April, 1590, and held it for life.

John Dannet succeeded, 29th Mar. 1597. Capt. Francis Berkeley succeeded on his death soon after, the Patent (given "free from the seal, because he is son-in-law to the Lord Chancellor") being dated 2nd Nov. 1597. This was Sir F. Berkeley of Askeyton, who was knighted at Kilmallock two years after by the Earl of Essex, and whose estates eventually devolved on his daughters, of whom one married Mr. Courtenay, of Powderham Castle, and another Mr. Taylor, of Ballynort, from whom the Massy and Westropp families are descended. The Lord Chancellor, to whom he was son-in-law, was Adam Loftus, Archbishop of Dublin.

George Blundell obtained a reversion of Sir Francis Berkeley's patent, 13th May, 1608, but Maurice, son to Sir Francis, got him to surrender it, and had a patent accordingly, 8th June, 1610.

George Courtenay succeeded his brother-in-law, Sir Maurice Berkeley, as Constable of the Castle by patent, 18th Sept. 1622: and the reversion of the office was granted to Roger, Earl of Orrery, on whose death Murrough, Viscount Blessington, became Constable in 1679.

Sir Wm. King, Knt. (of Kilpeacon?) succeeded in 1692, but surrendering the office in 1700, it was granted to Brigadier-General Richard Ingoldsby.

George, Lord Carbery, succeeded as Constable on the death of Ingoldsby in 1714, and though displaced on the accession of George II., when the office was conferred on Sir Standish Hartstonge, Baronet, of Bruff, he was restored to it in 1739.

Thomas, second Lord Southwell, succeeded Lord Carbery, on that nobleman's death in 1749.

On his death, the office was granted to Edward Stopford, Esq., by patent, 26th Sept. 1780, and he held it for life.

2nd January, 1795, the Constableship, vacant by his death, was given to the Hon. William Cockayne; and he held it until his demise in 1809.

The Right Hon. Colonel Vereker, afterwards second Viscount Gort, the last Constable of the Castle of Limerick, was nominated by patent, 18th Nov. 1809, and died 11th Nov. 1842, when that feudal office, prospectively abolished by Act of Parliament, ceased to exist.

The Hon. William Cockayne was Constable of the Castle in 1799, when a grant was made to him and his successors for 99 years, of the King's Island, Limerick.—See Patent, 8th July, 1799.

He died in 1809, and was succeeded by Colonel Charles Vereker, afterwards second Viscount Gort, in whose lifetime this ancient office was abolished, and the King's Island taken back into the possession of the Crown.

[1] The Black Book of Limerick. [2] Smith's MSS. in R.I.A.

ration by prescription.[1] In 1237 a toll was granted for the purpose of enclosing the city with a wall; and throughout these and subsequent years church affairs, which are noticed in their proper place, appear to have occupied the largest share of public attention. Some of the churches were established; the concerns of the fisheries and the mills became of much importance, owing to the large receipts from those sources of revenue and profit. The fishermen must have enjoyed no small share of opulence for the time, because we find in some of the oldest documents reference made to the houses in which they lived, as marks or boundaries of property bequeathed or granted.[2] The increasing importance of the city in 1285, induced Edward I. to grant a charter to the citizens, empowering the freemen of the Corporation to meet within their Common Court within the city, and there make bye-laws and regulations for their internal government. Grants by royal hands were given to the Dominican and Franciscan friaries; and though Galway had advanced more in commerce, the progress of Limerick, in other respects, was fully on a par with its ancient rival, while the bequests of land, &c. to the Church, surpassed any thing of which we have a record in other parts of Ireland.

Out of the rents of the city John assigned £100 to the Archbishop of Cashel, in discharge of a sum of money due by him to that prelate.

The growth of English customs and habits was now becoming stronger every succeeding year. The names which were in the records of the city, civil and ecclesiastical, are for the greater part English. The fisheries, as we have stated, were constantly occupying public attention; many inquisitions were held in reference to the tithes of rival claimants; and on the 25th of July, 1225, a solemn enquiry, on a novel issue regarding them, was held before the Archbishop of Cashel, the Bishops of Emly, Killaloe, Ross, Lismore, &c. as to whether the tithes of the fishery and of the mills of Limerick, and of the land of Dromin, were vested in the Treasurer of the Cathedral Church of St. Mary's, or in the Chaplain of the King's Castle, before the barons waged war against King John; the result of the enquiry was given in favor of the Treasurer.[3] Contemporary authorities assure us that, in the midst of these proceedings, the people were greatly troubled with singular apprehensions. Extraordinary fears occupied their imaginations and visions, which we must attribute more to their comparative ignorance than to reality, constantly terrified them.[4] The following events occurred in the reign of John.

On the 30th of August, 1205, a writ was issued to the Lord Justice, commanding him to build a strong Castle at Dublin, to defend that city and to preserve the King's treasure; and on the 2nd of November following, the King by Writ commanded Walter de Lacy to put Limerick into the hands of the Lord Justice, because without it he could not keep the peace in Cork or Connaught.[5] In the same year a fierce dispute arose between the English

[1] Acts 4 Geo. IV. cap. 126. Loc & Pars. [2] See Black Book. [3] Ibid.

[4] 1236, Mathew Paris writes, that in Ireland strange and wonderful sights were now seen, which amazed all the beholders, viz. There appeared coming out of the earth, companies of armed men on horse-back in battle array, and encountering together; this sight appeared several days after each other; sometimes they seemed to join in battle and to fight violently; and sometimes they seemed to joust and break staves, as if it had been at a tournament; the people of the country plainly saw them at a distance, for the skirmish shewed itself so lively, that now and then they might see them come with their empty horses, sore, wounded and bruised, and likewise men mangled and bleeding; and what seemed most strange, was that after they vanished, the prints of their feet appeared in the ground, and the grass was trodden in those places where they had been seen!!!

[5] Cox's Hibernia Anglicana, Vol. I. p. 43.

themselves about the possession of Limerick. Meyler the younger, son of Meyler Bermingham, besieged the city, and at last took it by force; in consequence of which the English of Meath became dissatisfied; dissensions arose among them. Cowley Mac Convey Leyghaghkan, chief of Silronan, was killed, "with many hurts done among the English themselves."[1] In 1208, Murtagh O'Brien, son of Donell, Lord of Thomond, was taken prisoner by the English at Limerick, in violation of the guarantee of the three Bishops, and by order of his brother Donough Cairbreach,[2] This fact is also mentioned in the Annals of Clonmacnoise.[3] In 1210, William De Burgo having received severe usage from the Connacians, to whom he and his people went to obtain "their wages," returned to Limerick, and Cathal Crovderg assumed the regals way of Connaught.[4] It was in this year that the King, to supply "defects as far as he was able," divided Leinster and Munster, the only parts he had actually in possession, into the counties of Dublin, Kildare, Meath, Uriel, Catherlaigh (Carlow), Kilkenny, Wexford, Waterford, Cork, Limerick, Tipperary and Kerry, and appointed sheriffs and officers of them after the manner of the English.[5] An important grant was made to Edmond, bishop of Limerick at this period, A.D. 1215—a grant which to our own day has continued to be a subject of interest to every class and party among the citizens, as it is connected with salmon and eel fisheries of the Shannon.[6] The succession of mayors and bailiffs continued uninterruptedly, and the city was now forming into a shape consistent with the ideas of its English rulers, whose policy it was to have each city and town in Ireland thoroughly English, for nearly all outside the walls continued abso-

[1] MacGeoghegan's translation of the Annals of Clonmacnoise. The O'Leyghaghan family was otherwise called MacConneadlla, now MacNamee. O'Dugan makes O'Rouarc chief of Carbright Gabra, which was in North Tiaffa. O'Leyghaghan was of the race of Fiacha, *i.e.* race of Tiaga, son of Neill—he was third son of Niall, of the Nine Hostages, monarch of Ireland, in the beginning of the fifth century. His descendants were the MacGeaghans and O'Molloys, whose country extended from Trim to Kildare, as we learn in an entry in MacGeaghan's translation of the Annals of Clonmacnoise, at the year 1207.

[2] Annals of the Four Masters, Vol. II. p. 133.

[3] "1207, Murtagh MacDonnell O'Bryen, Prince of Thomond, was taken by the Englishmen at Lymbrick against the wills of three Busshopps, by the procurement of his own Brother, Donough Cairbreah Mac Donnell O'Brien."

[4] Annals of Four Masters.

[5] Cox Hib. Angli. Vol. I. p. 50.

[6] Chancery Role 17th John :—

Grant to the Bishop of Limerick, dated 5th July, 17° John (1215.)

John, by the grace of God, &c., to all, &c., greeting. Know ye that we, for the intention of the Lord, have granted, by this our charter confirmed, to God and the Blessed Mary, and to our venerable father Edmond, Bishop of Limerick, and his successors, ten pounds of silver for ever, every year, to be received at our Exchequer, Dublin, in free, pure, and perpetual alms of the farm rent assize of the city of Limerick and the fisheries of Limerick, which the said bishop against us has challenged. And the same bishop the ten marks which he has been accustomed to receive at our aforesaid Exchequer, in exchange of the lands of Drunnannalub, which, to the ancestor of the same before, we had given, together with the same land, to us and our heirs, for himself and his heirs, he has quitted claim. Wherefore, we will and firmly command, that the aforesaid Bishop of Limerick and his successors, may take for ever every year, at our aforesaid Exchequer of Dublin, those ten pounds of silver, in free, pure, and perpetual alms, as aforesaid. Witness, &c. &c.

A mandate was issued on the 30th of July, 1216, to Geoffrey de Marshall, &c., ordering him without delay to cause the Venerable Father Edmond, Bishop of Limerick, to have the arrears which are due to him of the ten pounds which annually he ought to receive out of the Exchequer in Ireland (Close Role, 18 John); and on the 31st of July, same year, a mandate to the same to assess ten librates of land for the arrears due to the Bishop.

lutely hostile to the crown and interest of England.[1] The want of a market having been thus early experienced by the busy and energetic settlers, king Henry III. in the first year of his reign, conceded to Edmund, bishop of Limerick, a weekly market, every Tuesday, at his manor of "Mungerett."[2] The bishops of the see of Limerick continued occasionally to reside at Mungret up to the tenth century, if not later, as we find from some of their documents, mandates, &c.

In the second year of Henry III. Walter de Lacy got "plein seizen," (full possession) of the castle of Beathar near Limerick—*Patent Rolls, Numb.* 3. In 1222, the 6th year of Henry III., the King ordered that none should receive a place or messuage in the cities of Limerick or Waterford, "who are strangers and do not abide in cities or good towns."—*Close Rolls, No.* 9. William Minntor and Adam Clericus, or Clarke, gave an account for the citizens of Limerick, of £70 of the Term of St. Michael of the 11th year, of the farm of their manor house, and £140 for the whole of the 12th year, for the farm of said manor—in all £210.

For a long period efforts were made to increase the trade and commerce of the city, and place them on an equality with those of Galway and Waterford, which were English cities also, and towards which the Government had been earnestly manifesting their favor. Henry III. who in 1254 accepted Limerick, and afterwards granted it to Prince Edward, exerted himself strenuously for this object. Galway, however, kept the lead for a long period. At this moment, while the Limerick fisheries challenge so much public notice, it is interesting to find that the subject occupied the attention of a committee so early as the days of Edward I.[3] The produce of the customs of Limerick

[1] Roger Maii,
Walter Cross,
Simon Minitor,
Roger de Raleic,
William Fitz Rudolph,
Rodolph le Talure,
John Cambitor,
Robert Albus (White),
William de Wygornia,
Ludovicus or Lewis Fitz Hugh,
Robert Long,
were citizens of Limerick in the 17th of king John's reign.—*Arthur MSS.*

[2] Close Roll, M^a. 16°.

[3] on the 27th of October, 2nd Edward I., 1274, a commission was issued to Geoffry de Genyville to enquire into certain petitions of the citizens of Limerick, including among other matters the weir which 27 years before, they received from Maurice Fitzgerald, then justiciary of Ireland, for a triennial term and not beyond, for 100 marks to king Henry, and how much the said weir may be worth by the year, in all the issues, &c. The inquisition was taken in Limerick, 4th Edward I., 1275, on Friday next after the feast of king Edmund the Martyr, before twenty-four jurors, in which they declare the weir is worth in all issues of the fishery by the year, to wit, in common years, and also in time of peace, twenty marks, &c.

The names of the citizens before whom this inquisition was taken, are as follow:—

Lord Eustace de Rupe,
Lord Hugh Porcel,
Lord Robert Pincernan,
William de Weys,
John Fitz Robert,
Reginald Scyrmissor,
Laurence Black,
Roger White,
Simon Merduc,
Walter de Wodeford,
Robert Keting,
Adam Breheynac,
Richard Laynach,
Alexander Wale,
Richard Brakeleye,
Simon de Waltere,
William le Wilde,
Robert Brun,
John Wodeford,
Walter Russell,
Thomas Fitz Elias,
William Fitz Elias,
Richard Fanyn,
David Le ( )

The letter of Geoffry de Genyville to the king, is dated 8th March, 4th Edward I., 1275, and after stating that he was occupied on divers affairs in the part of Ireland and towards Connaught, and elsewhere, he could not go to Limerick to take the above inquest, and that he did not wish it should be taken, except by some certain men, he states that "the inquest was passed suitably in the several points, except in the extent of the land, as to which they have extended eleven

from Michaelmas in the 8th year of Edward I. to Easter in the 10th year of that king, was only £21 5s. 2d.—soon afterwards the trade and commerce of the city fell rapidly, whilst Galway as rapidly advanced. On Pipe Roll no. 17, the nett produce of the customs of Limerick, appears to have amounted only to 1s. 6d. for a period when in Galway it reached, for the same time, £18 4s. 5½d. We do not wonder that Mr. Hardiman, the historian of Galway, should boast of the comparatively flourishing condition of the city of the tribes; but Limerick was not destined to remain always in a secondary position. In after years not only was Galway left behind in the march of commercial enterprize, but it was thrown completely into the shade. At this period the citizens felt aggrieved in reference to the salmon and eel fisheries of the Shannon, and sent forward a petition to the king which was promptly responded to. The fisheries continued to be a source of very great interest; and several important matters relating to them appear on the records during the reign of Edward I. which show the attention which was paid by the crown to them at this period, and the regular accounts sent on of the revenues, as well as the payments made to the bishop.[1] Robert de Saint Edmond obtained a grant of the weirs, &c., but after he had petitioned, his rent for them yearly was fixed at twenty marcs. The grant of Thomond by Edward I. to Thomas de Clare had its effect not only on Limerick, but on the province of Munster, and more so on the province of Connaught. This event took place in the year 1275; and to this day traces of it are found in every part of the great county to which de Clare gave his own name—a name which in after years became historical and cherished in the warm affections of the Irish people. Limerick continued to progress, though Galway possessed more facilities as a port, and though so far back as the year 1277, Dermod More O'Brien of Tromra, county Clare, received twelve tuns of wine yearly as a tribute from the merchants of Galway "in consideration of protecting the harbour and trade from all pirates and privateers, by maintaining a suitable maritime force for the purpose."[2]

carucates of land and a half, in demesne, by the year, for £20 3s. 4d." He states that the land is worth £30 in common years, and that "those citizens can sufficiently render you rent without loss, and without the waste land;" "but know your lordship, that the citizens of this town hold very great place against the enemies of this march, and great damage have had by the Irish of that part, and by prices of your justiciaries before this time, whereby they are much grieved. Wherefore, Sire, it is advised to us, that it would be good, if it please you, that you would do them some favour." He advises the withdrawal of the acquittance of felony, "if a man of their franchise kills another within the city, and he can purge himself of the fact by forty men."

[1] Pipe Roll, 1st Edward I. (1272), Maurice le Blund and Walter de Attar, render an amount of £73 6s. 8d. of the farm of the same city this year, and £220 of the same farm for three years preceding: and of £153 15s. 1d. of the arrears thereof for many years preceding; the sum £447 1s. 9d. In this account compensation to the amount of £40 is given to the bishop of Limerick for the fishery, for the aforesaid time, that is to say by the year £10. Citizens after rendering several other accounts are brought in debt, £189 7s. 10½d.

Pipe Roll, 5th Edward I. (1276-'7), states, that the citizens render an account of £104 8s. of the issues of the weir of Limerick for the whole second year of the reign of king Edward, and of £31 8s. 1½d. of the same issues for the whole third year of the reign of the same king, as is contained in the rolls which the aforesaid citizens delivered to the exchequer, of the aforesaid issues; several other sums are stated in this weir, "which the citizens expended in emendations and other costs of the same weir," &c.

The 8th November, 1276-'77, 4th Edward I, a mandate is issued to "Robert de Ufford, justiciary of Ireland, and the barons of the Exchequer, Dublin, a mandate, setting forth the inquisition of Geoffry de Genyville, &c., exonerating the citizens by the advice of Thomas de Clare, and taking up the weir from them, provided that, upon the reception of that weir into our hand, the same weir be in the same good state, that it was upon the day when the same citizens received the weir."

[2] Hardiman's History of Galway, pp. 51 and 52.

The merchants of Limerick, on the contrary, up to the reign of James I. and most likely for sometime afterwards, were compelled to give tribute of wine and merchandise from their ships, not only to the O'Kehanes of Kilrush, and the O'Connors of Foynes, but to each possessor of a castle between the city and the sea; which is one cogent reason no doubt, why the trade and commerce of Limerick did not equal those of Galway. According to the Annals of Innisfallen, the possessions of de Clare and the English of Thomond extended from Tiobraid-no-Huinnsion to the confines of Bunratty, where de Clare built the castle which to this our own day is one of the largest ancient edifices in Ireland. This castle has stood the brunt of several sieges, and, as a strategetical position, it has nothing to equal it on the Shannon. Bunratty was extremely useful whilst it protected the shipping and trade of the city.

1285. In this year Edward I. granted a charter to the citizens of Limerick, empowering the freemen of the Corporation to meet in their common court within the said city, and there make laws and regulations for their internal government.[1] In the same year the English followers of de Clare were defeated by the chiefs of Thomond, headed by king Torlogh at Tardree; and in 1287, after suffering repeated reverses, the sustained a decisive defeat in 1287, on which occasion Thomas de Clare, Fitzmaurice, Sir Richard de Exeter, Sir Richard Taffe, and other distinguished persons, were left dead on the field, and an expedition, headed by Geoffrey de Mariscis was sent to Connaught to quell the disturbances there.[2]

Following out the fortunes of the O'Brien family to the period when Murrough, the son of Turlough, resigned the title of king of Thomond for an English Earldom, we shall adopt the account given by the author of the valuable Irish tract, from which we have already quoted.

"*Tadhg* O'Brien, the elder son of Connor, left two sons, Turloch and Donoch; and according to the law of succession among the clanns, Torloch, though still in his minority, should succeed to the chieftaincy and to the title of O'Brien. In this, however, he was wrongfully anticipated by his father's brother Brian *Ruadh*, who had himself proclaimed chief, and without any opposition. This Brian *Ruadh* continued to rule for nine years, until the young Torloch came to full age; when backed by his relatives the MacNamaras, and his fosterers the O'Deas, he marched with a great force against his uncle, who, sooner than risk a battle, fled with his immediate family and adherents, taking with him all his property, eastwards into North Tipperary, and left young Torloch in full possession of his ancestral rule and dignity.

"Brian *Ruadh*, however, could not quietly submit to his loss and disgrace, and, taking council with his adherents, they decided on his seeking the aid of the national enemy, to reinstate him in his lost chieftainship. For this purpose Brian *Ruadh* and his son Donoch proceeded to Cork, to Thomas de

[1] The names usually met with in the records of these times, are Minutor, Clarke or Clericus, White, Arthur, Young or Juvenis, De Leyes, Cron; in page 23 of the Black Book of the Bishops of Limerick, Symon Herwarder is styled Mayor, and Maurice Blund and Walter of Adare, Provosts of Limerick, in 1230—again in page 34, Simon Hirwarder, and Richard de la Cowe and Hugh Ricolf; in page 60, Reginald de S. Jacobo is styled Seneschal of Limerick, 1230. These names do not appear in the Arthur MSS.

[2] An account amounting to £60, appears furnished for bread and wine, &c., supplied to the expedition which was made by Geoffrey de Mariscis to Connaught.

In 1290, Tallow Candles were first used in Limerick instead of rushes, &c.

Clare, son of the Earl of Gloucester, then at the head of all the Anglo-Norman forces of Munster, and sought his assistance, offering him an ample remuneration for his services. They offered him all the land lying between the city of Limerick and the town of Ardsallas, in Clare. De Clare gladly accepted these terms, and both parties met by agreement in Limerick, from which they marched into Clare; where, before any successful opposition could be offered them, the Castle of Bunratty was built and fortified by the Norman leaders.

"A short time afterwards, however, in the year 1277, de Clare put the unfortunate Brian *Ruadh* to death, having had him drawn with horses and torn, notwithstanding that the fidelity of the matrimonial alliance had been ratified by the most solemn oaths on all the ancient relics of Munster; and it was then indeed that the great wars of Thomond commenced in earnest; for, notwithstanding the treacherous death of their father, the infatuated soul of Brian *Ruadh* still adhered to de Clare, and the warfare was kept up with varying success till the year 1318, when Robert de Clare and his son were at last killed, in the battle of Disert O'Dea. After this the party of Brian *Ruadh* were compelled to fly once more over the Shannon into Ara, in Tipperary, where their descendants have ever since remained under the clann designation of the O'Briens of Ara.

"The brave Dalcassians having thus rid themselves both of domestic and foreign usurpation, preserved their country, their independence, and their native laws and insitutions, down to the year 1542, when Murroch, the son of Turloch, made submission to Henry the Eighth, abandoned the ancient and glorious title of the O'Brien, and disgraced his lineage by accepting a patent of his territory from an English king, with the title of the Earl of Thomond." This however is anticipating. We now follow the order of events.

In the year 1303, according to the Annals of the Four Masters, "a great army was led by the king of England into Scotland, and the (Red) Earl and many of the Irish and English went with a large fleet from Ireland to his assistance. On this occasion they took many cities and gained sway over Scotland."[1]

In 1304 Torlough received the hostages of all the chiefs of North Munster, demolishing all the English castles as far as Youghal, and putting their garrisons to the sword.

In the year 1306 Donough succeeded his father Torlough, and had scarcely been inaugurated when a confederacy was formed against him by the descendants of Brian Roe, who were supported by Richard de Clare and the Dalcassian families who then occupied the Hy-Mbloid territory in the east of the county Clare, co-extensive with the present Deanery of Omullod in the diocese of Killaloe. The most distinguished of these families were the O'Conaings, O'Kennedys, O'Ceadfeas, O'Shannahans (or Shannons), O'Hogans, O'Eactherns (Aherns), O'Mailduins, O'Duracthies, O'Lonargains, O'Conguilles, and O'Kearnies, from which latter family the river flowing through Sixmile

[1] The same event which is recorded as having occurred in 1299 by the Annalists of Ulster, led in some measure to the expedition of Bruce, whose arrival at Limerick we shall presently have occasion to mention. It had also an important effect on the condition of Ireland by encouraging a licentious spirit of insurrection, and giving free course to the turbulence of both the English and Irish inhabitants. Hence several feuds broke out with new violence during the absence of these powerful lords, and petty wars were carried on to the utter desolation of the finest and most valuable of the English settlements.

Bridge has derived its second name, the original being Raite, from which is derived Bunratty. The O'Gradies[1] were also supporters of Brian Roe, and had been defeated at the battle of Clare Abbey in 1276, when commanded by Mahon, the grandson of Donald Connachtahc. On the other side, Donogh was supported by his relatives, the Macconmaras, the commanders

[1] A large collection of notes in reference to the O'Grady family is in the possession of Miss Julia O'Grady, Castle Park, near Limerick. They held a territory in the county of Clare, called Kirell-Dongail, extending around Tomgraney. And in later days they constantly held the chief ecclesiastical dignities in the Cathedral of Killaloe. It is stated that the Bradys of Raheen, Co. Clare, and Brady, the first Protestant Bishop of Meath, were of the senior branch of the O'Gradys, who changed their name when becoming Protestants. The evidence is to be found in a work lately published by Mr. Brady, a son or brother of the Lord Chancellor Brady, containing extracts from the Chapter Books of Cloyne, Ross, Cork, &c. &c. The Kilballyowen branch, of whom a pedigree is in Burke's Landed Gentry, have been settled in Limerick, at Knockany and Kilballyowen, from an early date. Any belonged to the O'Kerwicks; Thomas de Clare held it in 15 Edw. II.; and the O'Gradys held it about A.D. 1400, building Ballycahane Castle in 1496 (D'Alton), and Rockbarton Castle, at Askeaton, soon after. A portion of the County Limerick estates, however, belonged to the celebrated Pierce Lacy, of Bruff; Kilballyowen, Kilcullane, and other lands, being then O'Grady property. So we find these lands confirmed to Donough O'Grady in 1611 (Rot. Pat. Hib. 8 Jas. I.), and Pierce Lacy's estate confirmed to Sir Thomas Standish three years later (Rot. Pat. Hib. 11 Jas. I.) Sir Thomas Standish had a large estate, which eventually passed through his daughters; a small portion to the O'Gradys (Dermod O'Grady having married Faith Standish; see the will of Sir T. Standish, dated 1635), but the larger part to the Hartstonges, now represented by the Earl of Limerick. The Annals of the Four Masters describe John O'Grady, Archbishop of Tuam, who died in 1371, as the "leading man for wisdom and hospitality in his time." From these Annals we can trace the chieftainship of the senior branch of the O'Gradys as follows:—

1268. Donell, chief of his name, died.
1311. Donell, chief of his name, died.
1408. Teige, chief of his name, died.
1485. Nicholas, Abbot of Tomgraney, died.
15—.? Donough, son of Nicholas, died.

1559. Donoughoge, son of Donough, and grandson of Nicholas, Archdeacon of Killaloe, died. The Annals do not tell us, but we know by other records, (Patent Rolls, 9th July, 1553) that he was the chief of the O'Gradys, and had a confirmation of the estates from the Crown, with the honor of Knighthood by Patent. 1582, Donough, son of the above Donough, "a man of great power," died. He was Dean, probably of Killaloe, as the dignities in that Cathedral were kept in the same families for generations. The last notice I find of the O'Grady family in the county of Clare, and one which shows that the Limerick branch acted in concert with their kinsmen in that county, is in the very curious journal of the siege of Ballyally Castle, near Ennis, printed in 1841 for the Camden Society. This castle was held by the widow of Maurice Cuffe (an Englishman, and a merchant in Ennis), assisted by her sons, one of whom was ancestor of the Earl of Desart. On the 10th January, 1642, Hugh O'Grady, of Stradnegalow, raised his clan, and began hostilities against the English settlers in the county of Clare, and on the 4th February they, with Connor O'Brien of Lemeneigh, Sir Donell O'Brien, and a few others of that name, (but without the approval of the Earl of Thomond,) and aided by the Mac Namaras, O'Loghlens of Burren, O'Hogans, O'Shaughnessys, and others, made an attack on Ballyally castle. "Captain Henry Gradey, of Cnockaney, in the County of Limerick," was one of those so engaged—and being one of the chief leaders in the undertaking, he was deputed (being then styled in the Narrative "Captain Henry O'Gradey,") to summon the castle—"and being demanded by some that were upon the battlement warding, what athorety hee had to demand it, or right or claime he could laie to it. Whereupon hee anshwerd that hee had commission from his majesty to banesh all the Protestants of the kingdom of Ireland. Heere upon without furthar exeamenation, there was a bullet sent from the castell by one of the wardars to exeamen his cumishon, which went through his thigh, but he made shift to rumble to the bushes and there fell downe, but only laye by it sixteene wickes, in which time, unhapely, it was cured."

This shot was fired, it appears, by "Andrew Chapling, minstar;" perhaps some Protestant clergyman of the district.

The O'Gradys were not intimidated by it. Having no cannon, they first made two "sows," a small one to clear the way, and a large one to follow; the latter being 35 feet long, 9 feet broad, and mounted on four wheels. It was double planked; nailed with nails to the value of £5, which had been collected to build the house of correction in Ennis, and covered with two rows of hides, and two rows of sheep skins, which made it bullet proof. They likewise made a leathern gun five feet long and 5 inches in diameter, with which they tried to batter the castle, but "shee only gave a great report, having 3lbs. of powthar in har, but lett fly backwarde, the bullet

of the great sept of Glancuilen, so called from Cuilen, the seventh in descent from Caissen, from whom this powerful race was also called Hy-Caessen, which Caissen was the second son of Cas, eighth in descent from Olliol Olum, king of Munster, in A.D. 234. This sept included the following families, Clan Macconmara, Clan-an-Oirchinneagh (MacInnerhenies) Clan a Ghiollamhavil, Clan-an-Chlaraugh, ClanMmheanmain, O'Maeldowny, O'Halloran, O'Slattery, O'Hossin, O'Hartigan, O'Haly, O'Cindergain, O'Maly, O'Meehan, and O'Liddy. Donogh was also supported by the two very powerful families of O'Quinn[1] and O'Dea, the chieftains of Cinel Fearmaic, now the barony of Inchiquin.

In 1309 these families met to decide the sovereignty of Thomond by the arbitrament of the sword, and a battle ensued in which Dermod, the grandson of Brien Roe, was defeated, and his brother Connor slain.[2]

The next year the territory of the O'Gradies (the Cinel Dongaile) was invaded and devastated by Dermod, by whom they were compelled to join him. The English as well as the Irish were now pitted in hostile camps, in consequence of the feuds existing between the Geraldines and De Burghos, the latter of whom supported Donogh, while the Geraldines joined their connexions, the De Clares, in sustaining the claims of Dermod.

The first entry in the Annals of the Four Masters for 1310, states that "Conor O'Brien the best roydamna (heir presumptive, *literally*, 'makings of a king,') was treacherously slain by the black English."[3] In the year 1311, was fought the battle of Bunratty, in which 630 gallowglasses of Donogh's army were killed, and De Burgho taken prisoner. The besiegers were commanded by the Red Earl of Ulster. Clonroad Castle was burned to the ground; Donogh himself was treacherously slain by a relative, and his successor Dermod died in the same year in which he was chosen.[4] These events are somewhat differently recorded by the Annalists of Clonmacnoise, who state that he was deposed and succeeded by Murtagh son of Turlogh. On the death of Dermod, his kinsmen Donogh and Brian Bane, grandsons of Brian Roe, once more took the field with the families of the Hy-Mbloyd. They were defeated at the battle of Tully O'Dea, and obliged to fly to Bunratty to seek the assistance of De Clare, which was granted. In the year 1313 Donough, supported by the English, vanquished his enemies, drove Murtagh O'Brien and his brother into Connaught, and was himself formally inaugurated King of Thomond.[5] The next year, however, a new division of territory took place by a decision of the States of Thomond, who awarded the eastern portion to Murtagh with the addition of Clonroad and Hy Cormac, the present barony of Islands. Murtagh O'Brien, encouraged by the in-

remaining within." And as the sows also turned out useless to the besiegers, being taken in a successful sally on the 27th of Feburary, they raised the siege.

The O'Gradys and O'Shaughnessys afterwards attacked Inchicronan castle, of which they eventually obtained possession. But we find no mention of the O'Gradys of Knockany as concerned in further actions at this period.

[1] The O'Quins are at present represented by the Earl of Dunraven. The O'Deas who gave their name to the parish of Dysart O'Dea, were connected by fosterage with the O'Briens, between whom and them a strong tie of affection subsisted to a very late period.

[2] Annals of the Four Masters.

[3] This expression puzzled Dr. O'Donovan who thinks it means the English lately came over. It is most likely, however, that it is a term of reproach which was richly merited by these ruthless and perfidious and turbulent invaders, the theatre of whose quarrels was now transferred to the kingdom of Thomond.

[4] Annals of the Four Masters.

[5] Annals of the Four Masters.

triguing English, who still pursued the Machiavellian policy of dividing and conquering, again sent for their Connaught allies, the De Burghs, O'Kellys, and O'Maddens, and succeeded in expelling Donogh and Brien. These monotonous feuds and barbarous dissensions always fomented by the Anglo-Norman invaders, were diversified by a more interesting event in the history of Thomond, occasioned by the arrival of a new invader.

In 1315 Edward Bruce invaded Ireland. He defeated Richard Earl of Ulster and Feidlim O'Connor, who marched against him with 8000 men: the walls of Athenry are said to have been built by the spoils of the battle.[1] In the following year Bruce besieged Limerick, burned the suburbs, and in the same year, (1316) he made the city the rendezvous of his army. Tradition points to the place in which it is said he resided during his occupation of Limerick. Donough, grandson of Brian Roe O'Brien, was one of the first princes to join Bruce, by whom he was conducted to Cashel, Nenagh, and Castle Connel.

The chieftains of Thomond, however, who sided with the English, had made formidable preparations to receive him, and having given command of the army to Murtagh, King of Thomond, compelled the Scottish invader to retreat just as he was on the point of crossing the Shannon.[2]

1318, Battle of Dysert O'Dea. Richard Lord Clare, with four knights and eighty men were slain by MacCarthy and O'Brien. Lord Clare was interred among the Friars in St. Francis's Abbey, Limerick. The name of De Clare now disappears from Irish history; but not from the locality of Bunratty where the great castle was built, because we find to this day certain members of the Studdert family bearing the name of De Clare.

Returning to the Civil History of Limerick, in 1331, Maurice FitzThomas, Earl of Desmond, was apprehended in the city on Assumption Day, by Sir Anthony Lucy, the Lord President, and sent to the Castle of Dublin. In the next year some followers of Desmond, who had been confined in the King's Castle, rose on the Constable, killed him, and seized the Castle into their own hands. Bamberry the Mayor, headed the citizens, and showed such courage, presence and resolution, that they soon recovered the Castle, repaying the hostages in a manner so hostile that they put them to the sword without exception, irrespectively of rank or quality.

The salmon and eel fisheries in those disturbed and anxious times, were not lost sight of; on the contrary they continually occupied the attention of the authorities; and the records of the time show clearly the valuable estimation they were held in as well by the citizens as by the Government.[3]

A Parliament held at Kilkenny in 1340, having granted a subsidy to the King, Ralph Kelly, Archbishop of Cashel, opposed the levying of it within his province. In this proceeding he was supported by the Bishops of Limerick,

[1] Hardiman's History of Galway.

[2] The invasion of Ireland by Edward Bruce is so interesting an event, independently of its connection with the History of Limerick, that the reader will consult with advantage a sketch of his progress in Ireland, by Dr. M'Dermott, from Hollyshed, Campion, Cox, Leland, Moore, Lodge's Peerage and other sources.

[3] Pipe Roll, 12th and 13th Edward, 1318-'19.—Thomas Crop and Alexander Barrett, Provosts of Limerick, render an account of £36 13s. 4d. of the farm for the same city; this roll mentions £65, which they delivered to the Bishop of Limerick for recompense of the fishery there for Easter term, in the 12th year of the reign of king Edward, son of king Edward, and for the six years preceding, viz. by the year £10. Robert de Saint Edmund's account (£120) of the issues of the weir at Limerick, is set out as well as other accounts of the issues of the weirs.

Emly, and Lismore; and at an assembly held at Tipperary, they decreed that all beneficed clergymen, contributing to the said subsidy, should lose their benefices, and that the laity who were their tenants, should be excommunicated, and their children to the third generation held incapable of holding any church living within that province. In execution of this decree the Archbishop and his suffragan Bishops were charged with having gone to Clonmel, and in their pontifical robes, in the public streets, excommunicated all those who granted or ordained the said subsidy, or who were concerned in levying the same, and for this offence an information was exhibited against them, the King's damages being laid at one thousand pounds. The Archbishop pleaded that neither he nor his suffragans had granted subsidy in the said Parliament—that by Magna Charta the Church was to remain free, and all were to be excommunicated who should infringe the liberties granted thereby. He confessed that he had excommunicated all who were enemies to the King's peace, who should infringe the said statute, or levy any subsidy without the King's consent—but he denied having excommunicated any person on account of the said subsidy. They were, however, found guilty, but we are not informed that any punishment was inflicted on them.

A charter was granted in aid of building a bridge at Limerick, and the election of a city coroner took place.[1] In the year after the city returned its first members to Parliament; and absenteeism[2] was prohibited; whilst the fisheries still filled the public mind with proceedings connected with them.

Pipe Roll, 2nd and 3rd Edward III., 1328-'29.—Robert Long and William de Rupe, Bailiffs, render account of the farm of the city of Limerick, and several sums and £95 delivered to the Bishop of Limerick in recompense of the fishery of the city of Limerick.

Pipe Roll, 2nd and 3rd Edward III., 1328-'29.—Account of the issues of the weir.

Commission to the Mayor of Limerick, dated 13th June, Edward III., 1331, Ireland commission of weirs.—"Know that we of our special grace have granted to our trusty the Mayor, &c., Commonalty of the city of Limerick, in Ireland, our weirs, to the said city belonging; to hold from the day of making these presents, to the end of the five years next following, paying to our Exchequer as much as those who heretofore held those weirs," &c. &c.

Pipe Roll, 10th to 12th Edward III., 1337—1339.—City of Limerick: John Daniel and Thomas Ricolt, Bailiffs, render an account of the fee farm of the city, and a sum of £25 which to the same is allowed, in recompense of the fishery of the city of Limerick, which was of the Bishop of Limerick, &c. &c. Robert de Saint Edmund's account is set out, and the account of Mayor and Bailiffs' arrears of farm, of weirs, of water of Shynyn.

Pipe Roll, 17th Edward III., 1343 '44.—City of Limerick: William Western and Richard Walsh, Bailiffs for the same, render an account of the fee farm, £30 recompense to the Bishop of the fishery of Limerick; account of the issues of the weirs.

In 1343, there was a grant to John de Balstot of the king's weirs at Limerick. Hugh de Burgh, treasurer, caused the weirs to be extended, and that extent to be delivered to the exchequer.

[1] Calendary of the Patent and close Rolls of Chancery—67.

[2] We give the following as a curious instance of the wills of this period. 1361, 36th Edward III., 12th of August, Edmund Wyndebald, citizen of Limerick, gave to his son Paul Wyndebald, and in defect to him of legitimate male issue, to William Long, and in defect of legitimate male issue to William Long, to Peter de Rupe (Roche), and in defect to Peter de Rupe of legitimate male issue, to Robert de Rupe, and in defect of him of such issue, to the heirs in a direct line of the said Edmund, for ever, all the messuages, lands and tenements, and returns to them belonging in the city and suburbs of Limerick, as also all the lands and tenements of Donnouyer and Carrigbethelagh, with their appurtenances in the county of Limerick. Witness the Mayor U. B., and Bailywes J. W., T. T., above named, Eustacius Delece, Thomas Kildare, Gilbert Fitzthomas. Compared at Drogheda the 12th of May by Nicholas Stanihurst, Notary of the Diocese of Derry, (Arthur MSS.)

Nicholas Bakekar, Mayor; John Wigmore and John Troy, Bailiffs:—Arthur MSS.

CHAPTER VIII.

ANNALS OF THOMOND.—GRANTS, &c.

We resume the Annals of Thomond, already given in summary. Mahon Maonmaighe O'Brien, the eldest son of Murtogh, the usurping king of Thomond, who according to the Four Masters, deposed his uncle Dermod in 1363, is gratefully remembered by nationalists for having compelled the English of North Munster to pay the *Dubchios* or black rent. Twelve years of this prince's reign were spent in feuds, chiefly excited by the intrigues of the English. He was succeeded by his brother Torlogh, surnamed Mael or the Bald. The new king was dethroned and banished from Thomond by his nephew, Brian Catha an Aonaigh, and took refuge in the county Waterford with Garrett, Earl of Desmond, who, leading an army to reinstate him in his dominions, was met and totally defeated by Brian. This battle was fought on the banks of the Maig, now Monaster Nenagh, in the county Limerick, near the celebrated Monastery founded in 1131 by Turlogh O'Brien. On this occasion the Earl of Desmond, John Fitz Nicholas, and Sir Thomas Fitzjohn, with many other nobles, were taken by O'Brien and Macnamara of Thomond, in the Abbey. It was from this battle, in which Brian Catha obtained a great victory, that he received the surname of Aonach, from the fair green on which it was fought. The Four Masters state that on this occasion "Limerick was burned by the Thomonians and the Claincuilen (the MacNamaras), upon which the inhabitants capitulated with O'Brien. Sioda Cam (Macnamara,) son of the daughter of O'Dwyer (of Kilnemanagh) assumed the Wardenship of the town; but the English who were in it acted treacherously towards him and killed him." The same authority states that Brien O'Brien, lord of Thomond, was banished by Turlough, son of Murtogh O'Brien and the Clanrickardes; from which it appears that Turlogh Mael was set up again by the English. In this feud the Macnamaras followed opposite parties. The death of Turlogh Mael in the English Pale is recorded by the Four Masters as having taken place in 1398, which was the year in which his patron Garrett or Gerald also died. James, the successor of this Earl, obtained a grant of the territory east of the Blackwater from Henry V. in 1413, in which year also he granted to the descendants of Torlogh O'Brien a part of the lands about the Comeragh Mountains, where their posterity are still known as the Waterford O'Briens.[1]

In the year 1394, Richard the Second, king of England, landed in Waterford. He is said to have been stimulated to undertake his new enterprise by a taunt uttered by the German Electors, from whom his ambassadors had in vain solicited the Imperial Crown of Germany; the Electors pronouncing him unworthy of that high dignity, as neither being able to keep the conquests

[1] In 1367 the statutes of Kilkenny were passed prohibiting the use of the Irish language, costume and customs, the presentation of Irishmen to ecclesiastical benefices as well as their admission into religious houses. The practice of the Brehon Laws and the entertaining of bards and minstrels were by it declared penal. We have great pleasure in stating the curious fact, that by the returns of the late census, it appears that we have in this year, 1864, more people speaking Irish than existed at the passing of this atrocious measure. We notice, too, with very great satisfaction, that the study of the Irish language is increasing rapidly every year, even among the better informed classes of Irishmen.

in France, made by his ancestors, nor to repress the insolence of his own subjects, nor to reduce to obedience his rebellious vassals in Ireland.

The army which landed with Richard consisted of 4000 men at arms and 30,000 archers—a formidable army which soon obliged several of the native chieftains to make another enforced submission, which, however, amounted to a mere nominal allegiance intended to be broken at the earliest opportunity.[1]

In 1399 when Brian O'Brien, Lord of Thomond, died, occurred also the death of Torlogh, son of Morrogh na Raithnighe O'Brien, the representative of the line of Brian Roe. Brian was succeeded by his brother Conor.

In this prince's reign the Franciscan Abbey of Quin, in the county Clare, was completed by Sioda Cam Macconmara, prince of Glancüilen. June 11th, 1400, Gerald, the fifth Earl of Kildare, Patrick Fox and Walter Fitzgerald, were appointed *Custodes Pacis et Supervisores Custodium pacis in comitatu Limericensi.*[2] Thomas Fitzgerald, son of the Earl of Kildare, was High Sheriff of Limerick county.[3] On the 20th of January, 1414, Henry V. granted a charter to the citizens of Limerick, in which he confirmed the liberties already extended by his grandfather, King John, and granted "that no citizen of Limerick shall be impleaded outside the walls of the same city of any plea, except of pleas of outer tenements, which do not pertain to the Hundred of the aforesaid city. And that they may be quit of murder within the metes of the city, and that no citizen shall make duel in the same city of any appeal, which any one against him can make, but he shall purge himself by the oath of forty men of the same city, who shall be lawful. And that

[1] The king remained a week in Waterford, gave splendid entertainments, and received the homage of such Anglo-Irish Lords as the Le Poers, the Graces and Butlers. He was a benefactor to the churches and confirmed the charter to the great Abbey of the Holy Cross which had been granted by king John. On this occasion he summoned to appear before him, by the Feast of the Purification, the Earl of Desmond, that celebrated Gerald "the Poet," who went to war with the Butlers for giving him the nickname of 'The Rhymer,' in whatever part of Ireland he should then be, to answer the charge of having usurped the manor, revenues and honor of Dungarvan.* He then formed the resolution of marching to Dublin under the consecrated banner of the canonized king Edward the Confessor, which bore, says Froissart, "a cross patence or on a field gules with four doves argent on the shield." The celebrated Art M'Murrogh had however full notice of his movements, and had made effectual arrangements for interrupting his progress. The notices, however of these transactions by native annalists are very slight; and for the details the reader should have recourse to Froissart, to a Norman metrical sketch of which Moore has availed himself, and to the original Rolls which contain the submission of the Irish kings, and which as yet remain to be translated.†

The rudeness or simplicity of the manners of these Irish chieftains is dwelt upon with great emphasis by Froissart the French chronicler of these royal festivities. They were with great difficulty induced to change their plain mantles for robes of silk, trimmed with squirrel skin or miniver, and their aversion to wear breeches was as deeply seated as that of some of the primitive Highlanders of Celtic Scotland. A very handsome house was set apart for the four kings and their attendants. The Earl of Runde, who spoke Irish fluently, and Castide who had learned it while a prisioner with Brian Costeret (see Foissart), were appointed as interpreters to wait upon them and translate between them and the English. They were so unsophisticated it appears in their manners as to desire that their minstrels and principal servants should sit at the same table and eat of the same dish, and it required all the pressing eloquence of the interpreters to dissuade them from what they called a praiseworthy custom. Having kept watch all the night before the Church, they were knighted on Lady Day, in the Cathedral of Dublin, after the usage of England and France, though they assured the king that they had already received the honor of knighthood when they were seven years old; and the ceremony was followed by a great banquet, at which the four Irish kings in robes of state sat with king Richard, at his table (Froissart). The presence of O'Connor and M'Murrough is, however, denied by some of the annalists.‡

[2] Smyth's History of Cork, vol. ii. p. 29.

[3] Lodge's Peerage, vol. ii. p. 81.

* Lynch's Feudal Dignities of Ireland.

† Dr. O'Donovan's Annals of the Four Masters.

‡ Ibid.

no one shall take procurations within the walls by assize or by livery of the marshals against the will of the aforesaid citizens. And that the citizens shall be quit of toll, lastage, passage, pontage, and of all other customs throughout his whole land and power. And that none of those citizens shall be indicted of an amercement of money except according to the law of the Hundred, to wit, by the forfeiture of forty shillings, whereof he who shall happen to be in amercement shall be acquitted of one-half, and the other half he shall give in amercement, excepting three amercements, to wit, of the assize of bread, and ale, and of watchings, which now are of two shillings and sixpence, whereof one-half shall be forgiven, and the other half shall be rendered in amercement. And that the Hundred shall be held once only in a week. And that he shall be in no plea "for and cause by miskenning," and that they may justly have their lands, and tenures, and their pledges, and debts, throughout his whole land and power, whoever should have them. And that they may distrain their debtors by their goods in Limerick, and that of the lands and tenures to which within the city they shall be entitled, they shall be held according to the customs of the city, and of the debts which shall be accommodated, and of the pledges given in the same city, pleas thereof may be held according to the custom of the city, saving to him and his heirs the pleas touching the Crown."

This charter also ordered "that no foreign merchant shall buy within the same city of a foreigner, corn, hides, or wool, except of the citizens of the city. And that no foreigner shall have a tavern in the city, of wine, except in a ship; and this liberty reserved to the king, that from each ship the bailiff shall choose two casks of wine to the king's use, wheresoever they wish in the ship, namely, 'one before the mast, and the other behind the mast,' for forty shillings, viz. one for twenty shillings, and the other for twenty shillings, and no more thereof he shall take except at the will of the merchants. And that no foreigner shall sell cloth in the same city by retail, nor shall remain in the same city with his wares there to be sold except for forty days. And that no citizen of Limerick shall be attached or distrained for any debt, unless he be a debtor or surety; and that they may marry themselves, and their sons and daughters, and widows of the same city, *without the license of their lords.*"

Henry VI. granted another charter in 1423 in which the following passage occurs:—"And that they (the citizens) may hold their market as they have been accustomed from of old to hold it; and also that no one who is an Irishman, by blood and nation (the term 'Irishman,' being understood and taken as it is accustomed to be taken and understood in our land of Ireland), shall be mayor, or exercise any office within our said city; nor shall any one within the aforesaid city take or maintain any child of Irish blood and nation, as is aforesaid, as an apprentice, under penalty of forfeiting his franchise in the aforesaid city."

In the following year, viz. 1424, the Charters of Limerick were confirmed (P. and C. Rolls.), and the Bishop was summoned to answer certain charges (ibid.) There is a record of the weirs also this year (Select Rolls.)

In the year 1426, Connor O'Brien died at an advanced age, and was succeeded by Teige na Glemore, his nephew, and son to O'Brian Catha an Aonaigh. Of Teighe na Glemore's sons—one, Brian Duff, was ancestor to the O'Briens of Carrigogunnel, and gave his name to Pobble Brien, in the county Limerick,—another, Donald, was Bishop of Limerick, according to

Dr. O'Brien.[1] August 31st, 1422, 1st Henry VI., the Earl of Desmond was appointed Constable of the Castle of Limerick, and in 1444 was appointed Governor of the counties of Limerick, Waterford, Cork, and Kerry, with a liberty to absent himself from Parliament for life,[2] on condition of sending a sufficient proxy. He married a daughter of Ulick Burke MacWilliam Eighter, and he is said by some to have brought the MacSheehys into Munster as his life-guards. The MacSheehys, however, were in Munster before himself. They are given by O'Halloran as chiefs of Ballyhallinan, in the barony of Pobble Brien, county Limerick.[3] During the wars of the Roses the attention of the English Government was so much taken up by their domestic quarrels that the Irish were all but left to their own devices. All the power of the Government was unable to keep the native chieftains from collecting their "black rent;" and the Geraldines, especially the Desmond branch, soon adopted all the peculiar habits of the natives, and were designated, by the English as "more Irish than the Irish themselves." In the reign of Queen Elizabeth and of the sixteenth Earl of Desmond, for the word "reign" is not inapplicable to this powerful chieftain's tenure of power, no less than one hundred thousand acres of his property were confiscated in the county of Limerick alone, and divided between the following English families:—the Annesleys, Barkleys, Billingsleys, Bourchiers, Carters, Courtenays, Fittons, Mannerings, Stroudes, Trenchards, Thorntons and Uthereds. Trinity College, Dublin, also owes much of its property to the Desmond confiscations.

A charter to the Mayor of Limerick was granted in 1433. In 1436, a trial was prohibited in Limerick by ecclesiastical authority. In 1442, Sir John Talbot was endowed with a grant out of the fee-farm of the city. In 1450, important improvements, which are more particularly noticed in the annals of Limerick, were effected. In 1453, John Cantwell, Archbishop of Cashel, held a provincial synod here, the canons of which are to this day extant (Wilkins' Concil. tom. iii). Teigh O'Brien, Lord of Thomond, in the year 1467, led a very great force southward, across the Shannon, in the summer; he plundered the Irish of Desmond and of West Munster (Cork and Kerry); the Irish of Leinster also paid him tribute, and he then returned home, after having taken possession of the territory of Clan William (in Tipperary), and of the county of Limerick, which were confirmed to him by the earl of Desmond, for obtaining peace for himself and his country. After obtaining security of sixty marks for him and his heirs for ever, from the people of Limerick, he died, and Conor, the son of Turlogh O'Brien, was appointed his successor.[4]

[1] The Annals for 1411 contain the following, amongst other entries:—

"Donnell, the son of Conor O'Brien, Tanist of Thomond, was slain by Barry More."

"Thomas, the son of John, Earl of Desmond, was banished from Ireland by James, the son of Garrett."

"Dermot, the son of Gilla-Isa Magrath, Ollav of Thomond in poetry, died."

The Thomas, son of John, Earl of Desmond, thus briefly alluded to as banished by his uncle James, son of Garrett or Gerald (the ward of the O'Briens of Thomond), is the hero of the romantic story immortalised in Moore's beautiful song, "By the Feal's wave benighted."

The Earl of Desmond, who was ward or foster son to the O'Briens, and of whom we have spoken before, as conferring grants in land in the county Waterford on the descendants of Torlogh O'Brien the Bald, banished from Thomond about 1367, may be regarded as the first of that great house who held vast estates in Limerick, Cork, Kerry, and Waterford, and who assumed the regal or princely state, in virtue of which they conferred Knighthood on some of their relatives—the Knight of Kerry, the Knight of Glyn, the White Knight, &c. He was the fifth in descent from Maurice Fitzgerald, the father-in-law of De Clare, who treacherously murdered Brian Roe O'Brien at Bunratty. He obtained Milo de Cogan's extensive property in Cork, by Royal license, which enabled him to purchase whatever lands he pleased, and by whatever service they were held under the king.

[2] Lodge's Peerage, vol. i. p. 67. [3] See p 41. [4] Annals of the Four Masters.

CHAPTER IX.

ANNALS OF THOMOND.—THE DESMONDS AND THE BUTLERS.

THE annals of these times startle us with strange and terrible incidents. In 1460 O'Brien, Bishop of Killaloe (Terence or Turlough O'Brien see Harris's Ware, p. 594, who refers to the Annals of Ulster for further particulars) was killed by Brian of the Fleet at Clonroad, on which the original town of Innis or Ennis stood. The site of the present town was a strath or green belonging to Clonroad, which was the principal seat of the O'Briens.[1] Constant wars between the natives marked the features of the times. In a maritime expedition of the O'Meallys of Mayo with the son of O'Brien, to Corca Bhaiscinn, the MacMahon's country, comprising the baronies of Moyarta and Clonderalaw, in the South West of the county Clare, against MacMahon, three of the party were slain before they could reach their ship; Donald O'Brien and Mahon O'Brien were taken prisoners on their way to their ship; their people were slaughtered; and subsequently O'Brien O'Meally was slain by his brother Hugh O'Meally, in a dispute which arose between them.[2]

It was on the 4th of March, in this year, that Edward IV. was made King of England. He granted a charter to Limerick in 1464. In 1462, the young Earl of Ormond came to Ireland with a large number of Saxons [*i.e.* Englishmen], a great war broke out between the Earls of Ormond and Desmond; Garrett, the son of the Earl of Desmond, was taken prisoner by the Butlers; in successive fights the Desmonds suffered several defeats; the Butlers in consequence rose to very great power.[3] Mac Richard Butler, who is designated the most renowned and illustrious of the English of Ireland in his time, died soon afterwards—he was educated by Richard O'Hedigan, Archbishop of Cashel, according to a memorandum on folio 115 of the Psalter of Cashel. Not satisfied with the way in which Thomas, Earl of Desmond, who had been sent over in 1464, conducted the government of Ireland, John Tiptoft, Earl of Worcester, was deputed to replace him—an occurrence, according to the annalists, which wrought the ruin of Ireland.

The Earl was invited to Drogheda to meet Tiptoft, when taking advantage of the occasion, his enemies accused him of making alliances with the Irish, "who were the king's enemies, and furnishing them with horses and arms against the king's subjects." He was beheaded on the 15th of February, 1467-8, by order of Tiptoft.[4] But these were only the pretended reasons given for his destruction. A child of his kindred and name was appointed to be executed at the same time, who besought the executioner not to hurt a boil that was upon his neck; the putting of which child to death confirms the opinion that malice and revenge were the principal reasons why this Earl so unhappily lost his life.[5] Edward Plunkett, Esq., was also attainted at the same time for the same alleged charge, and suffered. Tiptoft is said by Cox[6] to have been one of the most learned and eloquent men of Christendom. One of the articles of his Parliament of Drogheda was that "none shall purchase Bulls for Benefices from Rome under legal penalty." Between the Desmonds

[1] Annals of the Four Masters. [2] Ibid. [3] Ibid.

[4] It was in this year that a patent was passed to Lord Dunboyne of the prisage of wines in the Ports of Cork, Youghal, Ross, Galway, Limerick, Kinsale, Dungarvan, and Dingle, with £10 per annum for his services in taking Con O'Connor and delivering him to the Lord-Deputy, the Earl of Worcester.—*Smith's History of Cork.*

[5] Smith's History of Cork, p. 28,—and Smith's History of Kerry, p. 251.

[6] Cox's Hibernica Anglicana.

and the MacCarthys, feelings of animosity prevailed—the young Earl of Desmond was taken prisoner by the MacCarthys; but he was soon afterwards released. The Prince of Thomond, in these wars between the Desmonds and the Butlers, took an active part with the latter. On the return of the Earl of Kildare to this country after triumphing over his enemies, he marched into North Munster, where he was met by Conor-na-Srona, at the head of the Dal-gais; battle was given to the Lord Justice, near the Castle of Ballyhicky, in Thomond, a desperate engagement took place, the Earl of Kildare was defeated; and Conor-na-Srona obtained possession of the Castle above named, and another stronghold belonging to Fineen Macnamara. Conor-na-Srona had two sons—the elder, Teige, killed in a fray by Desmond, son of the Bishop O'Brien, who was immediately put to death by the bereaved father in 1474;—the second, Donough, father of O'Brien, who was compelled to part with the fertile plain of Shallee, near Ennis, as a ransom when taken prisoner by the two sons of Murrough, ancestor of the Earls of Inchiquin, and of the O'Briens of Dromoland. Terence O'Brien, lord of Arra, died in 1487.[1] In the same year, on the night of the Epiphany, a great tempest arose; it was a night of general destruction to all, by reason of the number of prostrated persons and cattle destroyed, and trees and houses, both on water and land, throughout Ireland. Strange that houses should have been built upon water, but the fact is so—the Irish chieftains had their residences thus protected, even during the reign of Queen Elizabeth, and it was in one of those that O'Neill in that reign, kept his plate, many valuables, &c. In 1488, another dreadful tempest arose, and the summer of this year was so wet, it was as inclement as winter, and much of the crops decayed. In the same year, on the 7th of December, James, the ninth Earl of Desmond, was basely murdered at his house of Courtmatriss, near Rathkeale, in the county of Limerick, by his own servants, at the early age of twenty-eight years. The murderers did not escape with impunity; they were all apprehended and executed by Maurice, who was the tenth Earl, and who being usually carried in a litter, was named Claudus—he joined Perkin Warbeck, and besieged the city of Waterford;[2] but receiving the king's pardon, he was granted all the customs, coquets, poundage, and prise wines in Limerick in 1497.

In 1485 Nicholas O'Grady, Abbot of Tuam Greine (now Tomgrany, in the barony of Upper Tullagh, Co. Clare) who is called a charitable and truly hospitable man, and the twelfth man who was free in Limerick, died.[3]

On the 26th of June, 1489, Henry VII. granted a charter to Limerick.

In 1492, Edward Poynuil, (Sir Edward Poynings) a Knight of the Garter and Privy Councillor, came from England with the Earl of Kildare, and the celebrated act, called Poyning's act, was passed, by which, among other things, it was enacted, that all the statutes made lately in England, concerning or belonging to the public weal, should be thenceforth good and effectual in Ireland. In the following year, Con, son of Hugh Roe O'Donnell, with his "great little army," in his fight with the Glyns, never halted till he crossed the Shannon, and afterwards advanced into Munster, where he totally plundered Magh o'g Coinchinn, now Magunnihy, a barony in the South East of the county

[1] O'Donoughue's History of the O'Briens.

[2] Smith's History of Kerry—Smith's History of Waterford.

[3] Annals of the Four Masters. Dr. O'Donovan, in a note, states that the twelfth man, who was free, means the twelfth mere Irishman who was free of the Corporation of Limerick. In Galway it was ordered, "that Lieutenant-Colonel O'Shaughnessy (in consideration of his allyance in blood to the whole towne, and for the good nature and affection that he and family doe bear it), and his posteritie shall be hereafter freemen of this Corporation."—*Hardiman's History of Galway.*

of Kerry. In the next year Conor O'Brien, Lord of Thomond, died, and his brother Gilla Duv was inaugurated in his place.

On the 26th of August, 1496, the king (Henry VII.) granted a pardon to Maurice, Earl of Desmond, for all his offences—he had also a grant of the Customs of Limerick.[1]

In 1497 and 1498 a great famine prevailed through all Ireland, "so that people ate of food unbecoming to mention, and never before heard of as having been introduced on human dishes."[2] Corn was so scarce that a peck of wheat in Meath was sold at five lesser ounces of silver, a gallon of ale sixpence, and a barrel of oats in Ulster was worth a cow.[3] The century closes with wars between the O'Briens and the rightful head of the Butlers, who were jealous of the support which the O'Briens afforded to Sir James Ormond, already referred to as an illegitimate son. Turlough O'Brien defeated the Butlers at Moyaliff in Ormond, or rather in Tipperary, not far from Cashel, after a bloody engagement.

CHAPTER X.

LIMERICK UNDER THE TUDORS.

THE sixteenth century, so full of deep importance to the destinies of the country, so remarkable for the many religious, political and domestic incidents and changes which took place in it, teems with important and startling events.

1502. In the winter of this year Turlogh O'Brien, Lord of Thomond, burned the county of Limerick and Cord-Maighe [*i.e.* along the river Maigue in the Barony of Coshma, to Limerick][4]

The death of Donough O'Brien, the descendant of Donough Carbraigh, Lord of the district from Adare to Limerick, and from Baile-nua (Newtown in the parish of Kilkeedy) to Monasteranenagh, Lord of Aherlagh and Coill-Beithne (Kilbeheny) "the fountain of the prosperity and affluence of Munster," occurred in 1502. In this year, according to the Annals of Ulster, there was such inclement weather that it killed most of the cattle of Ireland, and prevented the husbandmen from tilling the earth. In the next year (1503) the Earl of Kildare went to England, and returned home with success, bringing with him his son, who had been in the custody of the King of England. Edmond Knight of Glynn died; and Teige Boirneach of Burren, county Clare, and Murtogh O'Brien, who went with Owen O'Flaherty into West Connaught against his kinsmen, Rory Oge and Donnell an baid or of the Boat, two sons of O'Flaherty, attacked the camp and carried away prizes and spoils. The sons of Mahon O'Brien and Owen

[1] Rymer's Fœdera. The Earl of Desmond made a submission to Thomas Radcliff, Earl of Essex, Lord Deputy of Ireland, at Limerick.

[2] What little was known in these times in Ireland of natural history is evident from the fact that a camel which was sent by the King of England to one of the O'Briens, was regarded with perfect wonder, even by the better educated, who did not know what to designate the animal. We find the camel thus described in the Annals of the Four Masters:—

"A wonderful animal was sent to Ireland by the King of England. She resembled a mare, and was of yellow colour, with the hoofs of a cow, a long neck, a very large head, a large tail, which was ugly and scant of hair. She had a saddle of her own. Wheat and salt were here her usual food. She used to draw the largest sledge burden by her tail. It used to kneel when passing under any doorway, however high, and also let her rider mount."

[3] MSS. Annals quoted in Smith's History of Cork. [4] Annals of the Four Masters.

O'Flaherty were slain by the O'Flahertys. The great battle of Knocktow, or the hill of the Battle-axes, in Clare Galway, about five miles north of Galway, between the Lord Justice Garrett, the son of Thomas Earl of Kildare, and Mac William of Clanrickarde, and which events had been maturing, as we have already seen, was fought in the next year (1504). It is described by the Annalists as one of the most remarkable battles on record since the invasion of Ireland. A description of it, copied nearly word for word, from the Annals of Ulster, is given by the Four Masters; which O'Donovan, in his note in reference to the account of the details of this sanguinary engagement, states that it is in bardic prose style, which sacrifices strength to sound, and sense to alliteration. The battle was occasioned by a private dispute between the Earl of Kildare and Ulick Burke, the MacWilliam, &c. of Clanrickarde, who was joined by O'Brien of Thomond, and the half of Munster. It is said that no Englishmen fell in the engagement; and Moore[1] adopts this assertion as a fact; and in truth no English appeared in the battle—the belligerents at both sides were Irish—viz. those of the Pale, under Kildare, and those of Connaught, under MacWilliam. Sir John Davies expresses surprise that so late as the reign of Henry VII. a battle so terrible should be undertaken to decide a mere private quarrel—without charge of the King—as stated in the Book of Howth. Clanricarde and his forces were overthrown—the number of the slain was enormous. But as we proceed, we shall see that Ulick Burke and the "Irish" determined to strike another blow, and that Monabraher, within the liberties of the city of Limerick, was selected for the fight.

Our local annal of the next year, 1505, (21st Henry VII.) shows that the citizens reposed anything but safely within their walls, and that the means they took to protect themselves from pirates, who appear to have come up to the very watergates, were primitive indeed. William Harrold was Mayor for the second time; Nicholas Creagh and John Rochford were bailiffs; John White was Clerk of the Court of Limerick (quere? Town Clerk); James Butler, Earl of Ormond, was Lord Lieutenant of Ireland; when our authority, on the 13th of February, says,[2] "a great tri-oared galley, fitted out with all things necessary, was built for the purpose of guarding our port, and protecting the public interests against the incursions of pirates." The next year (1506) the Bridge of Port-Croisi,—a name which is yet preserved in the townland of Portcrush, situated on the Shannon, in the north-west end of the parish of Castleconnell,—was built by Turlough O'Brien; and some few years afterwards, as we shall see, the Earl of Kildare marched with his army to this bridge, which he broke down, and encamped for the night, before the battle of Monabraher.—John Burke, son of Ulick, "the noblest of the English in Ireland, a vessel filled with hospitality and truth, a link of steel in sustaining the battle," died.—Henry VIII. now (1508) ascended the English throne; and events prove his anxiety to see more closely than any of his predecessors into the affairs of Ireland. In Limerick, we find that he laid the foundation of the Sexton family, which up to our own time, retain much of the lands which he gave to their ancestors. By new Letters Patent he constituted Garrett, Earl of Kildare, Lord Justice of Ireland, and intimated to him his father's decease and his own succession to his kingdoms.[3] Always aggressive, and now, more than ever sustained by Royal favor, an army was led into Munster by the Lord Justice of Ireland,

[1] Moore's History of Ireland, vol. iii. p. 221.
[2] Arthur MSS.
[3] Ware's Annals of Ireland, ad. an. 1502, 1510.

attended by the chiefs of the English and Irish of Leinster. He erected a castle at Carrig-Cital, now Carrick-Kettle, in the Barony of Small County, county of Limerick, in despite of the Irish. O'Donnell followed with a small number of troops to assist him, through Meath, and went westward into Munster until he joined him at that place. Then they passed into Ealla, (Duhallow, county Cork), and they took the castle of Caen-tuirc (the head or perhaps hill of the boar—now Kanturk—see Smith's history of Cork, vol. II. c. 6) and plundered the country. Then proceeding into great Desmond, they took the castle of Pailis (a castle on an eminence near Laune Bridge, Killarney—Windel's Historical and Descriptive Notes of Cork, 2nd Ed. pp. 386, 387), and another castle on the banks of the Noer Mang (Maine, near the Bay of Castlemaine, county of Kerry), after which they returned into Limerick. They then mustered additional forces; and the Geraldines of Munster, under the conduct of James, son of the Earl of Desmond, and all the English of Munster, and also McCarthy Reagh (Donald, son of Dermott, who was son of Fineen), Cormac Oge, who was the son of Cormac, son of Teige, and the English and Irish of Leinster, proceeded into Limerick. Turlough, the son of Teige O'Brien, Lord of Thomond, with all his forces, and M'Namara, the son of Silaedha, and the Clanrickarde, mustered another numerous army to oppose them. The Earl, *i.e.* the Lord Justice, marched with his army through Bealach-na-Fadbaighe, and Bealach-na-nghamn, the old names of the roads to Portcroise, until he arrived at a wooden bridge, *i.e.* the bridge of Portcroise already referred to, which O'Brien had constructed over the Shannon; and he broke down the bridge, and encamped for the night in the country.—O'Brien had encamped so near them, that they used to hear each other's voices during the night. On the morrow, the Lord Justice mustered his army, placing the English and Irish of Munster in the van, and the English of Meath and Dublin in the rere. O'Donnell, and his small body of troops, joined the English of Meath and Dublin in the rere; and they all took the short cut through Mor-na-in-brather [Monabraher near Limerick] to Limerick. O'Brien attacked the English, and slew the Baron Kent and Barnwall at Kirwickstown [now Cookstown, in Meath], and many other men of distinction not enumerated. The English army escaped by flight, and the army of O'Brien returned in triumph with great spoils. There was not, in either army, that day, a man who won more fame than O'Donnell.[1] The Four Masters, says O'Donovan, always praise an O'Donnell, at which we cannot be surprised, as founders of their monastery.[2]

It is not our business to follow the fighting Earl through his successive campaigns against the Irish in Connaught and Leinster—through his crossings and re-crossings of the Shannon—the annals for many years teeming with relations of his warlike excursions; suffice it to say that he worked with a vengeance in the interest of his Royal master. In the year 1516, a war broke out among the Fitzgeralds, and James, the son of Maurice, laid siege to Loch Gur, in the barony of Small County, near Bruff, where the ruins of a great castle, and other military works, erected by the Earls of Desmond, may yet be seen. The O'Briens of Thomond, joined by Pierce

[1] Annals of the Four Masters, vol. v. pp. 304-5-6.

[2] Ware gives another account of this battle; but all the annalists agree in stating that the victory over the Earl was decisive—that night having decided the battle, he withdrew, the army (says Ware) still retaining their ranks, and the energy displayed by the Dalgais on the occasion inspired the Lord Justice with so much respect for the military genius of their prince, that he turned his arms to another quarter, and laid siege to the castle of Leim-ui-bhanain (the Leap) in Ely O'Carroll, belonging to the prince of that territory.

Butler, and others of his Confederates, advanced to meet the Geraldine army,—and "when the son of the Earl perceived the nobles of the army of the great race of Brian approaching, the resolution he arrived at was, not to come to an engagement with them, but to leave the town unharmed, and thus they parted with each other."[1] It was immediately after this that the Earl took the Leap Castle,[2] which still exists under its old name, and is situated between Roscrea and Tullamore.

CHAPTER XI.

END OF THE KINGDOM OF THOMOND.—RIVALRY BETWEEN LIMERICK AND GALWAY.

ONE reason of the constant hostilities of the princes of Thomond from this period down to the extinction of that Kingdom, is to be sought in the alliances formed by Conor na-Srona for his daughters, three of whom intermarried with members of the O'Donnell, De Burgh, and O'Ruarc families;[3] and to these alliances are also attributable many of the disastrous consequences of the fatal battle of Knocktow. The limits prescribed by the space which we propose to occupy with the sequel of the History of Thomond for the term of the next thirty-five or thirty six years, will admit of only short notices of the principal events which occur in that interval; while, for several contemporary occurrences in the local history we must refer to our Annals of Limerick.

In the year 1522 a feud having arisen between O'Neill and O'Donnell, the sons of the King of Thomond, namely, Donogh and Teige, together with their kinsman Torlogh O'Brien, Bishop of Killaloe, proceeded to the North to the aid of O'Neill; but the latter prince having been defeated before they could join him, the prince of Thomond and his troops were compelled to make a precipitate retreat, not halting until they reached the Curlew mountains, where the allies separated.[4]

In the year 1523 this Teige O'Brien was killed at the battle of the ford of Camus.[5] while attacking Piers Roe, Earl of Ormond, who was then at war with the neighbouring dynast O'Carroll; and his dead body was carried by his soldiers to the monastery of Ennis, where several of his race have found a resting place.

In 1528 Torlogh Donn, the father of this prince died after a reign of 29 years. He is highly lauded by the Four Masters for "maintaining war against the English." He must have been regarded as a person of considerable consequence, for his name is included in a treaty entered into with the Earl of Desmond by Francis I. of France, to divert the attention of Henry VIII. of England, who was then leagued with the Emperor Charles

[1] Annals of the Four Masters.

[2] The great war between O'Donnell and O'Neill, in which the former was victorious, occupies several pages of the Annals, in 1522, and is interesting, chiefly as indicating the existence of the fiercest and most implacable feuds among the Irish. The O'Briens, Burkes, O'Connor Roe, O'Connor Don, M'Dermots, &c., joined O'Neill, whilst O'Donnell was supported by the forces in Kinnell Connell, viz., O'Boyle, O'Dogherty, the MacSweenys, O'Gallaghers, &c. &c. But between the English in Ireland there were also fierce and implacable disputes.

[3] Historical Memoir of the O'Briens.

[4] Annals of the Four Masters, who, as usual, favor the O'Donnells, the founder of their monastery.

[5] On the Suir a little north of Cashel.

against the French monarch. Torlogh Donn was succeeded by his eldest son Connor, his brother Donogh being nominated tanist, who died in 1531, and was succeeded by Murrough, who surrendered the Royalty to Henry VIII.

The hatreds, jealousies and wars between the Butlers and the Fitzgeralds —the English in Ireland—the latter, however, "more Irish than Irish themselves," are written on a dark and dreary page of our national annals. To dwell on the state of affairs between the English in Ireland at this period would be merely, *mutatis mutandis*, giving a picture of the wars that prevailed among the Irish themselves. We proceed, therefore, to develope the progress of domestic affairs at this time. In the year 1524 a remarkable occurrence took place, which shows that Galway at this time was in a position superior to ours, commercially and financially. We are told by the Historian of Galway that the city of Limerick was from an early period of our history jealous of the growing trade and prosperity of Galway, although the latter long had retained its superiority. This jealousy was shown on many occasions; but latterly broke out violently in consequence of a mercantile dispute which happened some time previously to 1524, between David Comyn, a citizen of Limerick and some merchants of Galway. Comyn complained that he could have no justice administered to him in Galway; and waiting for an opportunity he seized the person of Ambrose Lynch Fitzjames, one of the inhabitants of the town, and kept him close prisoner, until he was ransomed for a large sum of money. In consequence of this outrage hostilities commenced between the city and town, and great depredations were committed both by sea and land; until the people of Limerick, weary of the contest, dispatched two of their citizens, Christopher Arthur and Nicholas Arthur, to Galway, to conclude a peace; or as the record of this transaction expresses it, "to pacyficat and put awaye all manner of adversitye, rancour and inconveniences that have rysen or insurged between the city and town and habitantes of the same." Upon their arrival in Galway the Mayor, bailiffs and commonalty assembled in the town-house, and with one assent elected Walter and Anthony Lynch FitzThomas, to conclude a "perpetual peace and concorde" with the deputies of Limerick. The terms being agreed upon, a public meeting was convened on the 7th of May, 1524, and articles were ratified on both sides; and apparently to the mutual satisfaction of all parties; but as treaties are more frequently entered into than inviolably observed, so the people of Galway complained that those of Limerick still indulged their resentment, although every matter in dispute was supposed to have been peaceably settled; and charged them with having again involved the town in fresh troubles, by insidiously instigating Pierce, Earl of Ormond, to make a demand for prisage wines, an impost which had never been theretofore paid or demanded in Galway.

Limerick, in the end, owing to political causes, gained the ascendancy, which it holds to this day.

These rivalries between Galway and Limerick prevailed for many years. The "tribes" of the one were jealous of the sturdy Anglo-Irish of the other; but though at this time Galway was one of the finest towns in Ireland—spacious, well built, and well walled, with a great trade with the south of Europe, and particularly with Spain, and sustained by the spirit and energy of its early settlers, who were always a terror to the Irish of West Connaught, it fell away, whilst Limerick increased in importance, and rapidly progressed, became superior, and retained its superiority. 1521–1522 (13

Henry 8) David Comyn was for the second time Mayor of Limerick; Nicholas, son of Thomas Fitzwilliam Arthur, was Mayor for the second time in this year also: William Fanning and Andrew Harold were Bailiffs. David Comyn died during his Mayoralty of a terrible pestilence, which prevailed all over the city; and on the 4th of September he was succeeded by Nicholas Arthur. Dr. Arthur does not fail to remark that it was now the supreme Pontiff conferred on Henry 8th the title of "Defender of the Faith," in consequence of "the book he published against Luther;" and that "the Turks invaded the island of Rhodes."[1]

It was in this reign (28th Henry 8th, cap. 15) it was enacted that none of the king's subjects shall be shaven above the ears, or wear the hair on their heads like long locks called *Glibbes,* or have any hair on their upper lips called a *Crommeal,* or wear any *shirt, smock* or *kercher,* Bendel *Neckerchour, Mocket or Linnen cap* coulr'd with *saffron,* nor wear above seven yards of cloth in their *shirt* or *smock,* and no woman to wear any coat or kirtle tuck'd up, or embroider'd with silk or laid with *Usker,* after the *Irish* fashion; and none to wear any *mantles, coat* or *hood,* made after the *Irish* fashion; a forfeiture of the thing so worn (to be seized by any of the king's true subjects) and also the penalties following:—

Every Lord Spiritual and Temporal,	...	...	£6	13	4
Every Knight and Esquire,	...	...	...	2	0	0
Every Gentleman or Merchant,	...	...	...	1	0	0
Every Freeholder and Yeoman,	...	...	...	0	10	0
Every husbandman,	...	...	...	...	0	6	8
And every other person,	...	...	...	0	3	4

To be recovered in any of the king's courts and to be divided between the King and Prosecutor, *Proviso,* not to extend to any woman, herds or horseboys wearing a *mantle,* nor any persons on their journey, or upon *Hue* and *Cry.*[2]

In the rapid progress of events we see how Henry changed not only his policy but his faith, how those religious institutions, which flourished so vigorously when he was fulminating against Luther, soon afterwards were doomed by him to suffer spoliation and ruin, and how the properties which went to the alleviation of human misery and woe, under the care of the monks and friars, and in support of the old faith, were handed over to those who submitted to his will and changed their principles at his pleasure.

Henry proceeded in his active courses strengthening his power in Ireland. On the 19th of November, 1534, Thomas Butler was made Baron of Cahir, and in the beginning of the next year Maurice O'Brien and Ulick Bourke, induced by the example and success of the Earl of Tyrone, went to England to wait upon the king, having made their submissions, and surrendered their estates. O'Brien obtained a grant of all his lands in Thomond, and all the Abbeys and patronage in the king's gift within his precincts to him and his heirs male; and he was made Baron of Inchiquin, to him and his heirs, and created Earl of Thomond for life, with a remainder to Donough O'Brien and his heirs for ever, who for the present was made Baron of Ibricane but whether this Donough were nephew or natural son of the Earl's is not very plain. This Lord of Ibricane had also an annuity of twenty pounds per

[1] Arthur MSS. [2] Irish Acts of Parliament.

annum granted to him in tail, and the Abbey of Insula Canonicorum, and half the Abbey of Clare; and the king bore the Earl of Thomond's charges and gave him an order to be of the Privy Council. As for Ulick Bourke, he had his charges borne, and was created Earl of Clanricarde, and his estates were regranted to him, and the Abbeys and patronage of all benefices within his precincts.

Thus ended the kingdom of Thomond under Murrough O'Brien, the fifteenth and last of its princes who had been elected chief, by Tanistry to the prejudice of his nephew Donough, to whom in compensation he resigned the Lordship of Ibricane. Murrough is at present represented by his lineal descendant Lord Inchiquin.

CHAPTER XII.

LIMERICK UNDER THE TUDORS CONTINUED.—HENRY VIII.—LORD LEONARD GRAY.—EDMOND SEXTON, ETC.

The English convocation and the English Parliaments having acknowleged the supremacy of Henry VIII., with a ready servility, the new head of the Church expected to find in Ireland an equal subserviency, but in this he was grievously disappointed. A most unexpected and decided resistance arose in the opposition of the Catholic Bishops, of whom, a few only were induced to submit to the new orders of things. We give the events in the original words of our authorities.[1]

Ap. Parry, who had been in the service of Lord Leonard Gray, writes in 1535, respecting his journey from Cork to Limerick, to secretary Cromwell, after he had visited Callan, Clonmel, &c., stating that they had removed from Cork to Mallow, and there encamped by a river side, and on the following day went to Kilmallock, and lay there that night—he describes it as a very "poore towne;" and the next day came to Limerick, "and of treuthe O'Breyn was cum downe, and lay within three myl of Lemeryk, and as the saying was with a great ost; and hurlyd down the wodes in this way, as we schold have gone into hys counterey, and had forsakyn two of hys castels, herd by Lemeryk; and herd that we were so ny, he went into the mountayns from us, for fere of ordynance: and when that he herd tell that we had no ordynance, then he restored his men into hys castels agayn, with such ordynance as he had of his own. And without ordynance to bett the one pyll we cowld never enter well into hys cunterey. Therefore my Lorde Jamys thought best to recoyll bake agayn, and to bring the Desemontes, and Cormack Oge with his cumpany, to a say, ore that hee wold pase eny further." He adds, that in Limerick they had "very good cher, but nat nothing lyke the cher we had in Corke." They parted eight miles off to a place (Monasternenagh), "the wyche is after the order of Grenwyche," and my Lorde of Kyldare was the founder of it, for he hath a castel and

[1] State Papers of Henry VIII.

landes evyn ther fast by, and ther met with my Lorde Jamys, hys brother-ilaw, whyche is O'Bren's sone," (Donough, nephew of Murrough O'Brien.) The account of the interview between Donough and his brother-in-law, Lord James, describes the latter as telling the former that he had married his sister, forsaken his father, his uncle, and all his friends and country, to come to him to help to do the king a service. He had been sore unrewarded, had no gains—had nothing to live upon. If it pleased the king to take him into his service, he would come into the country and bring with him a piece of ordnance, to take the Castle of Carrigogunnel,[1] and that the king would give to him that which never had belonged to an Englishman for two hundred years, he said he desired no aid but the English captain and a hundred Englishmen, to pursue his father and his uncle, who were His Majesty's enemies, and the Irish who were ever the enemies of the English. He pledged himself he would hurt no Englishman, but do all he could against the Irish and the king's opponents. And in all such land as he should conquer, it was his wish that the king should plant Englishmen, the land to be holden of the king, according to his pleasure; and he further promised to discard all "Yrsyche Faschyons," and to order himself after the "Ynglysche laws," and all he could make or subdue. He besought a reply.

[1] CARRIGOGUNNEL CASTLE.—This Castle is four miles distant from Limerick, to the S.W., bordering on the demesne of Tervoe, the residence of the Right Hon. Wm. Monsell, M.P. Mr. Crofton Croker, in his Antiquarian Researches in the South of Ireland, says it is one of the largest castles he remembers to have seen in Ireland. It stands on an abrupt limestone rock,* and commands an extensive view, across the Shannon, of the County Clare, and the low grounds termed "Corcass Land," which form the banks of the river. Its building is ascribed to the O'Brien family. Through stipulation and treachery it was lost more than once by the followers of the Earl of Desmond, and those sent to reduce him and the country. At the Siege of Limerick, in 1690, it was garrisoned by 150 men, adherents of James II., but surrendered without resistance to Major General Scravenmore, "the leaving these detachments in such places," observes Dean Story, in his History of the Civil Wars, "being very unaccountable, since they had a mind to defend them no better." The castle was deemed so tenable a position that it was considered expedient to destroy it, and it was accordingly blown up, together with Castle Connell. Dean Story received the very large sum of £160 for the purchase of gunpowder to ruin those fortresses. The dilapidated ruins tell the effects of the explosion. Immense fragments of the walls and towers lie scattered around in picturesque confusion. "It is a matter of difficulty," adds Mr. Croker, "to trace the original plan." Near this Castle Charles Johnson, the author of Chrysal, or the Adventures of a Guinea, and other works, was born in 1719, and received his education from the excellent teacher, the Rev. R. Cashin, who was superior of the Limerick Protestant Diocesan School in the early part of the last century.

The Vol. 1425 of the Harleian MSS. contains the following pedigree of "O'Brien of Carry-Connell, in the Countie of Limericke."

MAHON O'BRIEN.

CONNOGHER.	BRIAN O'BRIAN, of whom the E. of Thomond and others descended.
BRIAN DUFF.	
DONOUGH.	
MAHON.	
DONNAGH.	
BRIAN DUFF, of Carigconnell, in the Countie of Limerick, lived in anno 1615.	

* A large portion of the rock is of a basalitic nature.

Parry adds, that old Sir John of Desmond, "who cane spek very good Ynglysche" arrived on the same day; and the parley was postponed for that day fortnight at "Yowgholl."

In a letter dated from Limerick on the 9th of August, 1536:[1] The Council of Ireland write to Cromwell, that Donough O'Brien, O'Brien's eldest son, who had married the daughter of the Earl of Ossory, told what had been stated in the letter of Stephen Ap. Parry, of his desire to serve the English and possess Carrigogunnel, and set to the reformation in those quarters—the Deputy put an English ward of soldiers in the castle, and being there they consulted together as to the winning and breaking of O'Brien's Bridge—"wherein we thought the said O'Brene's sonnes ayede and conducte so necessary, as we supposed, that, havynge the same, we shud with the les difficultie achyve our purposes." In order to attain this dignity the council states, that the Castle of Carrigogunnel, "which had been inhabited by the O'Briens for 200 years before," was given by indenture to Donough O'Brien, "to be kept under us during the king's highness pleasure."—"After which conclusion takyn the said castell by tradyment, was takyn again by the persons which had possession thereof before—but we trust shall lytel prevayl them, but that the Deputies conclusion and army, and the promises thereon shall take effect." The letter proceeds to state, that on Friday they marched with all the army, with demiculverins, and such other ordnance as they had towards the bridge, and by the conduct of the said Donough and his friends, they were brought to it in a secret and unknown way, on this side of the water, where never English used nor carts went before, whereby they achieved the progress with less danger than they could have done on the other side. On Saturday they reached the bridge, and after the army was encamped, the Deputy and gunners made a reconnoissance. On this side was a strong castle, "builded all of hewen marbell," and at the other side a castle, but not of such force, both built within the water, but not much distant from the land. At this end the O'Briens had broken four arches of the Bridge at the end next the land. The gunners fired all day at the castle, but with no effect, "for the wal was at lest 12 or 13 fote thick," and both the castles were well warded with the gunners, gallowglas and horsemen, "having made such fortifications of timber and hoggsheades of earthe, as the lyke have not been seen in this lande." They had a great piece of iron, "which shot buylees as great in maner as a mannes hede." They had also a ship piece, a "Portingall piece," "certayne hagbushesses," and hand-guns. The Deputy seeing the ship-piece no avail, ordered that each man should make a faggot a fathom in length, to fill that part of the water between the land and the castle, and desired ladders to be made; which done, he appointed certain of his own retinue and a company of "Mauster Saynclows" to give the assault; by which they carried the castle, the defenders escaping at the other side; and having done so they broke down the bridge. [A letter[2] of William Body to Cromwell gives the credit of the capture to Ossory.] Two of the army were slain, several were wounded; while the timber of the bridge was loosing, the Mayor of Limerick, Edmond Sexten, with about 30 others who were standing on it at the time fell, but were not injured. Gray also gives a long account of the above achievements to Cromwell.

Henry VIII. in a letter to the town of Galway, in which letter the Irish

[1] State Papers. [2] State Papers.

customs of clothing, &c., are forbidden, and in which he takes from malefactors the sanctuary of the Friars Minors, &c., in and near that town, and calls upon the justice to bring them to punishment—proceeds to say, "Moreover, yf O'Brene, or any other Irysheman, be at war with our deputie, or our subgietes of our Cittie of Lymerycke, that in no wyse, by any coloure, practyse, or covyne, ye suffer no vytals, iron, sault, or other commoditie, to passe from you to theym, dureing the tyme of their contencion till they shall be perfectly reconcyled, upon payne of your allegeannces; and alwayes that ye obsarve the artycles before written, specially concernyng the keepeing of markettes, and that none of you resorte with anny merchandyce amongynst Iryshemen at anny tyme. And where we be informed that at such seasons as strangers refrayne within the havyn of Lymerycke, certayne of you foresttale the market of our said cittie, alurying and procuryng the stranger merchauntes to repayre oute of the havyn of Lymerycke to you, offering theym avauntage above the profere of the sayd citie, to ther gret disadvanytage and commoditie, and ynhaunsing the pryce of foren and alyen merchaundyses, to the profit of alyens: we therefor woll and commaunde you, that you do not provoke anny merchaundise aryving in theyr havyn from you to theym." He commanded that he should hear no further complaint on this behalf, or in any of the premises if they intended his favors.

In the same year Cowley, writing to Cromwell on the establishment of the king's dominion in Ireland, says:—

"Then a thousand to arive at Lymyrik, and the Erl of Ossery, and his son, and power to joyne with them, and first to wyn the pyles and Casteles from O'Dwyer (chief of Kilnemanna, west of Owney), and next that to wyn the Castele and towne of the Enagh (Nenagh, in Tipperary), and to builde and enhabite the towne, and so to pursue all the Irishry at this side of the water of the Sheynan, and to wyn O'Bryn's Bridge that standeth upon the same water. Then to peruse all Clancullen (the ancient barony of Clancullen was situated between Limerick and Killaloe, now forming part of the barony of Tullagh) in O'Ibryne's countree, and to win the pyles and holdes, and specelly the strong castele called Bon Raytte (Bunratty), eight myles from Lymerick, on the river of Lymerick—consequently to make a strongholde of Clare, and to enhabit accordingly; and to make two other baronies in the midst of O'Brien's countreey. There are piles enough in that counteray already, so that there needeth no more than to enhabite."

Thomas Allen, in the same year, writes a long letter to Cromwell on the subject of the Lord Deputy's expedition for the fortifying and re-edifying of Woodstock and the bridge of Athy. After giving an account of the expedition, he says, "And his Lordship went to Kilkenny, where he met the Erl of Ossorye and MacGilphatrick, where he and Omore were contendid to remayne, and goo to Dublin with my Lord, and ther to abide his and his counsaile's order, and to put in pledgis for performance thereof, and to attend upon my Lord in this journaie. And from thens departed the Chief Justice, and the Maiour of Limerick (Edmond Sexten) to speke with O'Brene and the Erle of Desmonde, who have confethered togeder."

In a long letter from the Lord Deputy and Council to Cromwell, written from Dublin the 23rd day of November, the journey of Munster is said to have taken fruit and success, &c. &c. "For undoubtedly the pretended Earl of Desmonde, after diverse communications had betwixt him, the Maior of Lymerick, the Chief Justice, and the Master of the Rolles, at severall tymes, condescended as well to delyver his too sonnes in hostage, and to fynde the

Vicount Barry, the Lord Rooche, Thomas Butler FitzEdmond, John Butler, broder to the Baron of Dunboyne, Gerald M'Shane of Drommanaugh, and dyverse others, to be bound for him in a 1200 marcks, that he shoold not oonly obey the Kinge's lawes, and cause thaym to be obeyd everywher under his rule, but also as well to suffer the Kinge's revenues to be levied there, as upon the title and claim of James FitzMorice to the Earldome, to abide thorder and judgement of the Deputie and Counsaill; and percase the same James FitzMorice were adjudged Erle, he to suffer him to enjoy the Earldome accordinglie; with diverse other articles, comprised in a prayor of indentors concluded thereupon, &c. &c."

In 1537 a letter from the Lord Deputy and Council to Henry VIII. they state "for asmuch of your revenues as appertained to the Earl of Kildare in the countie of Lymerick, your Grace hath nothing of it, nor shall nat have untill the pretended Earl of Desmond be at some poynte; of whose offers, I your Graces Deputy, have at severale tymes advertized your Highness, and your Counsaile, to the intente I mought know your pleasure therein, whereof hitherto I have not been advertized." And after speaking of the burying act, the expulsion and the destruction of the tenants, the writer goes on to state, "trustin there wol be few wastes after this year, if your Grace ensure our devises in too poynts. One is, no man in this countrie woll manure and enhabite your, ne other mans landes, especiallie to any fruitful purpose, onles he may have a securitie of continuance therein, so as, when he hath edified the same he shall not be expelled from it." This letter is dated from Dublin the 20th of April, 1537, and to those landlords who do not acknowledge tenant-right, we earnestly recommend its perusal, as an important fact in favor of fixity of tenure.

On the 28th of June, 1537, Lord Leonard Grey arrived in Limerick, where he remained a week, and of his doings here he gives a detailed account to his royal master. He had already received the submission of O'Carroll of Ely, of O'Kennedy of Ormond, of MacIbrien of Arra, of O'Mulryan of Owney, as well as of MacWilliam of Clanrickarde. He summoned the Mayor and his "brothern" before him, and acting in the spirit of the instructions which he had received from the Council of Dublin, he had the Mayor and members of the Corporation sworn, according to the tenor of the act of supremacy, and further to abjure the power of the Pope. He moreover commanded the Mayor to have all the commonalty of the city likewise sworn and to certify the fact to the Court of Chancery. He states that "without stopp or gruge the confirmed them sylves." After this he adds, he called before him the Bishop of Limerick, not Bishop William Casey, who was, after apostatising, appointed Bishop of Limerick, but John Coyn[1] or Quin, and had him sworn in like manner, a fact which appears the more singular, and of which very grave doubt exists, because Quin had been promoted to the see against the wishes of King Henry, who laboured earnestly in favor of Walter Wallésley who was afterwards appointed to Kildare.[2] Coyn or Quin had assisted at a synod which was held in Limerick by Edmund Butler, Archbishop of Cashel, in 1524, and his zeal for the interests of his religion had been manifested on various important occasions. Gray further states that he commanded him to have all his clergy sworn. On this occasion Connor O'Brien, Prince of Thomond, was present, and promised to serve against Morrough, the Tanist, who owned the country around O'Brien's

[1] State papers. [2] Ware's Bishops.

Bridge. This Connor O'Brien died in 1539, and was the last of the race of Brian Boroimhe who up to the hour of his death exercised regal functions in the ancient kingdom of Thomond.[1] During his stay in Limerick, Gray impeached certain of the merchants of the city of treason for victualling and maintaining Morogh O'Brien and other "Iryshe Rebels." Stephen Harold, Treasurer of the city; Pierce, Walter Edmund and James Harold, merchants, Thomas and Bartholomew Strytch, merchants, and Robert Lewis, merchant, were among the number. The property of the treasurer (Stephen Harold) was confiscated, the others named were imprisoned, for the Lord Deputy resolved to carry things with a high hand in his dealings with the citizens.[2]

On the next day, James of Desmond, and O'Brien with their retinue came to him, and on the 8th of July, he removed with them into Morrogh O'Brien's country, and there took his castle of Ballyconnel,[3] and Clare [Clare More], invaded, burnt and destroyed Morrogh's country that day. On the morrow, because he would not conform to good order or reformation towards the king, Gray encamped that night at Clare castle,[4] and upon the next day James of Desmonde and O'Brien departed; and then he proceeded to Clanrickarde, where he encamped that night, and the 10th of July, repaired to a castle called Bally Clare, which he rifled and not chalice or cross left in it belonging to Richard Oge Burgh, which "did much hurt to your towne of Galway," "and the same dyd take and deliver to Ullyck Oborgh, now lately made Capitayn of that countre" [and knighted by Gray]. He remained eight days in Galway, where he was entertained by the Mayor, and Ulick Burke gave all the "Iryshe retinue," that was with him in his countrey, "frelye mete, drynk, and lodging. Lyck order, as I toke with the Mayor of Lymyryck, hys brothern, and the Busshop as touching theyr othes to your Majestie, and the refusall of the usurped power of the Busshopp of Rome, lyck order toke with the Mayor of Galway, and his brothern and the Busshop." About this time, it would appear a serious dispute arose between the Deputy and Edmond Sexten, who had hitherto been very good friends. We take from the Arthur MSS. an important item of intelligence, which goes to show how matters stood in this instance, and which gives an account of the achievements of Sexten on a very memorable occasion:—

In the 27th and 28th Henry 8th: Edmond Sexten being Mayor, O'Brien's Bridge was destroyed, by which the robbers of Thomond rushed into the rest of the Province of Munster and safely returned with their preys. This Edmond Sexten was born in Limerick, but descended from the family of the Sesnans in Thomond. He passed over into England where he became sewer of the king's chamber from whom he obtained in the late catastrophes of religion two monasteries in Limerick, one of the Holy Cross, and the other of St. Francis with all its funds and profits. At length the citizens being offended, having obtained the royal letters, he was admitted into the Mayoralty

[1] O'Donoughue's History of the O'Briens. [2] State Papers.

[3] The Castle is called by Gormanstowne Ballycongle, and by Ap. Parry, Ballyconnell. According to his narrative, the garrisons both of it and of Clare Castle fled at the sight of ordnance.

[4] The "Confession" states that they remained at Clare two nights, and that at their removing from thence there began a great schism, and a dangerous fray, between Desmond and the Lord Deputy, for O'Mulryan's hostage; in so much that the former put himself in array to have given battle, were it not that Sir Thomas Butler, being familiar and bold with Desmond, with great address and difficulty, took up the matter with them. And Desmond, being pacified with Butler, returned home.

which he valiantly executed, for when Lord Leonard Grey, Viceroy, conducted the Royal army into Limerick with a determined resolution to slaughter all the inhabitants in one night, I know not for what reason, except that he bore a mortal hatred against them for their constancy in the orthodox religion, and he deceitfully removed out the Mayor and the better part of the city bands to assault Carrigogunnel they being displeased at the peace, the Mayor having somewhat discovered the Viceroy's treacherous contrivance flies into the city at midnight, hastens almost out of breath with his guards to the Viceroy's house, knocks loudly at the gate, the porter having delayed and refused him entrance, he threatened instantly to tear the gates asunder. He was then admitted, and having found the Viceroy and all the commanders and men at arms of the army waiting for the destined hour of slaughter, he asked the Viceroy what was the meaning of that unusual appearance of armed men, pipers and drummers thus assembled, who did not give him genuine but feigned reasons. Lest by the loss of time the intended wickedness might not be brought to maturity, the Viceroy advised him immediately to return into the city, but he fully detected the hidden contrivance of the treacherous general slaughter, and produced from the inside of the bosom of his soldier's coat the king's patent which he had a good while by him; and due respect being given he ordered it to be read quite over, by virtue of which he positively commanded the Viceroy in the king's name that he should not attempt anything secretly, unknown to and without consulting him in his government of the Province of Munster; and that he should not presume to devise anything to the prejudice of that royal city committed to his care (for that was the tenour of the Royal letters) and he declared if the Viceroy had ordered any to stir up tumults in the city, that he would in the first place restrain and set them in order. Thus did he deliver the city from the threatened destruction.[1]

The Council of Ireland writing to Cromwell in 1538 state that understanding Edmond Sexton[2] intended at this season, to repair thither, they had thought good for their discharge, to acquaint his Lordship Cromwell partly of his demeanour; upon contention moved between him and the citizens of the city of Limerick. Sexten was accused before the Council of high treason, for which being committed into ward in the King's Castle of Dublin, he alleged before them that he proposed to go to England to instruct the king and Cromwell, "of weighty matters touching the kinges honour, and an highe advancement of his revenues;" for which causes he required to be out on bail. The council having heard the particulars of his complaint accounted them of small effect to trouble either the king or his council. In this letter the council throw very great doubts on the sincerity of Sexten, who, they allege, was not successful in his proceedings against Desmond and O'Brien, and they state that "the truth is his coming thider (as we be informed) is specially to accuse and disturb the citizens of Lymerick, for malice and displeasure he beare to them; among whom, ondoubtedlie he hath moved great dissension and displeasure. And coñsidering the situation of the sayd cittie to be in the mydes, as it were, of the Kingis rebelles and ennemyes, with whom we knowe they must by and sell, or elles lacke all vitelles, and tracte of merchandises; we thinke the inhabitantes of it to be worthy praise and commendation, both for ther obedience to the laws, and that they kepe the citie

[1] Arthur MSS.

[2] This name is spelled indifferently Sexten and Sexton. In the paper referring to him, as well as to the events of the period, I prefer using the old and somewhat rugged style of the chronicles of the times.

alwaies in that wise, that it is the onlie key, releve, and socour to the Kinge, his Deputie, and army, against all men, whensoever they com thider. And whatsoer the inhabitants be, as, in good faith, having respect, where they dwell, we take them to be good, it were a shrewde policie to subvert the hoole citie for a few eivel. And they, on thother side, beare him displeasure, and, as they saie, they moche abhorre him, because he is an Irishman of blode, and (as they saie) he useth himself according to his nature. Howbeit he is made denizen and free by the King, so as he hath been chargour there, contrary to the Inglishe statutes and their liberties. They saie also that he, his brederen, kynsmen, and adherantes, been mere Geraldines, and that parte of his brederen were slayne in defence of the Castele of Maynothe; so as in respecte of his Irish blode and corrupt affection to traytours, they saye they doe not trust him.[1]

In an extract from the minutes of Council,[2] with the King's commands, it is stated that as the law is continually kept at Dublin, and that between Dublin and Limerick the distance is 120 miles, and so many dangers between, "and as few or none dare passe without some strength which poore suitors have not," it is suggested that a Council of a President and four Councillors under a Secretary be established; the President to have diet for himself, and the rest £200 yearly. Every Councillor for his entertainment, and finding his own horse and servant, £50 yearly, and the Secretary of the Council, £26:13:4 yearly, with such reasonable fees as the country may bear. The Archbishop of Cashel is suggested as a meet President.

In a later letter from the Council of Ireland to Secretary Cromwell,[3] Limerick is represented as a city situated among Irish and English rebels, pretending to have privileges of the King as other maritime cities, to buy and sell, and as a place that deserves to be protected only because it is a succour and a refuge always for the King's Deputy, when he wars against the disobedient Desmonds, Brians, Bourkes, and many other like in those parts. In this letter it is stated that, owing to the "misinformation" given by Edmond Sexten to the Lord Deputy during his last journey in Munster, more damage and inquietude had happened among the citizens than any anticipated honor or profit to the King.

There is no doubt, notwithstanding all these complaints, that Sexten succeeded in retaining the good graces of his royal master, for, in 1538–9, 29th and 30th of Henry, he granted by PrivySeal "to the King's well beloved servant Edmond Sexten, sewer of his chamber," of the Monastery, Priory or cell of St. Mary-house, the site, ambit, or ground thereof, and all lordships, manors, lands, advowsons of churches, tithes, chapels, chantries, spiritual and temporal, thereunto belonging, within the precinct of Limerick, city or county, in as large and ample manner as Sir Patrick Harold, late Prior, held the same, together with all the goods and utensils of the house; to hold to said Sexten and the heirs male of his body, by the service of one knight's fee; with directions for the issue of a commission for the dissolution of said monastery. And, 34th Henry VIII., we find grant from the King to Edmond Sexten and his assigns, for life, of £8 sterling, annually, which the

[1] The Corporation of Limerick subsequently made a Complaint to Cromwell against Sexten, upon which the Irish Council, on the 20th of May, 1539, reported, that though he was the king's servant, they could not vindicate his conduct. The Complaint is in the Chapter House, and the report in the State Paper Office; and in the Lambeth Library is a memorial of his services, before, during, and after his mayoralty in Limerick.—*State Papers.*

[2] State Papers.

[3] State Papers.

King and his ancestors heretofore received in the name of fee farm, out of the city of Limerick.

The execution of the decrees of Henry could have no firmer partizan than Edmond Sexton, judging from the high estimation in which he was held by his unscrupulous master. He soon had his revenge of Lord Leonard Grey, who had been unsparing in his destruction of the shrines and sacred places of the land. Among other fell atrocities he caused the most precious shrine of St. Bridget, St. Patrick and St. Columba, which was in Down, to be burned and the ashes thereof to be cast to the winds[1] :—

"*In Burgo Duno tumulo tumulantur in uno,*
Brigida, Patricius *atque* Columba *pius.*"

Anglicè

"Brigid, Patrick and Columb of renown,
Were all three entombed in the town of Down."

This outrage took place in the year 1538, but the divine vengeance quickly fell upon him for this and for other crimes; his head was cut off in London in the year 1541.

Sexten now grew in favor every day. The letters which passed between him and the king show that a strong mutual feeling of consideration and fidelity prevailed; and that the services performed by him were of such a nature as to win the substantial recognition of his Majesty.

Desmond, through Sexten's influence, wrote the following letter :—

To His Soveraigne Liege Lord the King's Majestie.

"Be it known to all men by these presents that I, James Fitzjohn of Desmond, bynde me, mine heyres, my goodes moveable and unmoveable, my fideltie and trueth to my frend Edmond Sexten, to fulfill and performe all such things as the said Edmond shall speake to the King's Majestie and his councell in England as hereafter follows :

First—That I shall bringe to the Kynge's Majestie's coffers all the cheeffe rents that O'Bryen and Mac I Bryen Arra hath upon the country of Lymmerike; and also all the Abbey lands and goodes that are in Mounster to the Kyng's hands, and I and my friends and servants shall take them to fearme. Also that all the Lordes and Gentlemen of Mounster, Englishe and Irishe, shall pay a certain chiefe rent to the Kyng's Majestie, so as it shall be a great revenue.—And for the more performance of the premises, I, the said James, subscribed this with my hand and sett to it my seale the 20th day of June."

Henry addresses "to our mytie and well beloved Sir John Desmond within our land of Ireland," a letter of "righte heartie and cordial thankes;" and states that he has "conceived and graven the same in our hert and shall retorn and sucede to you no little profitt and advancement." The king writes a much longer and more particular letter to Desmond, in which he acquaints him fully of all that has been told him by his "trustie and well beloved servant, Edmond Sexten, of the humble submission with a promise to observe towards us from henceforth such faythe and loyaltie as to your duty of alleygeance appertaineth, and shall be consonant to the office of a true and faithful subject, which we accept greatlie to our consolaticion, and give unto you therefor our righte harty thankes and condigne." "The king says Dr. Thomas Arthur[2] wrote another letter to James Fitzjohn of Desmond,

[1] "But the walls as well of the cathedral as of the little chapel, where the most sacred relicks were deposited, exist to this day, as I saw them in the year 1751."—*De Burgo, Hib. Dom. p.* 242.

[2] Arthur MSS.

verbatim with his patent letter, only he accused him of assisting "the rebell Thomas Fitzgerald which much offended the Kynge and his commonwell in Ireland." His Majesty wrote a letter in Latin, of which language he was an accomplished master, in which he speaks in the highest terms of Edmond Sexten, and states "that Edmond Sexton, his dearly beloved, will tell him (Sir John of Desmond) more fully his minde on the affairs respecting which he writes." This letter is dated from his Royal Palace near London, the 17th of January, 1534. Before Sexten's impeachment a report was sent to the King, as to how "Edmund Sexten, your grate servant," being then Maier of your Cyttie of Lymerike in the journey to O'Bryen's Bridge did not only right diligently endeavour hym to serve your Majestye, but also in all other your grate affayrs as in practising with O'Bryne and James of Desmonde and all other your disobeydyent subjects to allure them to his power to your grate obedyency, and lykewise in his present with the cytenzens of Lymerick did forwardly, diligently and hardly effectual service in every imploye of that journey to his grate charge, labours and paynes, &c." This "petytion" is signed by Leonard Gray, John Barnwall, your grate Chancellor; George Dublin, James Rawson, Pryor of Kilmaynam; William Brabazon, Gerald Aylmer, Justice; Thomas Lutterell, Justice; Patryke Finglass, Baron; Thomas ———— Justice; Patryke Whyte, Baron.

O'Brien writes the following to the king, in which he admits all that Sexton had done in his Majesty's favor:—

O'Brien to King Henry VIII.

Moste noble, excellent, high, and mighty Prince, and my most redoubted Soveraigne High Lord, in the humblest manner that I can or may, I recomend me unto your Majestie; I Cononghure O'Bryen, called Prince of Thomond in your land of Ireland. Advertysing, that I received your most dread letters by your servant, Edmond Sexten, now Mayor of your Citty of Lymericke, the 20th day of September, in your most noble Reigne the 26th, dated at your Mannor of Langlee, where I perceived partly your minde, in especiall, that I should give firme evidence to your said servant. This is to advertise your Majesty of trouth that I was credible enformed, that the said letters were counterfeit, by my Lord of Ossery, and by my Lord his sonne, and by your said servant; which was the principall cause, that I did not receive such rewards as your said servant profered me and my brother, and that I did not write to your highness according to my duty; and that was the cause that I did not follow the councell of your said servant in your behalfe, till thys tyme: humbly beseeching your Majesty to pardon me of my negligence in that behalfe.

And as for the receiving of Thomas FitzGerald into my countrey; I insure you that I never sent for him, privy nor apperte, into my countrey; but I could not, for very shame, refuse him of meat and drinke, and such little goods as we have. And as well I insure your grace that I never went, nor one of mine, to aid the said Thomas against your grace is subjects, and if I would have helpen him with my power, I assure your highnesse he would not have come in this toilment, at the least.

And as for to certifie you of the goeing of James Delahide towards the Emperour, I insure your grace that it was never by my will; and to prove the trouth of the same, I insure your grace, that ever he come, with power or without power, I shall take or banish him to the uttermost of my power: also beseeching your grace to pardon me of my negligence in that behalfe.

Furthermore advertising your grace, that I have received your most dread letters, dated at your Mannor of Westmester, the 10th day of September, in your Reigne the 27th year, by the hands of your servant, Edmond Sexten, wherein I percieve your grace is jealous and displeasor with me, and as well your grace will be me to give ferme credence to your said servant, I insure your grace, that if I had the consaill of your servant, and of our Master Doughtoure Neyellane, Thomas Young, and John Arthur FitzNicholas, alderman of your said citty, at the first time, as I am informed by them now of your grace, and of your power and bountie, I had never done nothing prejudiciall to your grace is pleasure; but I was counselled by light people, whereof now I am right sorrie. But now, seeing that all thinges is done and passed for lacke of experience; I humbly beseech your grace to take me to your mercy. And your grace has good cause soe to take me, for I insure that all mine ancestors, and I myself, hath done right good service to your grace's deputies in this land of Ireland. Therefore I humbly beseech your grace, as lowly as any subject can or may, to pardon me of all the premisses, and . and all that I have in the world, is and shall be at your commandment.

In 1540 the Lord Deputy and Council write to Henry VIII. and speak of the determined attitude of the Desmonde (the pretended Earl) O'Neill, O'Donnell, O'Brien, O'Molloy, O'Connor, young Gerald, &c., and their resolution to raise the Geraldine sect and uphold the "usurped" supremacy "of the Bishop of Rome." The letter states that the land of Ireland is "by estimacions and descriptions as large as Englande"—and proceeds :—

"But to enterprise the hole extirpation and totall destruction of all the Irishmen of the lande, it wold be a marvailous sumptious charge, and great difficultie; considering both the lacke of inhabitors, and the great hardness and mysery these Irishmen can endure, both of hongre, colde, thurst, and evill lodging, more then thinhabitantes of any other lande. And by president of the conquest of this lande, we have not hard or redde in any cronycle, that at such conquests the hole inhabitantes of the lande have bene utterly extirped and bannisshed. Wherefore we think the easiest way and least charge were, to take such as have not heynously offended to a reasonable submission, and to prosecute the principalles with all rygor and extremytie." It is recommended in another of these state papers that garrisons should be formed in several cities. That at Limerick 1000 soldiers whereof horseman 300, gunners 200, archers 400, and billmen 100, should be raised. This letter is dated from Dublin, 18th January, 31st year of the king's "most victorious reigne."

In 1542, the Council repaired to the city of Limerick, on the 15th of February, and held a Parliament which they continued to the 10th of March. This Parliament stood prorogued to the 7th of November, and was further prorogued to the 22nd of December, when it met at Dublin, and adjourned again to Limerick. According to the Statute Book it sat only to the 7th of March, three days less than the term mentioned in the despatch from the Deputy and Council to the king. In the same despatch O'Brien is lauded as a very sober man, and likely to continue "a treue subject." A subsidy of 20 marks yearly is ordered out of the county of Limerick, and 60 marks out of the county Tipperary. Upon the Irishmen of certain quarters mentioned—first upon Mac I Brien 60 golglas for a month—and 6d. sterling out of every plowland in his country—upon Tulagh Mac Brien, Captain of Ycownagh, £5 rent sterling yearly, upon O'Kennedy and M'Egg (Egan), £10 yearly, Irish—O'Mulryan £40 15s. yearly rent, and 60 galoglas a month—O'Dwyre 8d. sterling out of every plowland in his countrey, and 40 gallowglas for a month, yearly. "They complain of the great lacke that will be here of learned men and other ministers to reside about Lymerick, daily to see justice ministered there, laying farre from Dublin, where your highness lawes be executed, and no man there learned to stay or order anything among them."

And as if it would please your grace to be soe good and gracious to this poore land, and to use your poor subjectes, as to send some noble man to govern us; and in especiall, if it would please your highness to send your sonne, the Duke of Richmond, to this poor contrey, I insure your grace that I and my brother, and all my kinsmen, with all my friends, shall doe him as lowly service, and as trew, as any man liveing; and I, my kinsmen, and all my friends, shall right gladly receive him to our foster sonne, after the custom of Ireland, and shall live and dye in his right and service for ever, and binde us to the same, after your pleasure known, by writeing to us by your servant Edmond Sexten, to whom we remit all the rest of our mindes to your grace. As the Holy Trinitie knoweth, who have our Majesty in his must tender tuycion, to your harte's desire. Written at my Mannor of Clone Rawde [Clonroad, Ennis], the 13th day of October.

Conohuyr O'Bryen, Prince of Twomone.

The despatch is dated from the castle of Catherlaghe (Carlow), the last day of March, in the 33rd of the reign of Henry VIII.

In the expedition to O'Brien's Bridge, so often referred to, Sexten was desired in the following letter which appears in the Arthur MSS.[1] to give his assistance :—

To our trustie and well beloved, the Maior, Baylives, Aldermen, and Cityzens of the cittye of Lymerick.

Trustie and right well beloved we grete you well, and desire and praye you also neverthelesse in the kyng's name charge according, our former writing of haster night, you with your companie in all haste, repayre unto us with your pikeaxes, speades, shovels, matokes, axes, and other such engines for the breaking of O'Bryen's Bridge. Yee knoo well wee have but 3 dayes victualls, and cannot sett forth conveniently, till your comying, wherefor make speede with all haste possible, and lett victualls be brought by water. Yee knowe the king's honor one and all your wealths lyeth uppon this our proceedings at this instant tyme, fayle yee not hereof, as ye intend ever our good will, and for the contrary will answer at your pril to the king. From the Campe this morning,

Leonard Gray,

To the Mair of Lymirke, in hast post haste.

[1] A summary of the achievements of Edmond Sexten from the Arthur MSS. is of some interest: "Edmond Sexten was employed by the king in the commission with the Earl of Desmond, the Bishop of Emlaye, and Mr. Agard, for the suppression of all the religious houses in Mounster, in which journey he spent £9 sterling. He was a mayne help with the cittizens of Limmerick to take in the castle of Deryknockane from the rebells, and Lord Leonard Grey left the keeping thereof to Sexten's own care for the six years, which cost him in all £39 18s. sterling. He was employed by the Kyng to the traitor Thomas Fitzgerald, in hope to reduce him to subjection, whereof he fayled, but certified his Majestie of the refractoriness of the said Fitzgerald.

After that he was three severall tymes employed by the King to the Earl of Desmond and other Lords in Munster, to keepe them in their loyaltie, and from adhering to the said Thomas and his complices. The then Lord Deputie and Councell oftentymes employed him to that effect to the said lords and to O'Bryen, to John of Desmond, and to his son James, and to Donough O'Bryen and others.

He served at his own cost at the taking of Knockgraffon, Dungarvan, Carrigogunnel, the first and second time; Ballinconnell Castle in Thomond and Clare, and Clononkenie, in the countie of Lymrick. He toke Donnell O'Bryen's galley, which did much prejudice the King's subjects in the river of Shenan. He sent his men, who slew the rebell called Slico (O'Connor Sligo), which did offend the cittizens much, and threatened to burn Lymerick. He caused Edmond Bourke and his sonne to pay £16 to such of the cittizens as they have robbed thereof. He caused William Fitzjames Geraldine to bestow the prey which he toke from some of the cittizens. His men brought home the cattle which were taken away the night before by some of the rebells. He apprehended one Macloghlen Baukaks sonn, and another rebell, whome he caused to pay £24 for their ransome, which he gave to such of the cittizens as the said Macloghlen's sonn formerly caused to pay him ransome of £16. He with a small companie burned the toune and castle in the Island called Ellanrogane, and faught with many of the rebells there, of whom they killed many, and burnt others, and brought his men with their goods home salfe. He toke a galley and a half galley from Mourough O'Bryan, which he carried by land a myle and a half, and then lanced them to the water, and brought them to Lymricke. He issued at midnight out of Lymricke towards the Bishop of Killalowe and his two sonnes, but they narrowly escaped him, quitting their horses and baggage, whereon they seized. He burned Kilcordane and Clonemoniayne, in O'Bryen's countrie. He allured James of Desmond to come into the Lord Deputie's camp and laye in his tent and wayte on him to Limerick, and in his progress through Thomond within two miles of Galway, where they tooke leave and came to Lymrick, and the Lord Deputie went to Galway. He payed £40 in part payment of 1000 Duckatts, which he promised to Donough O'Bryan for betraying and delivering up into his hands the rebell Thomas Fitzgerald, being then with O'Brien in Thomond, as he undertook to doe, but fayled in performance thereof."

A very large mass of correspondence contains among the rest, several letters written by the king to his Deputy Lord Leonard Grey, in which he strongly reminded our trusty and well beloved Edmond Sexten, one of the gentlemen of our chamber and may be of that our city of Lymerick to doo unto us faithful and acceptable service—and tells Gray "in all your proceedings in our affairs concerning the reduction of the

In a letter from the Council of Ireland to Cromwell, dated from Cashel, August 24th, an account is given of the recapture of the castle of Carrigogunnel, by Donogh O'Brien, Ossory, and the Lord De Gray; in the assault ordnance and arrows were used, and thirteen of those who were within the castle were slain with ordnance, and four with arrows. There were 40 of Ossory's party also killed. The keeping of the castle was then given to Ossory.

inhabitants thereaboutts to our obeysance and due reformation or as the state shall require in prosecuting of the same, the obeyance and indurate mynde so requiring, ye doo tak unto you our said Sexton, and but begin consult whereby the said inhabitants may perceyve our estimaycion and favour born unto hym, by whych means he shall now the better allure them to our obeysance, and consequently by his experience and polyte the rather obtain the desired purposes in our affairs in those quarters." We have also the letters of Henry to Sexton, and of Sexton to Henry. Henry writes a special and lengthy letter commencing "Henry by the Kinge—Trustie and well beloved we grete you well"—returning thanks for the series of services performed, adding "taking you to noit (note) that being advertised how like goode, true, and faithful subjects ye have resisted the malicious enterprises of Thomas Fitzgerald that faulse Traytor and Rebell and other his accomplices there, we have thought goode not onleye to give unto you our hearty thanks for the same, but also to signifye unto you that we shall not faile for to remember your integritie declared therein, as shall be to your benefits, wealthe and commoditie hereafter. Ye shall also understande that whereas the fee farm of that our cittie remaineth for sundrie yeares behind and unpaid, sythens (since) our subject Richard Ffox was first maier thereof, we have authorised and appointed our trustie and well beloved servant Edmond Sexton, sewer of our Chamber, to receyve of you to our use the said arrearages soe behind, so unpayed, whose acquitance in that behalf shal be your sufficient discharge as from yere to yere from henceforth to tak and receyeve into his hands our said fee farm being ten pundes by the yere till ye shall further know of our pleasure." The letter goes on at further length, as "given under our signet, at our Manor of Langley, the 21st day of September, the * * * yeare of our reigne"—and is addressed "to the Righte Trustie and well beloved, the Maier, Baylilffes, Aldermenne and Cittizzens of the Citie of Lymerick." Not content with these expressions of favor to the Mayor, Corporation and citizens, Henry wrote to the Council and Corporation of the city as follows:—

Henry Rex. By the King.

Trustie and right well beloved, we grete you well, and perceyving by your letters and credence sent unto us in the person of our trustie and well beloved servant, Edmond Sexten, Mayor of that our cittie, your desire concerning the confirmation of your charter and libertyes, with certain additions in the specialities whereof, ye further instructed the same our servant concerning your faithfull loyal herts towards us, with your dilligent service to our good contentation and plessure, like as for the same we give unto you our right harty and condign thankes. We be right favorable willing and inclyneable not only to yor said pursuits, but also shall be the semblable in all other your reasonable petitions. And for this tyme, in token of our favor towards you, we have written unto our deputie there that at his next repayre unto our prce, he shall leave one of our great pieces of ordinaunces, with shott and pouder necessary, in your custodye within that our cyttie, there to remayne, and be alwayes in a readyness for the advancement of all enterprosses in those ptes, to be attempted and sett forwardes by your said servant and his coadjutor, our trustie and well beloved John Arthur FitzNicholas, one of your brethern of that your cittye. Byde unto them at all seasons, consellying, favouring, aveding and assisting to the best of yeur power, as our speciall trust in you. Given under our signet at our Manor of Westmr, the last day of May.

To the Counsell and Corporation of our cittie of Lymericke.

In addition to his other qualifications, Edmond Sexton was an author. He wrote a book by the King's commandment "for the reformation of those parts," and among his papers were found the names of the castles, lands, rivers, creeks, important places, territories, lordships, with their lords, on each side of the Shannon to Loop Head. He states that in the Island of Inniscattery, the merchants of Limerick dwelt, and had castles and store houses of their own inheritance —that there was an image of St. Senan in the island, which was regarded with the utmost devotion by the people, and a great old church, wherein woman never went since the time of St. Senan, with a provost as warden, who singly disbursed a hundred marks yearly. He recommends that a future church be built on the island. Moore wrote, or rather translated from the Latin, the beautiful and well-known verses "St. Senanus and the Lady."

CHAPTER XIII.

SUCCESSES OF THE ENGLISH—FRUITS OF THE REFORMATION.

THE events summarised in the last chapter occupy a period of between seven and eight years.[1] We need not refer to the extraordinary changes which took place in consequence of these successes of the English in a country where they had heretofore had little if any footing except within the walls of the city where they had been endeavouring to establish themselves for some centuries before. In 1537, the Earl of Kildare, whose rebellion had caused sore annoyance to the government, and who is styled by the annalists "the best man of the English in Ireland of his time," and his father's five brothers, namely, James, Oliver, John, Walter, and Richard, were put to death in London; all the Geraldines of Leinster were either exiled or put to the sword; the Earldom of Kildare was vested in the King, and every one of the family who was apprehended, whether lay or ecclesiastic, was put to death. It appears from a letter written by Lord Thomas, to Rothe,[2] that during his confinement he was treated with the greatest indignity —he was not permitted to enjoy the merest necessaries of life; for his clothes, which were tattered, he was indebted to the charity of others, his fellow prisoners, who took pity on him. He wrote a letter to Rothe, in which the following passage appears :—"I never had any mony sins I came into pryson, but a nobull, nor have I had neither hosyn, doublet, nor shoys, nor shyrt, but on [one] nor any other garment, but a synggle fryse gowne; for a velve fyrryd wythe bowge, and so I have gone wolword and barefore, and bareleggd, diverse times (when ytt hath not ben very warme); and so I shall have done styll, and now, but that pore prysoners, of their gentylnes, hath sumtyme geven me old hosyn, and shoys and old shyrtes." The grief and misery which prevailed throughout Ireland for the fall and extermination of the illustrious Geraldines of Leinster, were expressed in the loudest and most unmistakeable manner; and to add to the sorrow with which the heart of the nation was stricken, it was just at this time that the "Reformation" in England and in Ireland began to manifest the existence of its bitter fruits. The possessions of monks, canons, nuns, brethren of the cross—i.e., the crossed or crouched friars—and the four poor orders—i.e, the orders of Minors, Preachers, Carmelites, and Augustinians—were suppressed, and their properties vested in the King.[3] The monasteries were broken down; the

[1] In the year 1535 M'Auliff of Duhallow, the ruins of whose castle may still be seen near Newmarket in the county Cork, gained a great battle, in which were slain the Lord of Claingais, or Clulish, a wild district in the Barony of Upper Connelloe in the South West of the county Limerick, with a large battalion of the Clan Sheehy, i.e. Mac Sheehy, who were of Scottish origin (see O'Donovan's Annals of the Four Masters, ad. an. 1535) and hereditary gallowglasses of Ireland. In this battle was slain Mael Murry, son of Brien M'Sweeny.

[2] Lord Thomas Fitzgerald to Rothe—State Papers.

[3] The number of abbies which Henry VIII. possessed himself of in England was 645, which were levelled to the ground, and their lands and riches seized—there were 2,347 chapels and chantries in like manner destroyed, and their temporalities confiscated; 110 hospitals, and about 100 colleges, together with their revenues, were also appropriated to the king's use. Such abbots as did not resign their abbies were cruelly put to death—viz. the abbots of Glastonbury, of Reading, of Gloucester, of Whately, of Gerveaux, of Sawley, and the Priors of Woburn and Burlington. With the spoils of St. Thomas of Canterbury's church alone there were twenty-six waggons, laden with the richest ornaments, plate, jewels, &c. There is no computing the enormous wealth which was thus taken possession of by the king to satiate his own brutal lust for plunder. In Ireland the abbies, convents, and priories, were in like manner handed over to the king, and in 1541 these resignations were ratified and confirmed by the Irish Parliament. To appease the gentry of the nation, "lumping bargains" were given to them by the Crown of Church lands, and thus interest quelled their complaints; so that they beheld the ruins of the noble monasteries and convents founded by their forefathers for the service of God without remorse.

roofs and bells were made away with, so that from Arran of the Saints to the Iccian Sea,[1] there was not one monastery that was not broken and shattered, with the exception of a few in Ireland, of which the English took no heed—some of which appear not to have been known to them for a long time after this disastrous period, and in the neighbourhood of which the friars continued to live, as at Multifarnham, Ballyhaunis, &c., until a comparatively recent period.[2]

The Chief Justiciary, Gerald Aylmer, meantime arrived in Limerick, in the 33rd year of Henry's reign, and made an inquisition, with his fellow commissioners, "touching some things taken up to the King's use at Limerick upon the suppression, and other crown matters." He ordered the mayor and bailiffs to come before him and his commissioners, and to summon "18 free and lawful men" of the bailiwick on the Friday before St. Patrick's Day, to enquire into sundry matters. The inquisition was accordingly taken on the 13th of February, and the particulars of it, as we find them in the Arthur MSS., which go into many subjects in detail which deserve to be put on record. These, which will be found in the note, will give some notion of the great riches with which the abbies and monasteries of these days were filled, before they fell a prey to the rapacious spoliation of the brutal and merciless Henry.[3] They have never, we believe, been hitherto published.

With the exception of the Butlers, and very few others, there were none in favour of these proceedings. Many of the old statutes of Kilkenny for the extinction of friendships between "the Irishrie and Englishrie," and the

[1] The name by which the ancient Irish writers called the sea that divides England from France.

[2] Note in Annals of the Four Masters.

[3] An office declaring the possessions of the king's castle Lymerick, and touching some things taken up to the king's use uppon the suppression at Lymerick, and other crown matters.

"Gerald Aylmer, knight, that is captain, and justiciary of our lord the king in the pleadings before the same lord and king in his land of Ireland, and to his fellow commissioners of our lord the king within the county of Limerick, as well within the liberties as without, to inquire about all singular treasons, murders, felonies, transgressions, and other offences whatever, within the aforesaid county, committed only whenever perpetrated, and the hearing and deciding same, and further proceeding as in the letters patent of the said lord our king, whence to me and my fellow commissioners aforesaid being (so) appointed is more fully contained. We command the mayor and bailiffs that they cause to come before the commissioners aforesaid, 18 free and lawful men of your bailiwick of the city aforesaid on the Friday before the feast of St. Patrick, Bishop, which is next to be, to enquire about articles touching our lord the king, and further to do what shall be given them in command; and that you have there the names of the said 18 men and this precept. Witness the aforesaid justiciary at Limerick, 8 day of March, in the 33rd year of the reign of King Henry VIII.

The inquisition taken before the king's commrs. at Lymerick the Thursday next after Shrofft Tuesday which was the 13th day of Februarii in the 33 yeare of our Sovereign Lord, King Henry the Eighth, by the jurors following, David White, alderman, Thomas Young, alderman, Patrick Fanning, alderman, Stephen Creagh, alderman, William Fanning, alderman, Dominik White, alderman, David Ryce, George Stretch, Andrew Harrold, Stephen Comyn, James Creagh, William Verdon, Rowland Arthur, Thomas Long, Humphray Arthur, John Comyn. Wee find that the king's castle hath by the yeare ten pounds of the fee-farm of the citty of Lymerick which £10 Mr. William Wyse doth receive yearly as constable of the said castle under the king. Item wee do finde that there are twoe gardines adjoyninge to the south side of the Ilande pertayneing to the said king's castle which the said constable hath. Item more wee finde that the pasture and grazeing of the said iland appertayne to the said king's castle. The inhabitants of the said cittie having their ingress and regress for their pastyme therein without any interruption or lett. Item more wee doo finde that there belongeth to the said castle tenn shillings a yearely rent to the Ile weare which lyeth on the east side of Corbally. Item, we fynde that there belongeth to the said castle of every ship resorting to the said cittie, with wheate or salt, being noe freeman's goods of the same citty, one measure of salte, and one of wheate and of every boath or galey laden with heareings or oysters, as is aforesaid, one hundred of heareing, and one hundred of oysters soe laden.

annihilation of the Irish habit, were ordered to be put in execution.[1] Harpers, Rhymers, Chroniclers, Bards, &c., were ordered to be set upon with unsparing vengeance. Silk and satin were forbidden to be worn. The celebrated image of the Blessed Virgin, which Archbishop Browne (the first of the English church archbishops of Dublin) called, in the language of the

Item, wee finde that John Comyns house in the Key lane, do beare yearly to the house of Keilmanam, twoe shillings of yearly rent and noe most. Item, wee finde that Patrick Fanning's house lynge in Creagh lane, doe bearre to the house of Keilmanam twelf pence of yearly rent. And of Patrick Lange's house, next unto the same of yearly rent twelf pence, and a gardine lyeing by the spitle twelf pence of yearly rent. Item, wee doe find that in the 30th yeare of King Henry the Eighth, Edmond, Archbishop of Cassell, and Walter Cowley, the king's solicitor taking uppon them to be the king's commissioners, did take of the image of the holly roods, shoes of silver, wheing twentie seaven unces troy weight wherein weare divers stones the value whereof wee cannot tell. And alsoe did take the image of our Ladye of the said church showes of silver weighing six unces with divers stones, and fifteene buthons of silver, valued at three shilling, 9d. str. And neyne crosses of silver, valued at neyne shillings. And a peare of beades of silver, weighing six unces. Item, the said commissioners did take of the black fryers of Lymerick the day and yeare above said Sanict Sunday, his showes of silver weighing tenn unces, with divers stones, the value whereof wee cannot tell. And 4 stones of cristall bound with silver to our estimation weighing 2 unces. And foure score pound of wax as wee doe think rather more than less, being in the said chappele then. And iron being in the said chappell to the sum of twentie stones, And above. Item, the 22nd day of Januarii, in the 32 yeare of our sovereigne Lord King Henry the Eighth, Mr. Robert Saintlager did take both the greate bell and the small bell out of the same place. Item, we find that David Michell of Lymerick, marchant, have a challice of silver, of the grey fryars in his keeping, delivered unto him, by one John O'Linge, at that tyme fryer of the said house, which challice was delivered to Humphrey Sexten. Item, wee find that John Skeolan of Lymerick, merchant, have two candlesticks of brass, of the said abbey in gage they doe say. Item, wee find that John M'Skyddiy of Lymerick, taylor, have a booke of the said fryars in gage for eight pence. Item, wee find that Stephen Crevagh, hath certain glasses of the said fryars which he hath delivered to Humphray Sexten. Item, George Sexten hath a vestment of chamlet red with a cross of velvet thereon. Item, John Ryce hath a vestment of Ameistock of the said fryers. Item, Humphrey Sexten have received of Leonard Crevagh, one challice of silver of the grey fryers. Item, wee finde that Stephen Harrold have a gardine of the said fryers by lease for years, paying therefor yearly sixteene pounds which is within the churchyard of the said fryers. Item, Steephen Crevagh hath a particle of the same churchyard, and in lease for yeares paying therefor, yearly, sixpence. And Christopher Crevagh hath the rest of the said churchyard by lease for years, paying yearly therefor, 2s. 8d. Item, Steephen Crevagh hath a garden of the said fryers, within the moore of the said fryers by lease, paying yearly therefor, 2s. Item, James Harrold hath a garden of the said fryers, by lease, paying therefor, yearly, 3s. 4d. Item, John Nagle hath a gardine within the precincts of the said freeres, by lease paying therefor, yearly, 3s. 4d. Item, John Nagle hath a little medowe of the said freeres, paying therefor, yearly, 3s. Item, more wee find that John Skoylane hath another gardine in the said moore, by lease, paying therefor, yearly, 2s. Item, Nicholas Stretch hath a gardine by the little Iland by lease, paying yearly therefor, 8s. sterling. Item, Andrew Harrold hath a gardine in the said moore by lease, paying yearly therefor, 2. 4d. James Fox hath a garden by lease and within the precincts of the freeres church, paying yearly therefor 8s. Item, Leonard Creagh hath another gardine payeing yearly therefor 1s. Item, Dominick Comyn hath one stone house of the said freeres, named the fish house, by lease, paying therefor yearly sixteen pence. Item, John Nagle hath one other gardine within the said precinct by lease, payeing therefor yearlie 16d. Item, John Stretch Fitzgeorge hath one other gardine by lease without the moore, paying yearly therefor 2s. More, the said John hath one house which did appertayne to the said freeres, by lease, payinge therefor 2s. Item, Christopher Crevagh hath one tenement or voyde place by lease, payeing therefor yearley 4s. and another voyde place, payeing therefore yearly 8s. 4d. Item, wee fynd that there are tenn acres of land in Luithagh, more the two parts of the teythe of the same in Theobot Boorke's country, and three acres in Bramblock and twoe parts of the teythe of the same, and twoe acres in the great croft and the twoe parts of the teythe of the same, and tenn acres in Claishcuigilly with the 2 partes of the same, whych lands and teythes appertayne to the same freeres. Item, wee fynd that the church of ScaintePeter and the churchyarde of the same is a chappell in Keilrone,inO'Bryens countrye,and all lands and tenements within the cittie of Lymerick, appertayning to the saide Sainct Peters hereafter followe. Item, wee find that Christopher Harrold hath one gardine and orchard by lease for certaine yeares paying therefor yearly 2s. And one house by lease which lease doth mansion that all rent thereof is payed before hand. Item, Ellan Whyte widdowe hath one orcharde by lease payeing therefor yearly, 2s. And Elinor Arthur widdowe hath one gardine and one house

[1] State Papers, Henry VIII.

scoffer, the "Idoll of Trym," and believed to perform wonders and miracles,[1] this and "The Staff of Jesus," or crozier of St. Patrick,[2] were publicly burned.

The persecution suffered during these terrible days by the Irish Catholics was not surpassed by that endured by the Church of Christ in its very earliest times at the hands of the Pagan Emperors of Rome, "so that it is impossible to narrate or tell its description unless it should be narrated by one who saw it."[3] In more remote and hidden places the monasteries, it is true, were not molested, simply because they were beyond the reach of the destroyers, but for no other reason.

The Lords of the Pale at this period felt that they must introduce Irish tenants; they were not content with the English tillers of the soil, who could not live in penury or wretchedness as the Irish, but must sustain

by lease payeing yearly 16d. Item, Oliver Arthur Fitzrobert, hath one gardine by lease, paying yearlie therefor 8d. Item, that Ellen Stacpol widdowe hath one gardine by lease payeing yearly 8d. Item, that Donogh O'Donnell hath one house by lease payeing yearly therefor, 16d. Item, there is half one plowland named Ballynagalleagh in the south side of the Curry there is underwood and pasture belonging to the same. Item, there is by Loughgair a towne called Ballynagalagh in the countye of Lymerick that pertayneth to the said nunnery and house of Keiloine aforesaid. Item, wee finde that one Michael Arthur, merchant, deceased the 10th day of May, 32nd yeare of King Henry the Eighth, and that one Morris Herbert, archdeacon of our laidies church of Lymerick, did refuse and would not take of one David Arthur, and Genett Whyte executor of the said Michael Arthur, but according as it hath been paid of ould time contrary to the forme of the statute there in provided. Item, wee find that Tibbott Bourke of Caherkinlish in the county of Lymerick Gentl., the 10th day of Januarii, to 33 yeare of King Henry the VIII. and divers before and after did take of one William Young of Lymerick, merchant, for seaven loads of oaths, 7d. and so of divers others of the sayd cittie daylie. And of James Fox of the same for ten barrells of wyne departinge out of the same cittye into the countrie 2d. in extortion. Mahone O'Bryen of Carrigogunnel in the countie of Lymerick, gentl. did take of Domynick Whyte of Lymerick, mercht. the 10th daye of December, 33rd Henrci 8, for 3 barrells of wyne 3d. and for ten barrell of wyne 20d. and soe from day to day, from divers others of the said citty in extortion. And so did Murrough MacMahon of Balliolman of Christopher Creagh Fitzpatrick of Lymerick, merchant, for custom of 2 hogsetts of hearings 3s. 8d. and for 5 dykers of hydes 7s. 4d. and of every boath that cometh to that cittye by his castle 7s. 4d. and soe of divers others. And O'Conoughour of Carigfoyle did take of John Streech Fitzgeorge for his ship coming to that citty 3s. 4d. and 20 gallouns of wyne, and soe of every ship that cometh to that towne with wyne. Shiekus O'Cahaine of Keilruish in the countriey of Corkavaskin, the 10th day of December and 33rd H. 8, did take of every ship that cometh to that cittye and in especiall of John Fanning, 6s. 6d. by extortion. Donogh Gowe of Corrugraige, constable of the same under the Earl of Desmond, the 4th day of March and 33rd H. VIII. did take of Robert Heay, of Lymerick, merchant, for his boath of oysters that came to the citty a hundred oysters, and soe of every boath that cometh likewise. Darmitius M'Morrough of Finies, the 10th day of Februarii, and 33rd of Henry VIII. did take of William Yong of Lymerick, merchant, for one boath passing by the castle of Ffinies, 12 gallons of wyne and eight gallons of hony, and of every boath that passeth by the same, to the said citty. Item, Fineen M'Namara, and Taig M'Namara did daiely take of every barrell of wyne that passes out of the said cittie into the countrey by them 2d. and of every cow and horse passing by them to the said citty, 2d. and the tenth parte of all Linnen cloath passing by them to the said citty, and of every man passing by them to the said citty havinge a capp on his head, 6s. 8d. in extreame manner. Alsoe O'Bryen, doth levye and take all such things as aforesaid, except the 6s. 8d. for the capp. Item, in tyme past the Earls of Ormond and of Desmond have used such like customes which nowe they be content to remitt. Item, Donogh O'Bryen doth take of every pack that passeth from Lymerick to Waterfourd, 20d. and of every horse.load of wares coming from Waterfourd to Lymerick 5d. And that the said Donnogh the 15th day of Januarii last past tooke from John Harold, Nicholas Harold, Patricke Rochfort, and Richard Verdon for packs aleaven duccats and soe of divers others."

[1] "This image," say the annalists, "used to heal the blind, and the deaf, and the crippled, and persons afflicted with all sorts of diseases."

[2] This staff was said to have been received by St. Patrick from a hermit in an island of the Etruscan sea, to whom it was delivered, as was believed, by the Redeemer himself, whence the name "Bachall Isa," and was in Dublin performing miracles from the time of St. Patrick down to that day, and had been in the hands of Christ whilst he was amongst men.—*Note in Annals of Four Masters.*

[3] Annals of the Four Masters.

themselves and "keep honest residence;" and it became a matter of grievous complaint that they were obliged to chose those who could neither speak the English language, nor "wore cap or bonnet."

In the year 1540 Murrogh O'Brien and the chiefs of Thomond, by the consent and permission of the superiors of the order of St. Francis, bestowed the monastery of Clonroad on the friars of the Observance,[1] but wherever the English extended their power, they persecuted and banished the religious orders, and in this year the monastery of Monaghan was destroyed, and the guardian and some of the friars were beheaded.

Whilst the common enemy was thus at work, the old intestine divisions and wars continued to prevail among the leaders of the people. So general were these wars, that the death "in his bed" of Torlough O'Brien, in 1542, at Inchiquin,[2] is specially mentioned, he being "the most expert man at arms, the most famous and illustrious of his years, in his time." The progress of the Reformation was slow, but the plunder of church property and the destruction of churches, went on unchecked, and many relics of older times were brought to light.[3]

The Geraldines again gave trouble to the Government in revenge of their expulsion from their patrimony. The Lord Justice (St. Ledger) going into Offally, wrought vengeance upon them—he burned churches and monasteries, destroyed crops and corn, proclaimed O'Connor and O'More traitors, and confiscated their territories to the King.[4]

In 1547, just in the crisis of troubles and misfortunes, Maurice Russell of Dublin, gentleman, was appointed curator, bailiff, commissioner, or trustee of the city of Limerick during pleasure, with the like fees as John White or any other received in said office, and the yearly sum of 40s. sterling out of the fee farm of the city, and was again so appointed the 10th August, 1549.

In 1547 Henry VIII. died, and Edward VI. ascended the throne on the day of his father's death, viz. 28th of January, 1547. Henry was styled "Defender of the Faith," for his book against Luther, yet in the two and twentieth year of his reign he issued a proclamation, that no person should purchase anything from the Court of Rome; in the three and twentieth the clergy submitted themselves to the King for being found guilty of a præmunire, and were the first that called him supreme head of the Church, yet with this restriction, so far as it was in accordance with God's word and not otherwise; and he proceeded from bad to worse, until in his thirty-fifth year all colleges, chantries and hospitals were given up to him.[5] Notwithstanding

[1] Annals of the Four Masters.

[2] The castle at this lake, which was built by the head of the O'Briens sometime after the expulsion of the family of O'Quin.

[3] In breaking down a part of Christ Church, Dublin, in the year 1545, a stone coffin was discovered in which the body of a bishop, in his episcopal dress, with ten gold rings on his ten fingers and a gold meys chalice standing beside his neck. The body lay in a hollow, so cut by a chisel, in the stone as to fit its shape; it was taken up, all parts adhering together, and placed in a standing position, supported against the altar, and left there for some time; no part of the dress had faded or rotted, and this was regarded as a great sign of sanctity.—*Annals of the Four Masters.*

[4] Cox remarks of the state of education at this time, that "most of the letters of the great Irish lords (even some of English extraction) are subscribed with a mark, very few of them being able to write their names. Most of the Irish chieftains neither understood nor sought to understand the English language, and carried on their correspondence in Latin, supplied by the Catholic clergy." Cox errs in some respects, as O'Neill and other Irish lords unquestionably wrote their names.

[5] Sir R. Baker's Chronicle, p. 425.

these enormous confiscations, Cox[1] adds that the necessities of the State obliged the King to coin brass or mixed moneys, and to make it current in Ireland by proclamation, to the great dissatisfaction of all the people, especially the soldiers.[2] This base money was circulated in Limerick as well as elsewhere.[3] At this time the power of the English was very extensive in Ireland; "so that the bondage in which the people of Leath-Mhoga were, had scarcely been ever equalled before that time."[4] Just at this time Sir William Brabazon, Lord Justice, who was elected by the Council, committed the government of Tipperary to Edmond Butler, Archbishop of Cashel, and made a journey to Limerick, where Teig O'Carroll submitted, and entered into covenants of paying a yearly tribute into the Exchequer, and of serving the King with a certain number of horse and foot at his own charge, and of renouncing his pretensions to the barony of Ormond; and afterwards the same Teig O'Carroll surrendered to the King his country of Ely O'Carroll, containing ninety-three plowlands and a half; and the King regranted the same to him, and created him Baron of Ely. By O'Carroll's means, Mac Murrough, O'Kelly, and O'Melaghlin, were now taken into protection and pardoned; and by the Lord Deputy's mediation, the Earls of Desmond and Thomond who were wrangling about bounds, and the protection of each other's Tories or outlaws, were reconciled on the 11th of March.[5]

On the 4th of November, Charles Mac Art Kavenagh made his submission to the Lord Deputy at Dublin, in presence of the Earls of Desmond, Thomond, Clanrickard and Tyrone, and the Lords Mountgarrett, Dunboyne, Cahir, and Ibracan, renounced the name of Mac Murrough, and parted with some of his usurped jurisdiction and estate.[6] O'Carroll, however, did not long remain quiet. In this same year he burned Nenagh upon the "Red Captain,"[7] and the monastery of Tyone also. He destroyed the town from the fortress out. He set fire to the monastery of Abington in the county of Limerick, banished the Saxons out of it,[8] created great confusion among them, by which he weakened their power and "diminished their bravery," so that he ordered them all out of his country, except a few warders who were at Nenagh in the tower of Mac Manus.[9]

The Lord Justice (Brabazon) being in Limerick, held a great court, at which the Mayor was present, and took part in it as one of the Judges or Commissioners. In 1551, Edmond Butler, Archbishop of Cashel, and son of Pierce, Earl of Ormond, to whom the government of Tipperary had been committed a few years before, died; and Murrough O'Brien, Earl of Thomond, as he was styled by the English, and king,[10] but styled O'Brien according to the custom of the Irish, died—he was the first man of the race of O'Brien

[1] Cox's Hibernia Anglicana.

[2] In the time of Henry VIII. the discovery of the American gold mines made a great change in the value of money; his Chief Baron of the Exchequer had a salary of £100 a year; the Barons, £46 13s. 4d. each; and the Chancellor of the Exchequer, then a less important personage than he now is, had £26 13s. 4d. a year.

[3] It breaks and moulders away after very little handling; it is called copper by the Four Masters, who add that "the men of Ireland were obliged to use it as silver."—*Annals of the Four Masters.*

[4] Annals of the Four Masters.

[5] Cox's Hibernia Anglicana, p. 287.

[6] Ibid.

[7] Annals of the Four Masters, en an 1548.

[8] Ibid.

[9] This was the name of the massive tower now called the "Round" of Nenagh; who this Mac Manus was it is impossible to say.—Dr. O'Donovan's note in Annals of the Four Masters. Could it be "Magnus?"

[10] Annals of the Four Masters.

who was styled Earl,—"a man valiant in making and puissant in sustaining an attack, influential, rich and wealthy,"[1] Donough O'Brien succeeded him; he had a contest with his uncle Daniel, who claimed the Estate by Tanistry; by the mediation of the Lord Deputy they came to an agreement, when an Indenture Tripartite was made between the Deputy, the Earl, and Daniel O'Brien: the Indenture bears date, May 7th, 1552[2]. It had but a temporary effect; the Earl of Thomond and his uncles Donald and Turlogh were again in arms; they took Clonroad; the earl defended the castle for a time; but not long after he was murdered by Donald, his uncle, and the annalists add, that Dermot O'Brien died on the eve of St. Bridget and was buried in the monastery of Ennis.

If Edward VI. did no good to Limerick, he endeavoured to show his partiality for it by granting a charter to the city.

CHAPTER XIV.

LIMERICK UNDER QUEEN MARY AND ELIZABETH.—THE WARS OF THE DESMONDS.—THE BUTLERS AND THE O'BRIENS.—CONFISCATIONS, ETC.

THE news of the accession of Queen Mary to the throne of England was received with joy by the citizens of Limerick, who hoped that they might participate in the full fruition of their civil and religious rights and immunities.[3] Casey,[4] who had been the first Protestant Bishop of the see, now fled beyond the seas, imitating, in this respect, the conduct of Bale, Bishop of Ossory. Hugh Lacy, or Lees, was constituted by the Pope, Bishop of Limerick, and an immediate change in the aspect of affairs was apparent. A Parliament was held in Dublin, commencing on the 19th of June, 1557, and on the 2nd of July was adjourned to

[1] Cox's Hibernia Anglicana, p. 292.

[2] Sullivan mentions a curious fact which is quoted by Cox, in continuation of the wars between Daniel O'Brien and the Earl of Thomond in reference to the estates. He states that the Lord President Fitton got Daniel O'Brien into Limerick upon his oath that he would give him free and easy egress out of the gates; but the sophistical Englishman turned him out of the wrong gate ("so that there was the river Shenin between him and his army which was encamped in Thomond" and immediately sent the young earl to take possession of the country, which he did; and Daniel, who was so brave a man that many of the old and new Irish courted him to be king of Ireland) was forced to lie that tempestuous night in a cabbin; but when, according to the Irish fashion, he thought to lead his horse to stable in the same house with himself, the proud beast scorned to stoop, until the footboy whispered the horse in the ear and told him that his master O'Bryan would lodge that night in that cabbin, and desired that he would lower his crest and his crupper, and creep into the house to keep his master company; and the horse being well bred did comply in matter of ceremony; but when he came to supper he was at a loss, for he was used to wheat, and could not conform to country entertainment, until the footboy whispered him once more that his master O'Bryan, who fed on oaten cake, did command Rosinante to be content with the same fare, and then he fell to it.

[3] Arthur MSS.

[4] The Right Hon. Wm. Monsell, M.P., is a descendant of Bishop Casey, as is also Sir Vere de Vere, Bart.—Cotton's Fasti. Cotton adds that the Duke of Buckingham is also one of Bishop Casey's descendants.

10th of November to Limerick, and from Limerick, to the 1st of March in the following year, to Drogheda. The statutes of this Parliament enacted that all heresies should be punished, that all acts against the Pope made since 20th Henry 8th, should be repealed, &c. Sullivan (Catholic History, p. 81) gives every credit to Mary for propagating and supporting the old faith; but he adds that although the Queen was zealous, her ministers did not forbear to injure and abuse the Irish.[1]

Towards the close of her Majesty's reign, the Lord Deputy, Sussex, arrived to suppress a revolt of some inferior branches of the O'Brien family against their chief. Sussex mustered an army to march into Munster, and O'Brien another to oppose him; they, however, made peace; and on this occasion, Connor O'Brien, the earl and the freeholders of Thomond, after service in the cathedral church of St. Mary, swore fealty to the crown of England: "the Irish, from the Barrow to the Shannon, on the part of O'Brien, and the English of Munster on the part of the Lord Justice."[2] Sussex brought over with him five hundred soldiers and an order to coin brass money, and to make it current by proclamation, which was done.[3] On the 14th of June, he came to Limerick, and advanced afterwards to Thomond. Scattering his foes, he took the castles of Bunratty and Clare, and restored the country to the Earl of Thomond, who, together with the freeholders, swore, on Sunday the 10th of July, on the sacrament, and by all the relics in the church—book, bell, and candle light, to continue loyal to the Queen and to perform their agreements with the Lord Deputy.[4] The progress of Sussex was not confined to this triumph—the Earl of Desmond made his submission on the 21st of June, and to strengthen the bonds of fealty and friendship, the Deputy, on the 26th, became godfather to the Earl's son, whom he named James Sussex, and gave the child a chain of gold, and gave another chain and pair of gilt spurs to Dermot M'Carthy of Muskerry.[5] In this year, Turlough O'Brien, son of Turlough, son of Teigh-an-Chomaid,[6] died.

Queen Mary died in the following year, and was succeeded by Queen Elizabeth, during whose eventful reign some of the most startling events in our local annals occurred, and first among them the lamented death of James, Earl of Desmond, of whom it is said "the loss of this good man was woeful to his country, for there was no need to watch cattle or close doors, from Dunquin, west of Ventry, in Kerry, to the green-bordered meeting of the three waters,[7] on the confines of the province of Eochaidh, the son of Lucta and

[1] *Quæ tamætsi Catholicam religionem tueri et amplificare conata est, ejus tamen præfecti et Concillarii injurias Hybernis inferi non desisterunt.*

Sullivan speaks with great truth when he refers to the conduct of Mary's ministers and councillors in Ireland; they were as fierce and implacable against the old Irish race as any of their predecessors; and the annals are full of the misdeeds of Sussex against many of the ancient possessors of the land, whom he treated with unexampled oppression and cruelty.

[2] O'Donovan's Annals of the Four Masters, cir an 1555.

[3] Sussex's advent in Ireland is stated by the native annalists to have been followed by the most fearful disasters. He polluted the temples of God throughout Ireland; he uprooted and overturned the altars wherever he met them; he expelled the orthodox bishops and the clergy, and all members of religious houses; he drove out the nuns from their sanctified retreats, and introduced the Lutheran religion, the Lutheran liturgy, and the heterodox faith, wherever he could.—*Arthur MSS.*

[4] These are the words of the herald's certificate.

[5] Cox's Hibernia Anglicana, p. 307.

[6] Coad, a townland containing the ruins of a small church near Corofin, Co. Clare.

[7] Annals of the Four Masters.

Leinster."[1] He died at Askeaton on the 14th of October in this year,[2] and was succeeded by his son Garret.

In this year also, Donnall O'Brien of Thomond was banished from his patrimony by the Lord Justice. The chief towns of Thomond and not only these, but the entire country as well waste lands as inhabited lands, were placed by the English in the hands of the son of Donough O'Brien who was appointed Earl—and he was the first of the race of Cas who was popularly called Earl.[3]

Terrible was the commotion in consequence; for nothing went more to the hearts of the people than an indignity of this kind.[4] In 1559, Conor, Earl of Thomond, sat before Inchiquin, to oppose the sons of Murrogh O'Brien. Donough, one of the sons of Murrogh was in the town, but Teigh, the other son of Murrough had been constantly in the company of the Earl of Desmond, since the expulsion of Donald O'Brien up to that period. Teigh made a sad complaint of his condition to the Earl of Desmond who assembled his troops and crossed the Shannon. The Earl of Thomond, leaving the camp at Inchiquin empty, proceeded to ask assistance from his trusty friend the Earl of Clanrickarde, which being granted, he did not halt until he arrived at the green of Inchiquin, and he returned back the same night to Ballyally. The camps of the Earls were not far asunder on that night. On the morrow, Desmond rose early, and marshalled his youthful warriors. They skirmished and fired on each other until they reached the top of Knock Furchaill[5] where fate brought them together, and victory after a fearful fight declared in favor of Desmond. Contemporaneously with this event O'Carroll, in accordance with the custom that every Irish chieftain thought it a duty to perform a predatory excursion as soon after his inauguration as possible, made his Captain's first expedition against Turlough Mac I Brien of Arra, on which occasion, he totally devastated and ravaged the country from Ballina, near Killaloe, to O'Hogan's mill, near Ardcroney.[6] On the same day he slew Morrough MacIbrien, a distinguished Captain. In revenge the MacIbrien proceeded soon afterwards to ravage Ikerrin, in Tipperary; but in this expedition he was overthrown; O'Carroll approached in battle order, dispersed the guards of the MacIbriens, not one of whom escaped by flight, took MacIbrien prisoner, who was not set at liberty until he had paid ransom.[7] The rebellion of Gerald, the 16th Earl of Desmond, which brought him and his family to ruin, not content with his peaceable settlement in the Earldom, began about this time. His first disturbances were (in 1564) against the Earl of Ormond.[8] These Earls were ordered to England, and bound by

[1] The Suire, Barrow, and Nore, below the city of Waterford.

[2] Smith's History of Kerry, p. 253.

[3] Though Murrogh O'Brien was created earl for life, in 1543, he was never called earl by the people.

[4] Annals of the Four Masters.

[5] Spancil-hill, Co. Clare.

[6] Annals of the Four Masters.

[7] One of the castles of the Mac I Brien, or the ruins of it, may yet be seen at Ballina.

[8] Sir John Davis says, the first occasion of his rebellion grew from his attempt to charge the Decies in the county of Waterford with *coign* and *livery*, *black rents* and *cosheries*, after the Irish manner, when he was resisted by the said earl, who fought him a pitched battle at Affane* in that county, on the 15th of February, 1564, when he was taken prisoner and lost a considerable number of his followers.—*Smith's History of Kerry, p. 254.*

* AFFANE.—This place was granted, together with other places, to Sir Walter Raleigh. It was here that he grew the first cherries, as it was in Youghal that he grew the first potatoes.

recognizances in chancery of twenty thousand pounds to stand by the queen's award.[1]

By the dissensions between the Earls of Ormond and Desmond, Munster was almost ruined, especially Tipperary and Kerry. The barony of Ormond was overrun by Pierce Grace; and Thomond was as bad as the rest by the wars between Sir Daniel O'Brien and the Earl of Thomond.[2] Hooker states that there was now no religion; he means of course amongst those who, in the name of religion, perpetrated unheard-of iniquities. A great battle was to be fought between the Earls of Desmond and Ormond, concerning certain lands in dispute about the Suir and Cashel. The place selected was Bohermore, near Tipperary town; immense numbers of their respective English and Irish neighbours crowded together from Cork to the Barrow, and from Logh Garman,[3] "to the wide, foamy harbour" of Limerick.[4] But "When the hosts came front to front and face to face, the Great God sent the angel of peace to them, so that concord was established between the hosts; for, having reflected on the dreadful consequences of the battle, they parted without coming to any engagement on that occasion."[5] Soon after this event, Teige, the son of Murrough O'Brien, was taken prisoner at Limerick, by order of the Lord Justice, and sent to Dublin to be imprisoned, and it was universally said at the time that the Earl of Thomond had a hand in his capture.[6] Teige escaped from his bondage two years afterwards, when meeting Donald O'Brien, who had exerted himself to set aside the Earldom of Thomond before Connor's accession, united in opposition to the Earl, who raised many encampments against them; but the result of the fighting was that the Earl's people were defeated, many of them slain, and Brien, who was taken, was not given up until Shallee, in the barony of Inchiquin, was given to Teige by way of ransom. Ballycarr, the residence of the sons of Murrough, was afterwards taken and demolished by the Earl, who had brought ordnance and forces from Limerick for that purpose.[7]

It was in this year that the magnificent abbey and abbey lands of Corcomroe, with their rents and customary services, and acquirements of land in the territories of Thomond, and its church livings, were given to Donnell O'Brien, as a compensation for the lordship of Thomond, to which he would have succeeded by Tanistry.[8]

The citizens of Limerick, now aided the Lord Deputy, Sir Henry Sidney; to the number of three hundred of them joined his forces in apprehending the Earl of Desmond at Kilmalloch, where for a short time the Earl was imprisoned, and thence conveyed into Limerick, where he was indicted for levying war against the Queen. His brother John was knighted, and made Seneschal of Desmond.[9] This was the first occasion on which Sidney visited Limerick—he had been some time previous occupied elsewhere in his endeavours to suppress the Desmond Rebellion. Queen Elizabeth wrote an obscure letter to him, all in her own hand, in reference to the disputes of the Desmonds and Ormonds, and this letter is printed in Smith's History of Kerry, pp. 256–7.

On the 24th of September in the next year (1565) Arnold, Justiciary of Ireland, by consent of the Secretary of the Council, commanded the Mayor, Bailiffs, and citizens of Limerick, that they should observe the solemn injunc-

[1] Cox's Hibernia Anglicana, p. 320. [2] Ibid. [3] The Irish name of Wexford.
[4] Annals of the Four Masters. [5] Ibid. [6] Ibid. [7] Ibid. ad an. 1564.
[8] The English, to pacify him, bestowed these gifts upon him, as also such lands as descended to himself by gavelkind, and such as he had possession of in any other way.—Annals of Four Masters.
[9] Cox's Hibernia Anglicana, p. 325.

tions of Sussex, lately Viceroy of Ireland, recently given to them by his letters, by which he cautions them that they should not dare, even in the slightest particular, to sell any one of the ancient commonage lands, but that they should preserve them entire to be expended in the public service and requirements.[1]

At this period a very remarkable man lived in Limerick, and taught school. This was John Goode, a Catholic Priest, of the order of Jesus, some time educated at Oxford. He was a man of extraordinary erudition, and gave great aid to Camden in that portion of his Britannia which treats of Ireland. "'Tis strange" (says Nicholson) that a writer so much honoured by this great British antiquary, who gives a high character of this gentleman's modesty and learning, should be overlooked by Sir James Ware and the Oxford antiquarians."[2]

Gerald, the Earl of Desmond, was removed from Limerick to London by the intrigues of Ormonde, and imprisoned in the tower, where were also confined at the time, the Baron of Dungannon, O'Connor Sligo, O'Carrol, and other Irish chiefs, most of whom made submission to the Queen in 1568, when they were enlarged. Sidney visited Limerick a second time in 1569, where he established Sir John Perrot in the office of President of Munster. In Collins' State Papers it is said that the city was in a wasted condition at this time, and that the Deputy recommended the building of a bridge here—most likely it was in consequence of his recommendation that Thomond Bridge underwent some repairs.[3] Sidney's anxiety respecting bridge-building did not rest with recommendations—he built the bridge of Athlone in 1568.[4]

[1] Arthur MSS. [2] Nicholson's Irish Historical Library.

[3] A highly curious inquisition was taken at this time in Limerick touching the marriage of the Earl of Clanrickarde with Grany O'Karwell, or O'Carroll. It is thus stated in Morrin's Calendary of the Patent and Close Rolls of Chancery :—

1566—9th Elizabeth. Depositions of witnesses taken before the King's Deputy and the Council at Limerick, 5th October, 36th Henry VIII., touching the marriage of the Earl of Clanrickard with Grany O'Karwell :—Hugh MacDonnell MacEgan, Brehon of Cloughketinge, in Ormond, saith "he heard Molrone O'Karwell say, when the late Earl of Clanrickard, then called Ulick Bourke, came to marry Grany, the O'Karwell's daughter, for that he thought he would give up the said Grany, before he should marry her in the face of the church, he would himself see the marriage solemnised between; and at the same time, deponent being at Modergime (Modereeny ?) saw them go to church to be married, and saw them likewise come from the church; and further, heard those that were in the church say that the marriage was performed and done accordingly, howbeit he saw it not done himself." Teige Oge M'Gilyfoyle deposed "that he was present at the mass, and saw solemnly married, in the face of the Church, and kneeling before the high altar, saw the Earl kiss the Priest and then the said Grany; and being in the church when the mass time, saw them go out together, and the next day they departed thence." Shanet McDonoughe MacDermot Mycke Gilyfoile agrees in all things with the second deponent, mutatis mutandis. Sir Adam Oge O'Hyran, priest, saith, "that at the solemnization of the marriage he was chaplain to the O'Karwell, and that it was he that said the mass, and coupled them together by the laws of Holy Church, being there divers other priests, gentlemen and horsemen, during the solemnization."—Oct. 5 36° Henry VIII. (Morrin's Calendary of the Patent and Close Rolls, Chancery, Ireland, p. 504.)

[4] The old bridge, which was surmounted by the ancient "Queen's Arms," had a compartmented stone facade, containing, amongst other inscriptions, one commemmorating the building of this bridge by Sidney, and the beheading of the "arch traytor Shane O'Neill," as the sculptor designated the haughty and unbending Shane na Dinis. This stone is now in the R.I.A., to which it was presented by Mr. John Long, C.E., when building the new bridge at Athlone. William Englebert, a famous Engineer, who was born at Sherborne, got from Queen Elizabeth for his services, 1588, a pension of 100 marks per annum. King James would not permit him to serve any foreign prince. He died in 1634 at Westminster.* It is not improbable that this engineer built, or gave the designs for the bridges on the Shannon at Limerick and Athlone, for Sir Henry Sydney, then Lord Justice of Ireland. The annals give the building of Athlone Bridge under date 1568, as follows:—"The Bridge of Athlone was built by the Lord Justice of Ireland, i.e., Sir Henry Sydney." Bridges over so large a river were at that time regarded as works of great magnitude, and doubtless the best engineering skill then available was secured to advise on the erection of these bridges across the Shannon.

* Fuller's Worthies, Vol. 2, p. 366.

CHAPTER XV.

PROGRESS OF SIR H. SIDNEY.—EXTRAORDINARY CUSTOMS OF THE IRISH.—THE DEPUTY'S VISIT TO LORD POWER AT CURRAGHMORE.—BATTLE OF MANISTER, &c.

In 1568 Sir Henry Sidney, Lord Deputy, held a parliament, in which a subsidy of 13s. 4d. was granted out of every occupied plough-land in Ireland, except those belonging to the Corporations of Dublin, Limerick, Cork and Waterford, and the chief government was to present to all church dignities, the cathedrals of Cashel, Limerick, Cork and Waterford excepted.[1]

In 1569 Limerick was one of the first places where the acts and ordinances of the remarkable parliament held this year were ordered to be proclaimed. In the course of a great hosting which Sidney made in the same year, he proceeded from Cork to Limerick, demolished some of the towns of Munster between those cities, and next proceeded to Connaught, and reduced to "obedience" all the country to Limerick, naming Sir Edward Phitun (Fitton) President—the first President that ever was named in that country. Limerick at this time was in a wasted condition. In the next year following the Deputy received the submission of MacIBrien Arra, who, in consequence, was confirmed in the possession of all his "manors, castells, lordshipps, signiories, rules, hereditaments, commodities, and profits, with all and singular appurtenances" in Duhallow. These expeditions were successful.[2] It was about this period that Clare was made a portion of the province of Connaught. The deputy visited Limerick a second time in 1575, and was entertained with more pomp than anywhere else.[3] Here he kept sessions, and observed the same methods he did at Cork; he then marched into Thomond, in which, though it had formerly belonged to the English lords of Clare, and was inhabited by many English, now not a man of English extraction was to be found, and even the O'Briens, though very near relatives, were inveterate enemies one to the other; the country was entirely wasted, and innumerable complaints of murder, rape, burning, robbery, and sacrilege were made to the deputy,[4] who imprisoned the Earl of Thomond and Teig Mac Murrough until they gave bonds and hostages of their good behaviour; he kept the earl's brother in irons, made Sir Donald O'Brien sheriff, left a provost marshal and a garrison among them at their request and charge; and upon shewing them that the uncertainty of their tenures was the cause of all their disturbances, they promised to surrender their estates and take patents according to law. Having effected these objects he proceeded to Galway.[5]

Sir John Perrott, who in 1572, had been appointed Lord President of Munster, had so effectually proceeded in the interest of Elizabeth, that James Fitzmaurice, of Desmond, was compelled to submit to him at Kilmalloch, which town on 4th of March before he had burned and plundered, having executed the sovereign and several of the townsmen, Fitzmaurice

[1] Cox's Hibernia Anglicana, Vol i., p. 330.
[2] The letters patent passed to Mac I Brien are duly enrolled among the patents of 120 Elizabeth.
[3] Cox's Hibernia Anglicana, p. 345. [4] Ibid.
[5] Cox's Hibernia Anglicana, p. 345.

made his submission in the Church, lying prostrate at the President's feet, who held the point of the sword at his heart, in token that he had received his life at the queen's hands.[1]

Extraordinary customs prevailed in this reign, if we are to credit contemporary witnesses. At the execution of Murrogh O'Brien, "a notable traytor" at Limerick, the foster mother of the unfortunate Murrogh took up the head, sucked the blood as it flowed from it, and stated, that the earth was not worthy to drink it. She then steeped her face and breast in the reeking gore, and tore her hair, crying and shrieking most terribly.[2]

We will not follow the Deputy to Galway, which he describes not flatteringly, neither shall we go through those still continued and apparently endless wars of the Desmonds and O'Briens, which fill so vast a space in the annals of these eventful times. During the Mayoralty of Roger Everard the Deputy arrived, as we have seen, in Limerick, and Ferrar, who is followed by Fitzgerald, erroneously states, on the authority of the Davis MSS. that it was in this year that the sword of state was carried before the Mayor, and that the Cap of maintenance was for the first time worn. The sword had been sought for in the reign of Henry VIII. but refused; Elizabeth, however, in her charter, which she granted to Limerick in 1582, and not in 1575, not only bestowed the sword, but gave the "hatte of mayntenance" also. For this most important charter see Appendix.

During Sir Henry Sidney's visit to Limerick he addressed a letter to the Lords of the Council in England, which supplies some interesting details, illustrating the state of the south of Ireland at this period. The letter is dated Limerick 27th of February, 1575–6, and after giving an account of his arrival in Waterford, after his tour in Ulster and Leinster in all which places he met with a very favourable reception, proceeds to describe his visit to Lord Power at Curraghmore, where he was entertained "with plenty and good order," and where he found the tenants in a condition which would be considered enviable at the present day, for though the soil is stated to be much worse than in the county Kilkenny, "yet his tenants made more of one acre of land than there was made of three acres in that country or was made in the Decies, the lordship near adjoining him on the other side; and the reason was that he suffered no idlers in his county, nor the better sort to oppress each other."

From Curraghmore the Lord Deputy proceeded to Dungarvan Castle, where the Earl of Desmond waited on him, humbly offering him any service that he was able to do the queen.

From Dungarvan the Deputy passed into Sir John of Desmond's country, in the county of Cork, from which he proceeded to Lord Barry's, and on the 28th of December, arrived at Cork, where he was received "with all the joyfulness, tokens and shews they could express, and diet and lodge six weeks for half their pay." Here he was waited on by the chief men of the province, all of whom, the letter states, offered all fealty, homage and service to her Majesty, and to hold their lands of her and yield her both rent and service.

After having settled matters at Cork, he proceeded towards Limerick and was two nights entertained at Lord Roche's. At Limerick he was attended by

[1] Smith's History of Kerry, pp. 262–3.

[2] Spencer's View of Ireland. p. 104; he adds that the old Gauls used to drink their enemy's blood, and paint themselves with it, and that the Irish drank the blood of their friends.

several lords and gentlemen, and was received with much greater magnificence than he had hitherto seen in Ireland. Here as elsewhere, the local notables who visited him, complained bitterly of the misery and waste of the country by their great men, and begged for an English force to protect them, and English Sheriffs to execute the laws, offering to surrender their lands and hold them of the queen. The letter mentions amongst his visitors the Bourkes, Supples, Purcells, the "Red Roches," and divers original Irish, as O'Moylan, MacBrien, Ogoonah, MacIBrien Arra, O'Brien of Aherlow, on the South side of the Shannon, and many other personages of distinction. The Earls of Ormond and Upper Ossory also waited on him, the latter of whom he had left governor of the English Pale during his absence, and found kept in good order. Ulick and John Bourke, sons of the Earl of Clanrickarde, also waited on the Deputy, having received their pardon and being ordered to meet him at Galway. The Earl of Thomond, the letter continues, and all the principal gentlemen of his name, though enemies to each other, with two Lords in Thomond called Macnamara, also came and made the same complaints as the others; but the counties of Kerry and Tipperary being Palatinates the Lord Deputy did not visit, "but thinks that no perfect reformation could be in Munster until these grants were resumed"—so far Sir Henry Sidney's letter. The palatine authority here referred to was about this period pleaded by the Earl of Desmond, who had been nominated one of the Council of Sir William Drury, who in the year 1576, was appointed Lord President of Munster on the return of Sir John Perrott to England, as a preliminary step towards the reform of the Province. The new President proceeded to extend his jurisdiction into Kerry, notwithstanding Desmond's plea and subsequent appeal to the Chief Governor; and there, after a short struggle with the Earl's followers, he proceeded at once to execute the law without any further obstruction.

In the year 1576, Thomond according to the annals of the Four Masters was separated from Connaught and joined to Munster. The annals for the year 1577, which is memorable for the massacre of the men of Leix and some of the Keatings at Mullaghmast by the English, aided, some say, by the O'Dempseys, mention a visit paid to Thomond at this period by the Lord President, accompanied by a great multitude of the English and the chiefs of the two provinces of Munster, on which occasion he held a court for eight days at Ennis, and "the Dalgais having refused to become tributary to their sovereign, he left," says the annalist, "a marshal with a vigorous and merciless body of troops to reduce them. The President then returned to Limerick, and proceeded to behead the chieftains and rebels of the districts adjacent to Limerick: amongst these was Murrough the son of Murtough, son of Mahon, son of Donough, son of Brian Duv O'Brien, the most renowned and noble of the heirs of Carraigh O'Coinnell and Eatherlah," now Carrick O'Gunnell and the Glen of Aherlow, in the county of Tipperary.[1]

In this year Thomas Leary, Catholic Bishop of Kildare died in banishment.[2] The Earl of Thomond, Conor O'Brien, in the same year, according to the annals of the Four Masters, went to England to complain to the queen of his distresses and oppression, and obtained a charter of his territory and towns, and also a general pardon for his people. He received great honor

[1] Annals of the Four Masters. [2] Rothe's Analecta.

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and respect from Elizabeth, but he was disappointed in his expectations that thenceforward his territory would be free from the unjust jurisdiction of the Marshal, who before the Earl's return had imposed a severe burden on the people, so that they were obliged to become tributary to the sovereign, paying ten pounds for every barony. "This" adds the annalist "was the first tribute paid by the Dalcassians." For they had been free from tribute before the English invasion, and they had resisted the payment of tribute up this year.

In 1579 Thady Daly, a Franciscan of the convent of Askeaton, was executed in Limerick for the faith. Edmond Donnelly, of the Society of Jesus, a native of Limerick, after suffering different torments, was hanged and quartered in Cork.[1]

In the same year Nicholas Stritch, Mayor of Limerick, presented Sir William Pelham the Lord Justice with a thousand citizens well armed; with these forces Sir William marched to Fanningstown, where he was presented with letters by the Countess of Desmond, to excuse her husband for not obeying the Lord Justice; these were filled with evasions and trifling excuses. Desmond was proclaimed a traitor, and the army was ordered to enter his country with fire and sword, if he did not within twenty days, surrender. In their progress they hanged the Mayor of Youghal at his own door.[2]

In this year was fought the celebrated battle of Manister or Monasternenagh, five miles to the north-west of Bruff—a battle of which such singularly discrepant accounts have been given by O'Daly in his History of the Geraldines, and by Camden. The latter, who has been followed by Ware, Cox, and Leland, asserts that Sir John of Desmond was defeated with the loss of two hundred and sixty of his army, together with the famous Dr. Allen the Jesuit who was left dead on the field. Allen and Sanders, the Jesuit and Papal Legate, had arrived from Spain at Smerewick, on the coast of Kerry, in the previous year, with three ships, men and money, &c. O'Daly, who mentions the loss of Thomas Geraldine, Johnston, and Thomas Brown, Knight, says nothing about Allen. The Irish force assembled here by Sir John Fitzgerald, brother of the Earl of Desmond, consisting of 2000 Irish and Spaniards, headed by Father Allen, and aided by the abbot of the monastery, were attacked by Sir William Malby at the head of 150 cavalry, of 600 infantry, and defeated with great slaughter, including a great number of the Clann-Sheehy.

The Irish were well commanded by Spanish officers, and fought with such fury that the battle was a long time doubtful. The Earl of Desmond, who, with Lord Kerry, had viewed the action from the neighbouring eminence called Tory Hill, on perceiving the result, retired into his strong castle at Askeaton, where Malby remained nearly a week, the Geraldines every day threatening to give him battle, though they did not do so.[3] Malby destroyed the monastery of that town, and then proceeded to Adare, where he remained, subjugating the people of that neighbourhood until he was joined by Sir William Pelham the newly patented Lord Justice, the Earl of Kildare, and the Earl of Ormonde.[4] During the engagement the Irish and Spanish soldiers took shelter in the abbey of Monasternenagh, which suffered greatly from the

[1] Rothe's Analecta.
[2] Ware's Annals.
[3] Annals of the Four Masters.
[4] Ibid.

fire of the English cannon, the refectory and cloisters being destroyed, and the surrounding walls razed to the ground, so that the monastery, though it survived until the dissolution, never recovered its original importance. It was here that a horrible slaughter was made of the Cistertian monks by the murderous soldiers of Malby, who cut the throats of those defenceless recluses; and perpetrated the most revolting atrocities.[1] The Desmond castles, garrisoned by the English after this battle, were Loughgur, Rathmore, Castlemorrison, Adare, and Kilmalloch.

CHAPTER XVI.

MARTYRDOM OF BISHOP HELY AND FATHER O'ROURKE.—CONTINUED ATROCITIES.

THE Earl of Ormond, in the same week, made a chieftain's first expedition into the territory of the Geraldines, and proceeded as far as Newcastle West in the county Limerick, whence he carried off all the flocks and herds in the country that he could seize upon, but he returned back without receiving battle or conflict, because that at that time the Earl of Desmond was with his relatives in Kerry.[2]

The martyrdom of the holy Bishop of Mayo, Patrick Hely, and his companion, Father O'Rourke, occurred in this year at Limerick by the order of the Deputy, soon after his visit.[3] Pope Gregory had earnestly recommended Father Patrick Hely to his flock in Ireland, on account of his "incredible zeal," and had him consecrated Bishop of Mayo. After a certain number of days the Holy Father, having provided him with whatever he required, sent him forward, recommending to him the care and spiritual health of the faithful in this country. The pious bishop proceeded on his journey, and having arrived at Paris he remained there for seven or eight months, where he spent his time, partly in the convent of his own order, and partly in the city itself; and, says my authority, he did not do so without meriting the hearty commendations of all who approached him, as he was not only an example but a perfect mirror for every one to see himself, not as he was, but as he ought to be; and who was not only admirable for his talents and virtues, but in whom, charity, in particular, burned so strongly, that he may have been said to have been a warming "sun" (*helios*), who was not deterred by the most imminent dangers from studying the salvation of the Irish. He held a public

[1] In the reign of Queen Elizabeth a part of the army entered the monastery of Nenay, or Maigue, sometimes called Commogue (see White's MSS.), in the county of Limerick, of the order of St. Bernard, and because the abbot and his monks would not renounce the Catholic faith, he and forty of his monks were put to death and afterwards beheaded, and that in the church in presence of the Blessed Sacrament. This happened on the 14th of August, the eve of the Assumption, says Broduinus. Angleus Manriquez and Chrisostome Henriquez tell a curious story about an old monk, the only one left alive by the victors, who, they state, entered the choir weeping copiously, and found all his murdered brethren with a bloody mark round their throats, and with crowns on their heads and palms in their hands, singing the usual vespers, Deus in adjutorum, &c.

[2] Annals of the Four Masters.

[3] Thomas Bourchier de Martyrio Fratrum Ordinis Minorum Ingolstad, 1583.

thesis in Paris, in which he manifested, in the most indisputable manner, the wonderful resources of his great intellect, in which, not only in the abstract sciences, but in the varied range of controversy and logic, he shewed a superior genius, astute, vigorous, complete, deficient in nothing that constituted the perfect theologian; bending even to the studies of the juniors, and making easy to them the pathway of learning. In an age when learning was so general in France, and when Paris was filled with many of the ablest men of the age, the praise bestowed by Father Thomas Bourchier on Doctor Patrick Hely, would seem extravagant were it not vouched for by an earnestness and emphasis not to be misunderstood or mistaken, in the elaborate panegyric of the illustrious man who was soon destined to bedew the scaffold with his blood in Limerick: his only crime was that he loved the faith and evangelised the poor. He had a full conception of the peril he incurred in coming to Ireland, where the ravening wolves which at this period, were thirsting for the blood of a priest, were sure to scent him out; but he did not hesitate wherever zeal and obedience urged him forward. He resolved to bow to the mandate of the Holy Father rather than be dictated to by his own apprehensions of what was to happen to him. He prepared, at once, like a good shepherd, who is ready to lay down his life for his flock if the occasion should arise. He made himself up for the voyage, therefore, and the ship which bore him having touched on England, he sailed for Ireland, which when he reached he at once proceeded to seek the Earl of Desmond. When he reached his residence, he found that the Earl was from home, but he was hospitably and politely received by his wife, the Countess of Desmond; but not indeed to the honor of her name, must it, alas! be told, that like other women, she too acted a fearfully treacherous and dreadful part. "Like the dancing girl who brought the head of Saint John to Herod—like Delilah who shore Samson of his strength, and delivered him into the hands of the Philistines—like the woman who caused the fall of David"—this lady of the house of Desmond, forgetful of everything that became her position and name, betrayed the holy Doctor Patrick Hely and his companion, Father O'Rourke, a native of Connaught, into the hands of their enemies, after a period of about three days.

On the day after this visit he departed for Limerick, which Bourchier describes as at this time the first city in Munster, in which, as there were many Catholics, Hely expected to gather good fruit in the vineyard of souls; and there, his intended work and mission having been made known to the Mayor, through the exertions of the Countess of Desmond, he was cast into prison. The enterprize was unquestionably a most perilous one, and the holy Bishop must have been perpetually aware of the snares which awaited him in a locality where destruction was prepared for the devoted sons of the Church. But he was so filled with love of his heavenly Father, as Father Bourchier observes, that he despised all terrors. He was immediately transmitted from Limerick to the town of Kilmalloch, where at that time the Deputy resided, and by his orders sentenced with his companion to death, without any other form, except the process of martial law. The Deputy, however, offered him full right and possession of his benefice, provided he would deny the faith and betray his whole business to him; to which the bishop replied, that as regarded his faith, he would not part with it for the enjoyment of life and honors; but as for the business on which he had come, he said he came to discharge the episcopal function (which he had openly professed to do) and thereby to promote the cause of religion and effect the salvation of souls,

nor did he refuse a death which was attended by any advantage to religion, or even avoidance of disadvantage. The Deputy further called upon him to reveal the plan formed by the Pontiff and king Philip of Spain for the invasion of Ireland, which he absolutely refused to do, although his silence was the cause of grievous tortures to him.[1] For, placing small iron bars across his fingers, they struck them so violently with a hammer, that his fingers were cut to pieces, and as he still refused to reveal anything, they immediately led him to the gallows. While he was being conducted to the place of execution he asked permission to read the litanies and to receive absolution from his companion, and to give it in turn; both of which he was permitted to do. He then exhorted his companion, who was affected by a natural horror of death, to be of good cheer, for that though the feast was a bitter one, the triumph would be noble. Having restored his companion's courage by this exhortation, and made a most impressive address to the people, in which he spoke at length of the necessity of preserving an unswerving faith, and of his professional duties, for asserting which he, together with his companion, cheerfully met a happy death for the love of Christ, both were immediately hanged. But Bourchier observes, that the Deputy who passed sentence on the bishop, was immediately after seized with an incurable disease of which he died at Waterford, "though struck by no wound, as one who undoubtedly fell under the vengeance of God." Be the cause of his death what it may, certain it is that Sir William Drury, the Deputy or Lord Justice, who had been summoned from Cork to Kilmalloch, to suppress the insurrection which had suddenly burst forth on the arrival of James, the son of Maurice, formerly temporary leader of the Geraldines, who had recently landed from France with a supply of men and arms, to raise the standard of the Pope amongst the disaffected Irish and English, did die at Waterford, whither he had returned, and was succeeded in his office by Sir William Pelham. Dr. Patrick O'Hely, who thus suffered with Father Cornelius O'Rourke, and another whose name is not mentioned, was, as I have stated, bishop of Mayo; both martyrs were of the Franciscan order. They were hanged upon a tree, and their bodies remained suspended for fourteen days, to be used as targets by the soldiery.[2]

As a proof that this persecution was not confined to Limerick, we may mention that in 1579 Thomas Hierlihy, Bishop of Ross, who was born in the country of Ross, in the district of Carberry, was raised to the Bishoprick of that see, and assisted at the council of Trent in 1563, together with Donald Magongail, Bishop of Raphoe, and Eugene O'Hair, Bishop of Achonry. Upon his return to Ireland, he endeavoured to enforce the decrees and discipline of that council: he was driven from his see in 1570, and fled from the violent persecution against him into a small island, where he was taken, together with his chaplain, by the eldest son of O'Sullivan, and delivered up prisoner to Sir John Perrott, President of Munster. He was sent prisoner to England, and for three years and seven months was confined in a dark nauseous dungeon of the tower of London, together with Richard Creagh, Primate of Armagh. He was there offered great honours and dignities if he would renounce the faith, which offers he constantly rejected and chose death in preference to them. At length, Cormac M'Carthy becoming bail for him, he was released out of the tower and returned to Ireland: upon his landing in Dublin, he

[1] Bourchier, p 167, &c.
[2] Bourchier, Wadding; and Bruodin, Passio Mart. p. 437.

was again apprehended and confined, until by letters from London, the government was assured of his being enlarged there. Upon his return to his own country he retired from the noise of the world, and built, for himself, near the side of a lonesome wood, a little cabin made up of wattles, wherein he spent the remainder of his days in divine meditations, in consoling his distressed flock, in administering the sacraments, and in all other works of piety and charity; at length, consumed with labour and overcome by many hardships, he died, in the odour of sanctity, in the year 1579, and was buried in a convent of Franciscans in Muskerry, called the Cellecrea.[1] Nor were these dreadful crimes perpetrated on such men only as Doctor Hely, and his companion, Father O'Rourke, and the Bishop of Ross; the terrors of the time are indescribable. On the 11th of February, a commission of martial law was sent to Sir Warham Saint Ledger, then the Lord Justice, who remained three weeks at Waterford, whence he went to Clonmel, where Ormond met him, and thence to Limerick. His baggage was carried a great part of the way on men's shoulders for want of carriage horses, or because of the badness of the way, or both; and at Limerick, the chancellor of the diocese was found guilty of high treason, for corresponding with Desmond, but he made a shift to get a pardon, while the Bishop of Limerick, who was also shrewdly suspected, was merely confined to his house.[2] On the 10th of March, Ormond and the Lord Justice met at Rathkeale; next day they passed over the bridge of Adare, and returned at night and invaded Connelloe, and having done what mischief he could there, proceeded to Carrigfoyle, which he took, and hanged Captain Julio, an Italian engineer, who commanded the garrison; and on the 3rd of April, 1580, laid siege to the castle of Askeaton, one of the most magnificent castles in the country, which the garrison deserted, and which the Lord Justice partially destroyed by gunpowder, leaving the towers untouched, as they remain to this day. Askeaton and Ballyheige castles, in Kerry, which were taken at the same time, were the last castles of the great Desmond. Having left four companies at Askeaton, the Lord Justice returned to Limerick on the 5th of April; Ormond proceeded to Kilkenny, Malby to Connaught, and the others to Dublin.[3] But the Lord Justice did not rest in Limerick. He proceeded ("by sea"?) to Adare, and sent Captain Case by land, where, we are told, they both returned "after the slaughter of many traytors, with a prey of twelve hundred cows and as many sheep."[4] On the 15th of May he received a commission from Elizabeth to be Lord Justice, and another to make Sir William Burke Baron of Castleconnell, with a yearly pension of a hundred marks during life.[5] On the 13th of this month Pope Gregory the Thirteenth granted to all Irishmen who would fight against the Queen, the same plenary pardon and remission of all their sins, as to those that were engaged in the Holy War against the Turks.[6]

[1] Rothe's Analecta.
[2] Cox, Hibernia Anglicana, p. 363.
[3] Cox, Hibernia Anglicana.
[4] Ibid.
[5] The Four Masters give a more particular and accurate account of this expedition; in which they mention the townlands through which the Lord Justice passed, and show that "the traytours" they killed, were not only men fit for action, but "they killed blind and feeble men, women, boys and girls, sick persons, idiots, and old people." They add, that a great number were killed by the plundered parties, who followed them to the camp.—*Annals of the Four Masters.*
[6] Sullivan's Catholic History, p. 101, and Peter Walshe's Remonstrance.

CHAPTER XVII.

ENGLISH PROGRESS.—PERSECUTIONS CONTINUED.—ARRIVAL OF THE SPANIARDS.

On the 8th of July, the Lord Deputy continuing in Limerick, the Catholic Lords of Munster were summoned before him; they were charged with correspondence with the rebels; they submitted, with the exception of Lord Barry; but repenting of the terms, they withdrew their submission, and were confined to their chambers in consequence, until they had bound themselves to maintain two thousand men during the war. It was at this time that the queen's fleet reached the coast of Ireland, and made no delay until they cast anchor in the Shannon, opposite Carraigh-an-Phuill.[1]

About Whitsuntide following, the Lord Justice proceeded back to Askeaton, where he spent a considerable part of the summer, and never ceased, day and night from persecuting and extirpating the Geraldines.[2] Having perpetrated several revolting atrocities, he passed by a transverse course to Cork, and back to Askeaton and Limerick. He had in his custody, the Chiefs of Munster (the Geraldines only excepted) as hostages on this occasion, namely, Barrymore, the wife andson of MacCarthy More, the two sons of MacMaurice of Kerry, O'Sullivan Bear, MacDonough M'Carthy, Chief of Duhallow, and the son of MacCarthy Reigh.[3] While the Lord Justice, Sir William Pelham, was at Limerick, Arthur, Lord Gray, Baron of Wilton and Knight of the Garter, arrived in Dublin; and the Lord Justice surrendered the sword to him, having left Limerick for Dublin for that purpose, and sailed for England.

The reign of terror proceeded unchecked and rampant; in the church of the parish of Mahunagh, county of Limerick, dedicated to St. Nicholas, 24 poor old people were put to death on the 6th of August, 1581. Gelasius O'Quillenan, a Bernardine abbot of Boyle, and Eugene Crane were martyred. Daniel O'Nieilan, a Franciscan, was martyred at Youghal by John Norris, mayor. Laurence O'Moore, a priest, Oliver Plunkett, a gentleman, and William Walsh, a soldier, were shot to death by a party in hatred of their religion, 11th November.[4]

An Italian or Spanish fleet of the "Pope's people" landed in Kerry in the September of this year; their arrival caused the greatest excitement in Limerick, so much so, that had they appeared at the gates of the city, they would have been thrown open to them, such was the idea of their strength and importance among the citizens, who viewed the expedition with contending feelings of hope and dread.[5] They landed at Fort-del-or, which is situated on an island connected with the South shore of Smerewick Harbour, and which James of Desmond fortified the year before. O'Sullivan, in his Catholic History, gives a description of the island, near which is a green round hill called Cnoc-na-geaan, i.e. hill of the heads, whereon, tradition has

[1] The Four Masters and Ware state that it was the occupants of the Castle of Askeaton who endeavoured to blow it up; and the Four Masters add that, not being able to destroy it, they opened wide its gates, and the next day it became the property of the Queen. This was the first time that ordnance was used in the district, and the terrible roar of "those unknown guns, the like of which had never been heard before," had a dreadful effect on the occupants of the Castle.

[2] Annals of the Four Masters.

[3] Ibid.

[4] White's MSS., and Analecta.

[5] Arthur MSS.

it, the English were encamped when they stormed the fort. This fleet was induced to come to Ireland to assist the Geraldines, who, it was known abroad, had been reduced to great extremities for their devotion to Ireland, and their defence of the Catholic faith and of Catholic interests. The Earl of Ormond mustered an army to oppose the expedition, and did not halt until they arrived in Kerry; after a good deal of parleying and diversation, the Italian Captains, Stephen San Josepho, Hercules Pisano, and the Duke of Biscay, "came to the Lord Justice as if they would be at peace with him;" but the people of the Lord Justice went over to the island, and proceeded to kill and destroy the invaders, so that even of the seven hundred Italians not one escaped, but all were slaughtered as they cried out, *misericordia, misericordia.*[1] The Lord Justice also seized upon much gold, wealth, and other things which the Italians had with them; he destroyed the fortifications on the island, in order that it should not be a supporting rock or a strong retreat for insurgents any longer; and having effected all this in the month of November, he returned to Limerick, and thence to Fingal.

With respect to the Italian captains, there is but one opinion on the part of Camden,[2] Muratori, and O'Daly, and that is, that the principal man among them, San Josepho, was either a downright imbecile, or an accomplished traitor.[3] Donough and Mahon O'Brien continued to worry and lay waste the country from Burren to Limerick; and John, the son of the Earl of Desmond, was, at this time, a roving plunderer; but though in so miserable a plight, he commanded a body of one hundred followers, with whom he did execution in Upper Ormond and Eliogarty, retreating to the woods about Mountrath, where he was joined by the sons of MacGillapatrick, the son of O'Carroll, and a great many others, who harassed the country in the neighbourhood of the Slieve-Bloom mountains, being joined by all the men of Offally and Leix who were able to bear arms.[4]

The blow struck at the power of the Desmonds, and the cause in which the Catholics of Ireland had their hearts, was felt so much, that disappointment and sorrow were universal. Sir George Bourchier was selected Governor of Munster before the departure of Sir William Pelham, and was in the city of Limerick acting in his official capacity, during the events we have been describing. In 1581 the Earl of Desmond, notwithstanding his reverse, made many successful incursions. Upon one occasion, however, a bold and merciless body of "the soldiers of Adare," having been divided into two parties, went forth, the one by water, the other by land, to traverse Kerry, and the lands lying along by the banks of the Maigue, to seek for fighting or booty. The two parties having been met together in the neighbourhood of Ballycalhane, by young David, ancestor of all the families of the Purcells, according to Mac Firbis's pedigree, and his forces, charged them, so that he left them but a heap of bloody trucks and headless carcases. When

[1] Ware's Annals. [2] Life of Queen Elizabeth.

[3] O'Daly, who is a competent authority, expresses his belief that he was a traitor.

[4] The manner in which John lived on this mountain was worthy of a true guerrilla; he slept but upon couches of stone or earth; he drank but from the pure cold streams, and that with his hands or shoes; his cooking apparatus were the long twigs of the forest, with which he used to dress the meat he carried away from his enemies. Had John been able to join the Italians and Spaniards, as he intended, and in which intention he was seconded by James Eustace, Viscount Baltinglass, who had renounced the Protestant creed, and became a Catholic, by the Kavanaghs, Kinsellagles, Byrnes, and Tooles, *(Annals of the Four Masters)* he would have prevented the slaughter which cast a stigma on the Lord Justice and Ormond, and enabled the Italians and Spaniards to keep their ground firm in Smerewick, and march into the interior.

the news reached Adare, Achin, the captain of the town,[1] assembled the soldiers of Kilmalloch, and set out at the head of a sanguinary body of troops, and slew every man, woman and child he met outside Ballycalhane Castle, (near Kildimo) which belonged to Purcell, who had assisted the crown from the commencement of the war between the English and the Geraldines to that time. On the following day David's people were hanged on the nearest trees; and the heroic soldier himself was sent to Limerick, where he was immediately put to death. Nicholas, the agent or treasurer of the Geraldines, was slain by the soldiers at Adare in this year, and Turlough O'Brien, uncle of the Earl of Thomond, who, after being a year in prison, was hanged in Galway, his execution being followed two days after by that of William, son of the Earl of Clanrickarde, whose sons had rebelled against the authority of the crown.

CHAPTER XVIII.

FATE OF THE EARL OF DESMOND.

In this year[2] the two sons of MacMaurice of Kerry made their escape from the King's court in Limerick, the Council having resolved to put them to death. They soon found themselves supported by hundreds of kerne, and they spent the remainder of the year in acts of pillage and insurrection. In the winter of this year Dr. Saunders, the Pope's legate, died in a miserable hovel in the woods of Claenglass, worn out by cold, hunger, and fatigue. The government had offered to pardon Desmond if he would give up this eminent ecclesiastic to them, but this he steadily refused. His companion in misfortune, the Bishop of Killaloe, who attended him in his last moment, escaped to Spain and died in Lisbon, A.D. 1617. It was to the fastnesses of Caenglass, which is situate in the south of the county of Limerick, and to the adjacent woods of Kilmore, that John Desmond, who still protracted this wretched struggle, was in the habit of carrying his spoil. In this year Hugh Lacy, Bishop of Limerick, died in gaol. He had been deprived by Queen Elizabeth.

In 1582[3] died Teige O'Brien (founder of the Ballycorick family) "a hero in prowess." He had been for some time Tanist of Thomond, but was expelled together with his brother by Donnell. He afterwards went to Spain and France, and thence to England, where he obtained his pardon and his entire share of the territory, except the tanistry alone. He was interred in the monastery of Ennis. Donogh O'Brien (son of Morrogh), who had joined the rebellious De Burgh the year before, having repented, returned back under protection;[4] but the Queen's officers detected a flaw in the protection, and hanged him in the gateway of Limerick; he was buried in the monastery of Ennis. His castles and lands of Lemenagh, Dromoland, Ballyconnelly, and other places, descended to his son Connor and his heirs, amongst whom is the present Lord Inchiquin, who established his right to that title in virtue of his descent from this Donagh, the founder of the family of Dromoland. There was no forfeiture, because Donagh fell a victim to martial law, which recognises no forfeitures.[5]

[1] Ware's Annals, and Annals of Four Masters.
[2] Annals of the Four Masters.
[3] Annals of the Four Masters.
[4] Annals of the Four Masters.
[5] O'Donoghue's History of the O'Briens. Appendix.

The attachment of the Irish peasantry to the Geraldines was not less remarkable than that of the Scotch to the Stewarts. Notwithstanding the great rewards offered for the capture of their leaders, no one was found so base as to betray them, and yet the gallant John of Desmond appears to have fallen a victim to the treachery of one of his followers, if we are to believe O'Daly, Hooker and Cox. The story is thus told in the Annals of the Four Masters :—John set out accompanied by four horsemen to the woods of Eatherlack,[1] to hold a conference with Barry More, with whom he had entered into a plundering confederacy. He proceeded southwards across the river Avonmore in the middle of a dark and misty night, and happened to be met face to face by Captain Sicutzy [the Irish for Zouch], with his forces, though neither of them was in search of the other.[2] John was mortally wounded on the spot, and had not advanced the space of a mile beyond that place when he died. He was carried crosswise on his own steed from thence to Cork, and when brought to that town he was cut in quarters, and his head was sent to Dublin as a token of victory. According to O'Daly, a wretch of the name of Thomas Fleming, who had been his servant, was the person who killed him. He adds that his head was spiked in front of the Castle of Dublin, and his body was hung in chains at one of the gates of the city of Cork, where it remained for three years, until on a tempestuous night it was blown into the sea.[3] His kinsman James was hanged soon after, together with his two sons, but Lord Barry made his peace with the government.

The savage rigor of Lord Grey had already offended even his own government. We have seen how after the surrender of Smerewick, with a savage barbarity only equalled by Cromwell in after years, he had put every man of them to the sword, with the exception of the governor and a few officers. In consequence of this extreme severity, this Lord Grey, of whom it was said that "he left her majesty little to reign over but carcases and ashes,"[4] had been recalled, and Loftus, Archbishop of Dublin, and Sir Henry Wallop were appointed Lord Justices. By these Lord Justices first efforts were made to bring back Desmond to his allegiance, but without effect. To what a frightful state Munster was now reduced, may be seen in the pages of the annals of Hollinshed, of Fynes Morison, Cox, and particularly of Spencer, from whose remarkable description we make the following extract :—"notwithstanding that the same (Munster) was a most rich and plentyful country, full of corne and cattle, yet ere one year and a halfe they (the Irish) were brought to such wretchednesse as that any stony heart would have rued the same; out of every corner of the woods and glynnes they came creeping forth upon their hands, for their legges could not bear them, they looked like the anatomies of death; they spake like ghosts crying out of their graves; they did eat the dead carrions, happy where they could finde them, yea and one another soone after, inasmuch as the very carcases they spared not to scrape out of the graves; and if they found a plot of water-cresses or shamrocks, there they flocked as to a feast for the time, yet not able long to continue there withal, that in short space there were none almost left, and a most populous and plentyfull country suddainely left voyde of man and beast."[5]

[1] The Glen of Aherlow, four miles south of Tipperary.

[2] A statement which is denied by the above-named writers.

[3] Ware states that the body was hanged by the heels on a gibbet by the north gate of Cork, and his head sent to Dublin to be placed on a pole upon the castle.

[4] Cox, Hib. Ang.

[5] Spencer's State of Ireland, p. 166.

The annals of the Four Masters are almost equally graphic in their description of the ravages caused by these wars, when "it was commonly said that the lowing of a cow or the voice of the ploughman could scarcely be heard from Duncaoin, (now Dunqueen, the most western part of Kerry) to Cashel in Munster."

Further persecutions and murders of Priests and religious were now perpetrated. Andrew Strich, a Priest, a native of Limerick, who studied in Paris, laboured greatly in the mission of Ireland, at length was taken and confined in Dublin, where he died with the hardships.[1]

In 1582 Donough Hinrechan, Philip O'Fen, and Maurice O'Scallan, all Franciscans, were stabbed at the altar in the Convent of Lislactin, county Kerry.[2]

The Earl of Desmond who was excluded from the amnesty which was now granted to the insurgents, occasionally gave proofs of considerable energy. He plundered the territory of Ormond, defeated the English in a hard fought battle at Gort-na-Piei, [Peafield in Tipperary] and cut to pieces a large force which had been sent against him by the brother and sons of the Earl of Ormond at Knockgraffin. He also despoiled the MacCarthys. But for sometime previously his people had begun to separate from him, and on one occasion[3] when he had spent his Christmas in the wood of Kilquaig, near Kilmalloch, the garrison of that town were induced by the importunities of one John Walsh to endeavour to surprise him, and marching in the night, very nearly captured himself and his countess, who alarmed by the noise, got out of their cabin into the river, where they stood up to their chin in water on the bank side, and by this means escaped, but his servants were all killed, and his goods were carried away. In the summer and autumn of 1583,[4] even his countess, his children, and friends had begun to desert, so that at this period he had only four persons to accompany him from one cavern of a rock or hollow of a tree, to another throughout the two provinces of Munster.[5] Deserted by his adherents he became a fugitive through the country, and was hunted from place to place, and was so well watched, that on one occasion when the Earl, accompanied by sixty gallowglasses, happened to be in the glen of Aherlow, the were surprised whilst some of them were asleep and some cooking horse flesh, by one Captain Dowdal who made prisoners of the first and cut the latter to pieces. The Earl however escaped and fled to Kerry, where he took shelter in a wood near Tralee. We give the rest of this melancholy story from the Annals of the Four Masters, with such corrections as their strong prejudices against the Geraldines require:—

"When the beginning of winter and the long nights began to set in, the insurgents and robbers of Munster began to collect about him, and prepared to re-kindle the torch of war, but God thought it time to suppress, close, and finish this war of the Geraldines, which was done in the following way:—A party of the Moriartys of the Mang side [a family], of the race of Aed-Beannan [king of Munster, who died in 619[6]] took an advantage of the Earl of Desmond, whom they found in an unprotected position; he was concealed in a hut in the cover of a rock in Gleann-an-Ghinntegh [*Glan-geenty*, five miles east of Tralee]. This party remained on the watch around the habi-

[1] White's MSS.
[2] Analecta.
[3] Cox, Hib. Ang.
[4] Annals of the Four Masters.
[5] Munster was divided into Thomond, Desmond, Ormond, and Iarmond, i.e. north, south, east, and west Munster. The two former are to be meant here.
[6] Annals of Innisfallen.

tation of the Earl from the beginning of the night until the dawning of day; and then in the morning twilight they rushed into the cold hut. This was on Tuesday, which was St. Martin's festival. They wounded the Earl, and took him prisoner, for he had not with him any people to make fight or battle except one woman and two men servants. They had not proceeded far from the wood when they suddenly beheaded the Earl. Were it not that he was given to plunder and insurrection, as he [really] was, this fate of the Earl of Desmond would have been one of the principal stories of Ireland."

P. O'Sullivan Beare does not mention the name of O'Moriarty in connexion with this murder; but he appears to believe that the persons who led the soldiers to this place did not know that it was the Earl of Desmond that was there. He seems to think, however, that Daniel who slew the Earl was brother of Owen.[1] Daniel O'Kielly, Kelly or Kolly, one of the soldiers who took the lead of the band, entered first and almost severed the Earl's arm with a blow of his sword. The old man then exclaimed, "I am the Earl of Desmond, spare my life." Donnell O'Moriarty took him on his back and carried him some short distance, but finding he could not live, or fearing the return of the Earl's party, O'Kielly cut off his head at Owen Moriarty's desire.[2] The Earl's head was fixed upon London Bridge, and his only son James, was kept prisoner in the Tower of London for many years after his death.

O'Kielly, who was rewarded by government with a pension of £20 a year, was hanged in London for highway robbery. Owen O'Moriarty was also hanged some years after, in the insurrection of Hugh O'Neill, by FitzMaurice of Lixnaw, the family having become excessively unpopular on account of the part they had taken in this tragic occurrence; O'Sullivan says that the place where his body was killed still continues red. The spot is still called Bothar-na Iarla, [the Earl's Road.] Thus ended the rebellion of the great Earl of Desmond, whose character has not been very favourably drawn, even by Thomas Moore, who describes him as weak of understanding, and violent in temper, rather than naturally depraved.[3] MacGeoghegan[4] says of the Fitzgeralds of Desmond, "the Maccabees of our day, who sacrifice their lives and property in defence of the Catholic cause." His extensive estates, the revenue of which, according to the same authority exceeded at that time 400,000 crowns, were surveyed by Sir Valentine Brown, ancestor to Lord

[1] O'Donovan's Notes to Annals, 1583.

[2] A preposterous attempt has been recently made to shield the respectable family of the Moriartys from the stain imagined to have been fixed upon the posterity of Owen or Daniel (Ormond, says "Donal") McMoriarty and their followers for the part which they took in the capture and killing of the last of the Desmonds. It is stated by these that it was not Moriarty but O'Kielly, (erroneously called Kelly by Cox,) who murdered the earl. But the Annals of the Four Masters distinctly state the fact that the Moriartys not only wounded but put him to death; and a letter written by Thomas Butler, Earl of Ormonde and Ossory, Governor of Munster in 1583, addressed to the privy council and dated Kilkenny, 15th Nov. 1583, fully vindicates the veracity of the Four Masters, the truth of whose statements on this subject has been lately impugned by Mr. M. A. O'Brennan in a note in p. 163 of his "Antiquities of Ireland."

Mr. O'Brennan has been satisfactorily refuted in a recent publication, a "History of Clanna-Rory," by Richard F. Cronnelly, (Dublin, Goodwin, Son and Nethercott, 79, Marlborough-street, 1864,) p. 56, 57, in which the authorities above alluded to are given. I am assured that the sept of O'Moriarty is called the *Kinel na Mala* in Kerry, that is "the breed of the bag," in reference to the bag in which the earl's head was carried; and a learned member of the house of Fitzgerald has stated to my informant, that it was long customary in that family to ask "whether there was any Moriarty in the room?" whenever they met *en famille* on festival or other occasions. The general tradition is that O'Kielly wounded the earl severely in the arm, and that the sept of O'Moriarty cut off his head.

[3] Moore's Hist. IV. 95.

[4] History of Ireland, translated by O'Kelly.

Kenmare, and divided amongst the English, who supported the war against him, and particularly the Earl of Ormond, who had a large share of the spoils. The reader who remembers how the ancestors of this illustrious family obtained their estates, will probably look upon their fate as a retribution for the unscrupulous chivalry of the followers of Fitzstephen and Strongbow.

1583. After the death of the Earl of Desmond all his followers submitted to mercy except John Bourke who stood out, and he with his company went to Adare to take a prey, but as he passed the castle a boy discharged a piece and shot him in the head. He was afterwards hanged at Limerick by the Commissioners.[1]

The Earl of Desmond's estates in Cork, Limerick, Kerry and Waterford, extended one hundred and fifty miles, and contained 574,628 acres. John Oge, the son of John, son of Thomas, the Earl, died at an advanced age in Limerick, his sons having joined the Earl of Desmond.[2]

The Arthur MSS. mention a curious occurrence which took place at Limerick about this time. One Stephen Rochefort, having married a lady named Catherine Wolfe, had excited the jealousy of a certain James Cromwall to such a pitch of madness, that he conceived the idea of murdering his fortunate rival. Availing himself of the occasion of a review, or muster of the city militia train-bands, Cromwall, in prosecution of his wicked scheme, discharged a double ball at him while he was reviewing the men, and shot two other citizens dead, the object of his murderous revenge escaping the intended blow. For this offence the assassin was hanged upon a gibbet, cut down while still alive and decapitated; after which his body was cut into four quarters. The militia of the city at this time amounted to 800 men, while Waterford had only 600, and Cork 400, from which the comparative population of Limerick at the period has been reasonably inferred to have been proportionately superior to either of those cities.[3]

[1] Dr. Smith's MS. in the Royal Irish Academy, p. 150; Cox, and Annals of the Four Masters.

[2] Annals, ad an. 1583.

[3] The following is the list of the Militia of Munster in this year, as given by Cox:—

	Shot.	*Billmen.*
The City of Waterford	300	300
Cork	100	300
Limerick	200	600
Clonmel	040	200
Kilmallock	020	100
Fethard	020	100
Cashel	020	140
Kinsale	020	100
Carrick	020	040
	740	1880
The Barony of Muskerry	020	300
Carbry	030	1000
The County Tipperary	050	400
The Barony of Decies	020	200
Imokilly	012	080
Condons	008	060
Lord Barry's Country	030	200
MacCarthy More	008	400
	178	2640

In the same year, Brien Duv O'Brien made a surrender of his Lordship of Carrigogunnel, which was immediately returned to him under a new grant.[1]

The death of the Earl of Desmond was followed by a period of tranquillity. The hopes of the disaffected were extinguished, and desolation and famine followed the ravages of five years of civil war. Sir John Perrott was sworn into the office of Lord Deputy on the 26th of June, 1584, and after making a progress to Athlone and Galway, attended by Sir John Norris and Sir Richard Bingham, who were respectively Presidents of Munster and Connaught, arrived at Quin in the county Clare, where Cruise, the sheriff of the county, delivered up to him Donogh Beg O'Brien, styled by the Annalists, in their excessive loyalty, the arch traitor and leader of the plunderers of Connaught:—"whose body, mangled and half dead after hanging, was affixed, fastened with hard and hempen ropes to the top of the steeple of Quin as a warning to evil doers." Turlough, son of Owney O'Loghlen of Burren, had been executed previously by Sir Edward Brabazon, the temporary governor of the province. The Lord Justice went next day to Limerick, and was resolved, according to the Annals of the Four Masters, to destroy and reduce a great number of gentlemen on each side of Limerick, until news reached him that a Scotch fleet had arrived in the north of Ireland, whither Perrott proceeded at once, and promptly repressed the movement.

In 1585 a parliament was summoned to meet at Dublin, with the two-fold object of settling the country, and disposing of the vast forfeitures of the Desmond estates. A great number of lords and chiefs attended.[2] In the second Session, which was held in the April of the next year, the late Earl of Desmond and a hundred and forty of his adherents were attainted, their property confiscated, and subsequently divided amongst English undertakers, who were invited from England to assist in repeopling the desolated regions of Munster; seven years were allowed to each undertaker to complete his plantation; garrisons and commissioners were to be provided to prevent and settle differences. Each undertaker had licence to export all commodities duty free for five years; the planters to be English, and no English planter to convey to any mere Irish—the natives being forbidden to have anything

[1] The following was the grant:—

"A Grant to Brien Duffe O'Brien Mac Donagh of Carrigogynnell, chief of his nation in Pobelbrien, and Lord of Pobelbrien (upon his surrender dated 9th July, 1584,) of all and singular Manors, Lordships, Castles, lands, woods, fisheries, advowsons and hereditaments spiritual and temporal of and in Carrigogynnell, Cloghey, Keatyne or Cloghakeatin, Derrecknokan, Loymeney, Bowbiglasse, Cnocknegall, Ballyvorroghowe, Cnocknegranshye, Garranemonagh, Ballyeahan, Cnockgromassill, Kyllenchon, Kyllynoghtie, Dromeloghan, Ballymeilly or Ballynveylie, Lackynvintane, Birrenegyhie, Ballynostie, Cahirephollyen-Graige, Ballyneennonoge, Atiflewin or Artiflony, Dawnin, Anaghenrostye, Cloghecokye, Barneehoile, Ballyanrichan, Ballivylishe, Terrevowe, Clonounye, &c., to hold to the heirs male of his body, remainder to his brothers Teige, Mathew, alias Mahowne, Dermone, Donalde, and Conogher O'Brien in Tail Mail successively in Capite, by the service of one Knight's fee, and the rent of £5 sterling for and in consideration of the like rent of £5 out of the premises, paid or due to Gerald, late Earl of Desmond, and his heirs, to find three sufficient horsemen, well furnished with horse and armour, with 3 hackneys for the said horsemen with their apparel and 6 footmen, alias shott or kerne, either Galloglas, such as the L. D. should chuse or think fit, where or when required, upon 20 days' warning or less, at their proper costs and charges, as necessity should require, and paying yearly out of certain of the premises for an increase or new rent 2s. sterling, and saving to the Queen the benefit of every composition of the premises to be made by the L. D. and Council, together with the benefit of every escheat and forfeiture of the premises, by reason of the attainder of Gerald, late Earl of Desmond, or other traitors attainted or to be attainted.—*Dated*, 17 *Feb.* 1584—*Enrolled in Rolls Office, Dublin.*

[2] See O'Donovan's Notes for a most interesting account of the modern representatives of these families, whose names are published in the text of the Four Masters.

whatever to do with the forfeitures. The undertakers were all English gentlemen; they were sent over to plant and occupy no less than 574,658 English acres of land in the counties of Cork, Waterford, Limerick and Kerry, which were divided into seignories, containing 12,000, 8000, 6000, and 4000 acres, according to a plot laid down for the commissioners for that purpose. Smith[1] gives a list of the undertakers and their grants in Kerry, from which we take the subjoined particulars:—

To Sir William Herbert, Knight, 13,276 acres, at £221 5s. 4d. crown rent per annum.

To Charles Herbert, Esq., 3,768 acres, at £62 15s. 4d. per annum, crown rent.

To Sir Valentine Brown, Knight, 6,560 acres, at £113 6s. 8d., crown rent.

To Sir Edward Denny, Knight, 6,000 acres, at £100 per annum, crown rent.

To Captain Jenkin Conway, 5,260 acres, at £8 18s. 8d. crown rent.

To John Champion, alias Chapman, so called by Moryson and John Stone (neither of whose posterity in the male line remain in this country), 1,434 acres, at £23 18s. per annum, crown rent. The first Earl of Cork purchased these lands from Chapman and Stone.

To John Holly, 4,422 acres, at £73 14s. crown rent, of whose posterity, also, says Smyth, I find no remains.

The Conways, Blennerhassets, Springs, Rices of Kerry, were settlers and undertakers in the same reign. The Rices settled or had possessions in Limerick county. James Rice, of Ballymuddell, son and heir of Stephen Rice, Esq., of Dingle, married Elinor, daughter of Robert White, Esq., of Limerick, and, second, Phillis, daughter to Edward Fanning, Esq., of the city of Limerick, and dying the 24th of February, 1636, had issue by the latter eight sons and three daughters, of whom Sir Stephen Rice, the fifth son, being bred to the law, was appointed the 1st of June, 1686, one of the Barons of the Exchequer, and April 11th, 1687, Chief Baron of that Court.[2]

After the undertakers had been appointed, Sir John Perrot gave the charge of the county of Desmond to the Earl of Clancare, Sir Owen O'Sullivan, and O'Sullivan More; and the palatinate of Kerry to the government of the Queen's Sheriff and Lord of Kerry.[3] The work had been so effectually accomplished that the undertakers were able to settle down and possess the enormous estates, which constituted the chief forfeitures in the kingdom in those troubled and disastrous times.

Queen Elizabeth, understanding that the act, the 12th of her reign (whereby the Irish Prelates were strictly obliged to maintain free schools, according to the quantity and quality of their dioceses, the Bishop paying one-third of the expense, and the clergy the other two-thirds) was so slenderly, or not at all, executed in Limerick, empowered the mayor of the city to sequester yearly, and from time to time, so much of the livings, tithes, &c., as belonged to the Bishop and Clergy of the diocese.

Soon after the prorogation of the parliament, Sir John Perrott resumed the work suspended by the recall of Sir Henry Sidney, whose letter referring to this subject we have alluded to heretofore, and after he had proved to the

[1] History of Kerry, pp. 32, 33, 34, et Seq.
[2] Sir Stephen Rice was the ancestor of the present Lord Monteagle of Brandon.
[3] Smith's History of Kerry, p. 277.

conviction, if not to the satisfaction of the lords and chiefs of Thomond, lately annexed to the Presidency of Connaught by the name of the county Clare, that the main cause of their troubles was the uncertain grant and possession of their lands. He had brought them, therefore, he says in his letter, to agree to surrender all their lands, and take it of her Highness the Queen, again, and yield both rent and service. The evils attendant on the system of cuttings and cessings, exactions made by the chieftains under pretence of defending the people, were enlarged upon in a commission now issued, and the commissioners began their work with the county of "Clare and Thomond." Then followed the districts within the newly-created county of Galway, and "Indentures of Composition" were entered into for these territories.

The nature of this Indenture appears from the following extract from the Four Masters.[2]

"The governor of the province of Connaught with a number of other men of distinction, and of the council of Dublin, went to the province of Connaught, to hold in the first place a session in the monastery of Ennis, in the county of Clare. Here they enacted universal ordinances, namely:—that ten shillings should be paid to the queen for every quarter of land in the country, as well ecclesiastical as lay lands, except the liberties which they themselves consented to grant to the gentlemen of the country; and that over and above the queen's rent, five shillings should be paid to the Lord of Thomond for every quarter of land free and unfree,[3] in the whole country except the liberties and church lands. They took from the Earl of Thomond the district of Kenel-Fearmaic ["barony of Inchiquin,"] which had been heretofore under tribute to his ancestors, and gave the Lordship of it to the Baron of Inchiquin, Morrough the son of Murrough, son of Dermot O'Brien. It was also ordained and decreed that Turlough the son of Donnell, son of Connor O'Brien, should have the rents and court of Corcomroe, the Castle of Dumhach, in succession to his father, to whom it had first been given out of the Lordship of Thomond, by the Earl of Thomond, namely Connor the son of Donough O'Brien. They deprived of title and tribute, every head

[1] Cox, Hib. Angl. See these indentures in Hardiman's edition of O'Flaherty's Description of Jar Connaught, pp. 309–362.

The recital of the parties to the indenture about to be made contains the following list of the leading families of the County Clare at this period:—

"Indenture made betwixt the Rt. Hon. Sir John Perrott, Knight, &c., of the one part, and the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, chieftains, gentlemen, &c., of that part of the Province of Connaught called Thomond, that is to say, Donogh, Earl of Thomond, Morrogh, Lord Baron of Inchiquin; the Reverend Father in God, Mauricius, Bishop of Killaloe; Daniel, elect Bishop of Kylfinoraghe; Donogh O'Hiran, Dean of Killaloe; Daniel Shennagh, Dean of Killfinoragh; Denis, Archdeacon of the same; Sir Edward Waterhouse, of Downasse, Knight; Sir Torlogh O'Brien, of Ennistevey (Innistymon), Knight; John Macnamara, of Knappock, otherwise called Macnamara of West Glancuilen; Donald Reagh Macnamara, of East Glancuilen; Teige Mac Mahon, of Clonderalaw, otherwise called MacMahon of Castle Corrovaskin; Torlogh MacMahon, of Moyasta, chief of his name in West Corcovaskin; Moriertagh O'Brien, of Dromleyne Glu; Mahowne O'Brien, of Clondewan (Clonoon) gen.; Owny O'Louglin, of the Greggans, otherwise called O'Loughlin; Rosse O'Loughlin, of Glan Columkille, tanist to the same O'Loughlin; Mohme and Dermod O'Dea, of Tullyadea, chiefs of their names; Conor MacGilreogho (Gallery) of Cragboren, chief of his name; Torlogh MacTeige O'Brien, of Beallacorriga, gen.; Luke Bradey, son and heir of the late Bishop of Meath; Edward White, of the Cralletagh, gen.; George Cusacke, of Dromoglen, gen.; Boethius Clancy, of Knockfinny, gen.; John MacNamara, of the Moetullen, gen.; Henry O'Grady, of the Island of Inchicronan, gen.; Donogh MacClanchy, of the Urlion, chief of his name; Donogh Yarrav O'Brien, of Ballycessy, gen.; Conor O'Brien, of Curharcercae (Cahercorcran), gen.; and George Fanning, of Limerick, merchant, of the other part."

[2] O'Donovan's Translation, ad. an. 1585.

[3] See O'Donovan for the meaning of this expression.

or chief of a sept, and every other Lord of a triocha-ched (barony) throughout the whole county, with the exception of John MacNamara, Lord of the western part of the district of Clann-Coilein, who did not subscribe his signature to this ordinance of theirs.. They made similar compositions in the counties of Galway, Roscommon, Mayo and Sligo." Such was the manner in which the settlement of Thomond was effected.[1]

About this time lived Richard Creagh,[2] an illustrious native of the city of

[1] This composition was signed by Murrogh and Murtagh, the last king of Thomond, by the former in person, by the latter through his nephew and representative, Sir Turlogh of Ennistymond. The majority of the chiefs, it may be presumed, yielded a reluctant acquiescence to this settlement.

[2] We extract an account of his life and actions from the White MSS. :—

THE LIFE OF RICHARD CREAGH, PRIMATE OF ARMAGH.

1585. This great and illustrious Prelate and Primate of Ireland, was born in the City of Limerick, of honest and industrious parents. His father was Nicholas Creagh, a merchant, and his mother's name was Joan White; in his youth he was bound apprentice to a grocer, which calling, as he did not like, it being exposed to commit frauds, he soon obtained his indentures, and applied himself closely to his studies, in which he made a great proficiency. He then went to Louvain, where he studied philosophy and divinity, and argued being made a Bachelor. Being promoted, he returned to his native country and city, where he laboured indefatigably by his private teachings, his public sermons, and by his instructing the children and the ignorant in the rudiments of the faith. After thus exerting himself for some time in the mission, he again went abroad, as well to perfect himself more in his learning, as to embrace a more austere and religious life, for which purpose he went to Rome, but was forbid by Pope Pius V. to become a Regular until His Holiness's will was further signified to him, for the Pope designed him for filling the see of Armagh, then vacant by the death of George Dowdall, Archbishop, which he accordingly did; and as soon as Richard was consecrated he repaired to Ireland [Dowdall died in June, 1558—Ware], where in a short time after his landing, he was taken and confined in Dublin. After being some time in fetters, he, together with his keeper, made their escape, and he again retired to foreign countries, where, after breathing a little liberty, and understanding that it was the will of his Holiness that he should again return to the mission of Ireland, he accordingly did so, and there, for a while, he most strenuously laboured for the edification of his flock, until he was again taken and brought to Dublin, where he was arraigned for being a transgressor of the law and a breaker of the jail. He justified himself with great presence of mind, acknowledged himself to be a Catholic Prelate, but denied his breaking the jail, whereas his keeper made off along with him. The judge made a malevolent charge to the jury against him—the jury, according to custom, were locked up, but disagreeing to their verdict, they continued some days shut up, living on bread and water, and at length brought him not guilty; the jury thereupon were imprisoned and fined. The Prelate was transmitted to England, and fettered in a nauseous dark dungeon of the Tower of London; he was allowed no more light than what served him to eat his victuals by, but which he served to say his office with, and he likewise contrived to save the fat of his victuals, and with a rag to make a kind of a candle whereby to have light to say his office. He was at length brought out of this dark dungeon, and lodged in a more lightsome apartment of the Tower. It was during his abode here that the new Bishops appointed by Queen Elizabeth to fill the sees of England, not being able to find any Catholic Bishop to give them consecration, had resource to Archbishop Creagh in the Tower; for that purpose they therefore invited him to a neighbouring tavern; they flattered and caressed him; they offered him his liberty, the choicest church livings, the Queen's favor, and the highest bribes, if he would but consent to consecrate them; but all their offers were in vain; he would not betray the trust reposed in him, nor give the bread of the children to ——. Ward, in his cantos, thus satirically relates this passage :—*

"The good Armagh, in pious rage,
Curst gold and them, and to his cage
He fled, where late he lay before
Begging the turnkey of the doors
To lay him fast in chains and gieves
Secure from such unhallowed thieves,
And never more to let him loose
Until the happy fatal noose
Should free him from imprisonment,
And send his soul hence innocent."

Some time after this affair with Parker and his fellow Bishops, a trifling passage put it in our

* This answer given by Ward may be contested by many circumstances, one of which is, that Pius V. was not Pope in 1559, the year of Parker's appointment.—*Note by Dr. Young, Catholic Bishop of Limerick.*

Limerick. Archbishop Creagh was the relative of Dr. Thomas Arthur, who gives in his MSS. a copy of the Archbishop's Bull of consecration.[1]

Prelate's mind to contrive his escape: a small bird came into his room, and as it were to show him, there began to prepare itself for flight, by composing its wings, stretching them, then flying from place to place, until at last it flew out. The Prelate thereat being inwardly moved, now found that he perhaps might also escape; he threw himself on his knees, he begged God to drive that distraction out of his mind; the same notion of escaping still returned to him—he packed up what little clothes he had; he returned to prayers; in short, he continued in a kind of anxiety and uneasiness of mind for some days—his nights were disturbed with visions in his sleep; he could not expel the thoughts of procuring his escape, and as if he was inwardly moved thereto, in Easter week, he goes to the prison door, which he finds open; he looks about him, and saw

[1] Copia Vera Bullæ qua Richardus Crevagh, Limericensis Sacerdos Assumptus est ad Archiepiscopatum Ardmachanum totiusque Hiberniæ Primatum.

Pius Episcopus Servus Servorum Dei delicto filio Richardo Creuoch lecto Ardmichano Salutem et Apostolicam benedictionem. Divina disponente clementia cuius inscrutabile providentia ordinationem suscipuit universa ad apostolicæ dignitatis apicem sublimitati ad universas orbis ecclesias aciem nostræ considerationis extendimus et pro earum etatu salubriter dirigendo apostolice favoris auxilium adhibemus sed de illis propensius cogitare nos convenit, quas propriis carere pastoribus intuemur ut eis juxta cor nostrum pastores præficiantur idonei qui comisos sibi populos per suam circumspectionem providam et providentiam circumspectam salubriter dirigant et informent acEcclesiarum ipsarum bona non solum gubernant utiliter sed etiam multis modis afferant incrementis. Dudum siquidem provisiones Ecclesiarum omnium tunc vacantium et in antea vaciturarum ordinationi et dispositioni nostræ reservavimus. Decernentes ex tunc irritum et inane si secus super his per quosqunque gravis authoritate scienter vel ignoranter contigeret attemptari. Et deinde Ecclesia Ardmachana cui bonæ memoriæ Donatus Mac Teige Archiepiscopus Ardmachanus dum viverat præsidebat per obitum ejusdem Donati Archiepiscopi qui extra Romanam Curiam debitum naturæ persolvit pastoris solatio destituta. Nos vacationem hujusmodi fide diginis relatibus intellecta ad provisionem eiusdem ecclesiæ celerem et fælicem de qua nullus præter nos hac vice se intromittere potuit sive potest reservatione et decreto desistentibus supradictis ne ecclesia ipsa longæ vacationis exponatur incommodis paternis et solicitis studiis intendentes post deliberationem quam de præficiendo eidem ecclesiæ personam utilem et etiam fructuosam suis fratribus nostris habuimus diligentem Demum ad te Presbyterii Limericensis diocesis Baccalareum in Theologia de legitimo matrimonio procreatum et in ætate legitima constitutum vitæ ac morum honestate decorum in spiritualitus providum et temporalibus circumspectum alijsque multiplicum virtutum donis prout etiam fide dignorum testimoniis accepimus insignatum direximus oculos nostræ mentis. Quibus omnibus debita meditatione pensatis te a quibusvis ex communicationis suspensionis et interdicti alliisque ecclesiasticis sententils, censuris et pœnis a jure vel ab homine quamvis occasionem vel carisæ latissi quibus quomodo libet innodatus existis ad effectum præsentium duntaxat consequentum harum serie absolventes et absolutum fore consentes, De persona tua nobis et eisdem fratribus nostris ob tuorum exigentiam meritorum accepta, eidem ecclesiæ cuius Præsul pro tempore existens Primas totius Hiberniæ esse dignoscitur. De ipsorum fratrum consilio apostolica authoritate providemus teque illi in Archiæpiscopo preficimus et pastorem, curam et administratrionem ipsius ecclesiæ tibi in spiritualibus et temporalibus plenarie committendo in illo qui dat gratias et largitur præmia confidentes quod dirigente Domino actus tuas prefata ecclesia sub tuo fælice regimine regetur utiliter et prospere dirigetur et grata in eisdem spiritualibus et temporalibus suscipiet incrementa. Jugum igitur Domini tuis impositum humeris prompta devotione suscipiens curam et administrationem prædictas sic exercere studeas solicite fideliter et prudenter quod ecclesia ipsa gubernatori provido et fructuoso administratore gaudeat se commissam tuque præter æternæ retributionis premium, nostram et apostolice sedis benedictionem et gratiam exinde uberius consequi merearis. Quocirca venerabilibus fratribus nostris suffraganeis et Dillectis filiis capitulo et vassalis dictæ ecclesiæ ac clero et populo civitatis et Diœcesis Ardmachanæ per appostolicæ scripta mandamus et suffraganei tibi tanquam membra capiti obsequentes et capitulum tibi tanquam patri et pastori animarum suarum humiliter intendentes exhibeant tibi obedientiam et reverentiam delitas ac devotas. Ita quod mutua inteste et ipsos suffraganeos gratia gratos sortiatur effectus et nos eorum devotionem possimus propterea in domino commendare, ac clerus te pro nostra et sedis prædictæ reverenter benigne recipientes et honorifice pertractantes tua salubria monita et mandata suscipiant humiliter et efficaciter adimplere procuret; Populus vero te tanquam patrem et pastorem animarum suarum devote suscipientes ac debita honoroficientia prosequentes tuis monitis et mandatis salubribus humiliter intendant. Ita quod tu in eos devotionis filios et ipsi in te per consequentes patrem benevolum invenisse gaudeatis. Vassali autem præfati te debito honore prosequentes tibi fidelitatem solitam rec non consueta sevitia et jura tibi ab eis debita integre exhibere procurent Alioquin sententiam sive pœna quam respective in rebelles rite tuleris sive statueris ratam habebimus et faciemus auctore Domino usque ad satisfactionem condignam inviolabiliter observari. Datum Romæ apud Sanctum Petrum anno incarnationis Dominicæ 1564. Unedecimo Kalend. Aprilis Pontificatus nostri anno quinto. Cæ. Glorierius.

fr. De fforida.

Se Cæ. tan, Secretarius Apticus Glorierius.

Maurice Kenrichy of Kilmallock, a great supporter of the unfortunate Earl of Desmond, was another celebrated priest in these days of trouble and disaster, of which the general character is well indicated in such notices of

every passage open before him; he returns again, and had resource to prayers; at length he took his clothes, which he had packed up under his arm; he goes out through a passage before unknown to him, and passes through six gates, all of which he found open, until he came to the outward gate, where there was a guard of soldiers; he was asked by them if *he had the marks*, for that it seems was the watch now; he, not understanding what they meant, was silent, upon which one of the soldiers prudentially said drily, "you see he has his clothes under his arm;" they thereupon asked him who he was. He confidently answered, he belonged to a great Lord (for there were some lords confined in the Tower); the soldiers said, they would bring him before a proper person to know the truth; he answered, he could prove what he said before any one; they thereupon dismissed him. He afterwards for three days strolled through London without knowing any one; as he passed along he often heard the Irish people talk of the Irish Bishop with the grey beard who escaped out of the Tower; he even frequently met those who were in search for him, and with his very keeper, who was so blinded as not to know him. He agreed with the master of a ship for his passage to Flanders, but the master, as well as all his crew, were Presbyterians, and when they were just ready to sail, the Queen's officers came aboard, and put them all to their oath to tell if the old Irish Archbishop was aboard; they all swore he was not, for that they had no passenger but a young Frenchman, for such they mistook him to be. When they were to sail from the English coast one of the sailors discovered his breviary, and the men were intent upon turning back in order to get the 300 ducats which were offered for taking him, but the winds immediately began to blow so hard against them, and so fair for Flanders, they were obliged to steer thither, where our Prelate safely landed. He continued in these Catholic countries for some time; but it being intimated to him that it was the Pope's will he again should return to Ireland, he readily obeyed, and when he arrived in that country he went there—warmly exerted himself, not only in the cure of his flock at Armagh, but also in his assiduity in visiting all other parts of the kingdom, then in the greatest confusion on account of the wars which then raged, and that by the violent persecution most of the dioceses were deprived of their Catholic Pastors. He was engaged in an unfortunate dispute with the O'Neil, Earl of Tyrone, who then at the head of the Ulster Irish waged war against the Queen. It seems that O'Neil unjustly seized and possessed many Church lands, which he turned to his own account, and likewise gave an unbridled liberty to his soldiers to plunder and ill-use ecclesiastics who came in his way. The Primate often laid these grievances before O'Neil, but instead of redress he met with insults and ill-usage from him. He used all possible means to reclaim O'Neil, but all was to no purpose; wherefore he was under a necessity of excommunicating him. But O'Neil laid but little stress on his censures, which proved unlucky to O'Neil, for from that time forth none of his proceedings were attended with success. This Prelate was at length taken the third time, sent to Dublin a prisoner, where he lay confined, and from Dublin was again transmitted to London, and was shut up in the Tower, where he remained for many years, consoling his fellow sufferers wherever he got liberty to see them, employing all vacant hours at prayers, dispersing through the city salutary letters to confirm the Catholics in their faith, and exhorting them to abstain from resorting to the Protestant churches which the laws urged them to. He and other Catholic prisoners were once compelled by the Lord Lieutenant of the Tower to hear a minister preach in the chapel of the Tower, who in his sermon greatly inveighed against the Catholics; but Bishop Creagh on the spot stopped the preacher short, and began to confute his doctrine, but his mouth was firmly shut with bands, and he was brought back to his dungeon. A malicious accusation which was framed against him, gave the Prelate a great deal of uneasiness. This was framed against him by one of the keepers, who alleged the Bishop ravished his daughter. He was obliged to stand his trial for it at Westminster, yet notwithstanding the virulence of the accusers, the jury brought in a verdict of his innocence—even the very girl publicly acknowledged the bribe she received for accusing him. He at length, after a tedious confinement, or rather a long martyrdom, finished his days in the Tower in the year 1585.

There are some who say that the keepers of the Tower, being tired of his long confinement, and the expenses of his support, poisoned him with a piece of cheese which one of them reached him, and which he ate suspecting no fraud; when he was, for some time, tormented with violent inward cuttings, he sent his urine by a boy to one Archow, a Catholic physician, who, as soon as he saw it, cried out, "The Irish Bishop is poisoned beyond all remedy." Perceiving his weakness to increase, and his end to approach, he sent to a neighbouring dungeon for one father P. Criton, of the Society of Jesus, detained likewise a prisoner there for the faith, who, having received his confession, and performed every other necessary which the place and circumstances would admit of, he never parted from him till the holy Prelate expired, the 14th October, 1585.

It is said that the place in Connaught in which he was taken never since produced either grass or corn, and that when in the Tower he was closely manacled, yet when he was desirous of either erecting or opening his window for air, that his fetters would so far loosen as was necessary for what he wanted to do. Amongst other works of his, he wrote these books—viz., on the Origin of the Irish Language—on Controversy of Faith against Heretics—a Chronicle of Ireland and an Irish Catechism. His catechism was published in 1560 (Dr. Young's note). He

cotemporary events as the following four entries in the chronicles of the times:—

1584. Thady Clanchy of Ballyrobert, in the county of Limerick, was for the faith put to death, 15th September—remarkable for his piety.—*Analecta.*

1588. Dermot Mulroony, or Moroney, a native of the county of Clare, and son of the Franciscan Convent of Limerick, was taken at Galbally, and

obtained from Gregory XIII. a yearly subsidy for supporting Irish students for the mission, and was very intent on encouraging the Jesuits to come to Ireland. He was buried in the Tower of London.

So far we quote from the White MSS.

While our illustrious Archbishop lay a prisoner in the Tower of London, he underwent a series of interrogations at the hands of Sir William Cecil, as to his going to Rome, and as to the English and Irish subjects who were acquainted with his movements. In Shirley's Original Letters there is a copy of the examination taken from the holograph of Sir William Cecil. The Archbishop gave an account of those with whom he was acquainted, and whom he met in Rome, including Murtough and Donough O'Brien, scholars, Dermod O'Thady, Conor og, Owen Myers, &c. Whilst he was in Rome he was succored by the Pope, both in meat, drink, and house rent, because he was sent thither by the Pope's command, which he was bound to obey by an oath taken when a student in Louvain. On being questioned as to how many English, Irish, and others, he made privy to the cause of his return into Ireland, he replied, that with the exception of an English Jesuit, who was at Dellingen, near Augsburgh, and two friars of St. Francis, an English and an Irishman, whom he met at Antwerp, and one Doctor Clement, who lived in that city, no one knew of the circumstance. Some young Irish scholars had heard in Louvain, perhaps from persons who had come from Rome, of his appointment to the Archbishopric of Armagh. He said that he had spent a portion of his time in merchandise, which was true,—that he carried a letter from the Pope to Shane O'Neil,—that he did not endeavour to procure the Bishopric of Down and Connor for Shane's brother, a young man of twenty-three years of age, and unlearned,—that he was aware the Queen only could found a university,—that he was anxious to convert those who were given to all kinds of iniquities, to murders, &c. He stated that he lost part of a ship, esteemed to be worth nine thousand ducats, by the French gallies in the war in King Henry's time, and that a sum of £32 was taken from his brother by the searcher of Dover when he was going with the money to Louvain, to pay for his (the Archbishop's) school expenses, &c. &c. This examination was taken on the 22nd of February, 1564-'5, and on the 17th of March in the same year, another examination was taken by Richard Ousley, Recorder of London, and Thomas Wilson, Master of St. Katharine's Hospital, which is also given in Shirley's Original Letters. In this examination he stated that David Wolfe, a fellow citizen of Limerick, was the Pope's nuncio—that Wolfe was a professed Jesuit—that he had lived in Rome about eight years—that he was sent from Rome, by obedience, to Ireland, to see what Bishops did duties in this country, what sees were void; and that he himself had been most commonly in the Bishopric of Limerick, and had taught children there. His introduction to the nuncio arose from the fact that the nuncio had heard he was learned—that he so required him to go to Rome, and take upon him the Archbishopric of Cashel, and afterwards the Archbishopric of Armagh being void before his departure, the nuncio charged him to go to Rome for the Archbishopric of Cashel or Armagh, which he could not refuse, because when a bachelor of divinity in Louvain he swore obedience to the Pope, and therefore durst not disobey the nuncio. He stated that the nuncio gave him a letter to Cardinal Morone—that on his coming to Rome he delivered his letters to the superior of the Jesuits, he desiring to enter religion, but he was commanded shortly after by Cardinal Gonzage, who was acting in the place of Cardinal Morone, then at the Council of Trent, that he should not enter into religion till he had known the Pope's pleasure. In answer to further questions, he stated that when he was leaving Ireland the nuncio gave him forty crowns—that the Bishop of Limerick (Hugh Lacy) gave him twelve marks, "the which 12 markes he had as an exibion for his fyndy'g there," and twenty crowns he had of his own, and more he had not by credit or otherwise. On being questioned where the nuncio most commonly kept in Ireland, he stated that he had secretly come to Limerick, and had been the last summer with Shane O'Neil in Tyrone, as he heard, and that the letters he received were delivered to him in Limerick, in the presence of a Priest called Sir Thomas Molam. He stated further that he went out of Ireland two years before—that he came to Rome in January—that in February he was commanded not to enter into religion, and that afterwards he was charged upon the Pope's curse, not to refuse the Archbishopric of Armagh, and about Easter, twelve months after, he was consecrated by Lomelinus (Beneditto Lomellino of Genoa, born 1517, Clerk of the Apostolic Chamber, Bishop successively of Anagui, Vintimiglia, Luni, and Sarzana, and afterwards Cardinal, died in 1579), and another Bishop, in the Pope's chapel, and so came from Rome in July last past. He repeated that while in Rome the Pope bore all his expenses after he had warning not to enter religion, and had daily meat, drink, and wine, for himself and his servant at the Pope's cost—paying for his house room six crowns by the month, having had at various times from the Pope 700 crowns, of which he had 300 crowns from the Pope when leaving Rome, and 100 crowns from the nuncio—he had apparel of three

was by the President of Munster executed, the 2nd of March, upon his beheading a drop of blood did not flow.—*Broduinus.*

In the year 1591, which was also memorable as the year the College of Dublin was founded by Queen Elizabeth, the murder of John, Lord Castleconnell by Arnold Crosby, for which the latter was hanged, excited a considerable sensation in Limerick. The melancholy event is thus curiously versified in Davis's Manuscript Annals.

1591. Oliver Bourke, Mayor.

John Bourke, Lord Castleconnell, was basely slain
By Captain Arnold Crosby, for they twain
Resolved to fight;—but Crosby stops, demurs,
Prays Castleconnell to take off his spurs;
And as he stoop'd, yielding to his request,
Crosby most basely stabb'd him in the breast,
Gave twenty-one, all dreadful wounds, base act!
And Crosby's only hang'd for the horrid fact.

1592. Eleven Priests and Jesuits were taken in Munster and Connaught, and sent prisoners to Dublin, where they were prosecuted by one Raily, who swore they encouraged people to take up arms; among the prisoners was one Michael Fitzsimons, priest, a son to Alderman Fitzsimons of Dublin—he was executed in Corn market, Dublin.[1]

1598. Edmund Gauran, Primate of Armagh, was killed, whilst during the time of battle he was receiving the confession of a wounded man.[2]

In this year a rateable assessment was recommended for the Irish Corporations, and Limerick was rated as 50 comparatively, and Waterford being assessed at 100, and Cork at 50.[3]

sorts, of blue and unwatered camlet, and wore them in Rome, where he had three servants waiting upon him; at leaving Rome he had the Pope's blessing, and Cardinal Moronius told him that the Queen (Elizabeth) would shortly turn to the Catholic faith. He then mentioned the particulars of his journey from Rome, which are not of interest—that on his reaching London he went to see St. Paul's Church, Westminster Church, the monuments there, Westminster Hall, where he heard that Bishop Bonner was arraigned, but he did not see him. Being asked what he would have done if he had been received Archbishop of Armagh, he said he would have lived there quietly. Being asked what he would have done if he were refused, he said he would go back again to Louvain, as being discharged of his obedience, whereunto he esteemed himself bound in conscience. On the 23rd of March he made an explanation as to some points in the preceding examination. (*Shirley's Original Letters*). In this explanation he states that he had sent letters to several persons, including Richard Arthur, that what he had learned of the Emperor Charles and other good men's charges, and costs, he had bestowed to his poor power for the profit and wealth of the Queen's Majesty's subjects, young and old, "and thanks be now unto Almightie God and to her gracious highness for my rewarde, begeing hier in such pouertie (besides diuers my pour bodys seknes) that I can nother day nyght change apparel hany'g of myself, nother of anny body one peny to caus the broken sherth that is on my back to be ones washed, whos incommoditie honestie will not have it declared, beside the myserie of cold, and such others without goune or covenient hose." He besought leave of the Queen to permit him to teach school, which he would do for nought, as he had never received a penny of the Church or ecclesiastical benefice during his life. This ended the explanation.

Sir James Ware (*Ware's Writers of Ireland*) states Archbishop Creagh wrote de *lingua Hibernica*, lib. 1 (which is yet extant in manuscript, and some collections from it are in Trinity College Library), an Ecclesiastical History, part of which was in Sir James Ware's time, in the possession of Thomas Arthur, Doctor of Physic.* He is said also to have written de Controversiis *Fidei* (which possibly may be the same treatise that Stanihurst calls *Responsiones ad Casus Conscientiæ*, as his Chronicon *Hiberniæ* may be what the same writer calls *Topographia Hiberniæ*), Vitas Sanctorum Hiberniæ, and *Catechismum Hibernice.*

[1] Analecta. [2] Ibid.

[3] 1594. Eudox. But let me I praye you by the way aske you the reason, why in those cities either of Mounster, namely Waterford and Cork, you rather placed garrisons, then in all others

* Dr. Thomas Arthur, above mentioned, was the writer of the Arthur MSS. in my possession, and so often quoted in the course of this work.

As it does not enter into our plan to give the details of the war of O'Neill and O'Donnell, we must pass over some of the most interesting portions of the history of Ireland to the events in the local history. The brilliant campaigns of O'Neill and the other chiefs of Confederate Ulster, especially crowned by the victory of the Yellow Ford, in which Marshal Bagnall, with twenty-three officers and seventeen hundred men were left dead on the field, leaving their artillery, arms, colors and baggage in the hands of the Irish, produced a powerful effect on the Catholics of Munster; Sir Peter de Lacy of Bruff, invited the celebrated Rory O'Moore, who had recovered his chieftainry of Leix, to Munster, and O'Moore having consulted O'Neill, accepted the invitation, and despite of a show of opposition for Ormond, arrived without interruption in the county of Limerick; Sir Thomas Norris marched to Kilmallock to oppose him, but he was obliged to retire to Cork, leaving a garrison behind him, and in his retreat, his rere guard was roughly handled by the forces of O'Moore. The success of O'Moore, produced an almost universal rising of the noblemen of Munster against the queen, but the Earls of Thomond and Ormond, and the Baron of Inchiquin did not join in the league, and their extensive influence prevented the MacMahons, the MacNamaras, the O'Connors, the O'Loughlins of Thomond, the O'Dwyers, the O'Fogarties, the O'Meaghers, the O'Moel Ryans, the O'Kennedies, and other chiefs of Tipperary from uniting against the queen.[1] The chief persons that joined the confederacy, were the Lords Lixnaw (Fitzmaurice), Fermoy, (Roche), Mountgarret (Butler), Cahir (Butler), the Knight of Kerry, the Knight of Glyn, the White Knight, the three last being Geraldines, at the head of which sept O'Neill placed James, son of Thomas Fitzgerald, surnamed the Red, and nephew of the last Earl of Desmond, being known in history as the sugan or straw rope Earl. This was the leader of the confederates, who in Cork and Kerry were supported by most of the MacCarthies, O'Sullivans, O'Driscolls, O'Donoghues, O'Donevans and O'Mahons, and some months after the expedition of Norris, Thomas Burke, brother of the Baron of Castleconnell, left the queen's party and went over to the confederates, but went back again, and was subsequently killed with his brother, Lord Castleconnell, by one Dermod O'Connor, to whom they had refused

in Ireland. For they may thinke themselves to have great wrong to bee so charged above all the rest.

Iren. I will tell you those two cities alone of all the rest do offer an nigate to the Spaniard most fitly. But yet because they shall not take exceptions to this that they are charged above all the rest, I will also lay a charge upon the others likewise: for indeed it is his reason that the Corporate towns enjoying great franchises and privileges from Her Majesty and living thereby not only safe, but drawing to them the wealth of all the land, should live so free as not to be partakers of the burden of this garrison for their own safety especially in time of trouble, and seeing all the rest burthened; (and therefore) I will charge them thus all ratably according to their abilites, towards their maintenance, the which Her Majesty may (if she pleases) spare out of the charge of the rest, and reserve towards her other costes, or else adde to the charge of the residency in the North.

Waterford C	Clonmel X	Dundalke X
Corke L	Cashell X	Mollingare X
Limerick L	Fedard X	Newrie X
Galway L	Kilkenny XXV	Trim X
Dinglecuish X	Wexford XXV	Ardee X
Kinsale X	Tredah XXV	Kells X
Youghall X	Ross XXV	Dublin C
Kilmallak X		in all 580

Endox. It is easie, Irenæus, to lay a charge upon any towne, but to see how the same may be answered and defrayed, is the chief part of good advisement.—Spencer's view of the recent state of Ireland.—pp. 217-18.

[1] Mac Geoghegan, p. 508.

quarter. Most of the English settlers, who occupied the lands of the Earl of Desmond, now abandoned their dwellings and were exposed to dreadful sufferings. The plantations was left without defence, and to add to the terrors of the insurrection, the country was menaced with a foreign invasion; all the castles of Desmond were recovered, except those of Askeaton, Castlemain and Mallow, and the insurrection having thus attained most formidable proportions in Munster, the Leinster and Ulster confederates returned home, leaving Tyrrell to organise the forces of the new Earl of Desmond.

In this year (1598-99), 41st Elizabeth, when James Cromwell was Mayor, and Philip Roche and Thomas Burke were Bailiffs, James, the son of Thomas Geraldine began to wage war—against whom, Robert, Earl of Essex, Vicegerent of the queen, came to Limerick at the head of a great many of the most honorable of the nobility and with an immense army, and having proceeded with his army to Moneroura, and Adare, he fought fiercely there.[1]

In the Spring of 1599, O'Donnell, who had proceeded with Clanrickarde, and carried off great plunder, made an incursion into Thomond, where the insurrectionary spirit had already spread far and wide, not only by the success of O'Donnell, but by the bestowal of disproportionate honors on the Earl of Thomond and Lord Inchiquin, to the prejudice of the junior branches, who were greatly dissatisfied with the results of the insurrection. Such was the strength of the rebellion against the government at this time, that a particular return was given to the Lord Lieutenant of the number and disposition of the Irish in arms.[2]

Many of these had sworn at a public cross to be steadfast and true to their religion; and it was complained that even the Irish who were not out in action, were so backward in aiding the queen, that they who could bring 100 horse and 300 foot to dispute their private quarrels, would not bring six men to assist the state.[3] Essex marching to Limerick, and thence to Askeaton, Desmond and Daniel MacCarthy More, lay in ambush for him; The ill management of the affair caused a feud between Thomas Plunkett and Pierce Lacy, in which the former was slain, while Henry Norris was slain in a bloody fight near Croom, and Desmond pursued Essex's rere for six days.[4]

On the 29th of April, 1600, the garrison of Kilmallock "took the prey of Loughgur," and soon after Barrett, Condon and the White Knight submitted to the President.[5] In the May of this year the President caused it to be understood that it was his intention to march to Limerick on the 6th of the month. The rebels consequently met in great numbers at Ballyhowra, and continued together for ten days; then partly for want of food, and partly because they believed the President would not or dare not pass that way, they separated.[6]

On the 21st of May, the President marched from Cork to near Mallow, and the next night near Kilmallock, the 24th to Bruff, where he left a garrison; on the 25th he came to Limerick. On the 23rd, James Galdy,

[1] Arthur MSS.

[2]

	foot	horse
In Leinster	3048	0182
In Ulster	7220	1702
In Munster	5030	0242
In Connaught	3070	0220

18368 foot 2346 horse.—*Cox.*

[3] Cox's Hibernia Anglicana. p. 416

[4] Ibid p. 417.

[5] O'Sullivan's Catholic History.

[6] Hib. Pacata, p. 60, &c.

brother to the Lord Cahir and with his privity, by the treachery of an Irish sentinel, surprised the Castle of Cahir, but by way of set off, Owen Grace, the Governor of Loughgur Castle, delivered it up for a bribe, "not exceeding £60." On the 30th of the same month, the President took Ballytarsney Castle, which the ward had deserted, and in which there was a great quantity of corn; part of his army destroyed Owney; the whole army then returned to Limerick, and garrisons were placed in Askeaton, Liccadowne, Kilmallock and Limerick.[1] Before the President departed from Limerick, the Earl of Thomond invited him to the Castle of Bunratty. Captain Gawen Harvie, who had sailed from Cork the day the President marched from that City, anchored in the Shannon, and brought with him, to the comfort of the army, money, munition, provisions and clothing for the soldiers; a timely relief which prevented the loss of the summer service.[2] The next morning, Captain Harvie was directed to go to the quay of Limerick, where after landing his charge, the President ordered him to go down the river with his ship and anchor opposite Glyn Castle, until he and the army had presented themselves before it. Dermot O'Connor, while the Sugan Earl lay in prison, took Ballyalinan, another Castle, belonging to Rory MacSheehy,[3] and the president being in Limerick, O'Connor sent John Power, one of the ransoms, to tell him to draw all the forces he could gather to Kilmallock, which he did, and there the Lady Margaret after some days met him, in order that he should receive the sum of £1000 which was promised on the delivery of the prisoner. She told the President that Castleishin was besieged by the rebels, that her delay was occasioned by the dangers that lay in the road. The President proposed to raise the siege; but before the army had moved a mile, a messenger came and stated that the Earl had been rescued that morning, and that he saw him out of the Castle.[4]

[1] Hibernia Pacata.

[2] A.D. 1600 "The Victuals by reason of contrary winds, not being as yet come into the River of Shenan, the thirteenthe of this moneth he (Sir John Carew) was constrained for want thereof, to return to Limerick again by which returne, we having marched though exceeding strong fastnesse, incamped the first night before the Castle of Corgroge, seated upon the Shenan belonging to Master *Trenchard* the Vndertaker, and of strength sufficient to hold out against any force except the cannon. But the example of the Glynne was so fearful to the Rebels, that upon the first summons they yeilded the same, with safetie of their lives, and the President gave the custody of it to *Oliver Stevenson*. The next day, the armie marched twelve miles unto Adare, a Manor house, belonging to the Earles of Kildare, wholy ruined by *Pierce Lacy*, from thence the President sent seven hundred foot, and seventie five horse to Askeiton, there to remain in garrison: and in the same year we find the following letter from James FitzThomas. Ibid. page 191.

"James FitzThomas his letter unto him.

My good lord and cosen, your letters of the eighteenth of May, I received the five and twentieth of the same, wherein you relate the manner of your proceedings with the President at Corke, and also of his determination towards the west of my counterey. I thank God I prevented that which he expected here, for all the good pledges of the counterie are committed to Castlemague, for their constant behaviour in this our action; the President with his force is come to Limerick, and intended presently to order towards Askeiton, where I propose with my armie to resist him, I pray you the better to further the service, and the more to coole the bloody desire of our enemy, let me intreate you to put in effect the meaning of my last letters, by drawing your forces to joyn mee, which being done, I doubt not, under God, to performe service that shall redounde to the general quiet of the countrie, and so, referring the due consideration thereof (to your Lordshipp's carefull vsage) I commit you to the most mightie: From the camp at Adare, this first of June, 1600. "Your loving Cosen,

"JAMES DESMOND."

The sufferings of the garrison were so great that water could only be obtained by digging a subterranean passage to the river.—*Hibernia Pacata.*

[3] Father to two brothers MacSheehy, who had been reserved as ransoms for O'Connor.

[4] Castleishin is described in the *Hibernia Pacata* as near the great fastness of Connelloe. Its ruins are still visible in the townland of Knocktemple, county Cork, not far from the bounds of the county Limerick.

The President and the Earl of Thomond set out in the commencement of July from Limerick, with a large muster of soldiers, marched westwards along the northern side of the Shannon, through Clare, until they arrived at Colemanstown, in East Corkabaskin; they then were ferried across the Shannon to the Castle of Glyn, before which they sat two days, and which they reduced with the heavy metal which had gone by water from Limerick, killing between twenty and forty gentlemen and plebeians of the Knight's people, who were guarding the castle, together with some women and children. The warders killed some of the President's soldiers.[1] This victory inspired the President with such confidence, that he proceeded to demolish several castles in Kerry; and returning victorious with the Earl of Thomond to Limerick, the greater part of the inhabitants of Conneloe and of Kerry, deserting the Earl of Desmond, submitted, in appearance at least, to the Queen.[2] The Earl now repaired with his few remaining forces to Castlemaine; the Knight of Glyn and Pierce Oge De Lacy[3] alone siding with him.

CHAPTER XIX.

ARRIVAL OF EARL JAMES.—O'DONNELL'S INVASION OF THOMOND.—GAOL DELIVERIES.—FATE OF THE INSURGENTS AND THE SPANIARDS, &C.

It was after the defeat of the Sugane Earl, that James, the young son of the Earl of Desmond, after being detained in captivity by Elizabeth for twenty-one years in London, as a hostage, in revenge of his father and father's brothers having rebelled against her, was released from bondage, after he had thrown himself on her mercy; and the English ministers and the Lord President concurred in the expediency of setting him up as a rival to the power and popularity of the former in Munster. An order was given to proclaim him as "an honorable Earl," by the authority of his sovereign (to whose presence he was admitted, and by whom he was saluted Earl of Desmond), throughout the assemblies and great towns of Munster. He arrived in Ireland, accompanied by a great force, in the month of October following, was welcomed at Cork by the President and the Earl of Thomond. They afterwards appeared in Mallow, Cork, and Limerick.[4] On his arrival in

[1] It would not have been easy to take the castle were it not that the Earl of Desmond's people had grievously dispersed from him.—*Annals of the Four Masters.*

[2] Annals of the Four Masters.

[3] The Earl was subsequently taken prisoner in a cave in the mountains of Slieve Gort, county Tipperary, sent to London, where he died in the tower in 1608. Previous to this, the earl was nearly surprised at Lisbarry, county Cork, where he was in company with Edmond Magrath, Catholic Bishop of that see, who so successfully disguised himself as a beggar, that he was thought not worth hanging by the loyalists of the queen. His brother John settled in Barcelona. After James's death he took the title, as did also John's son Gerald, who served in the armies of Germany and Spain, and died in 1632; in him ended the heirs male of the four eldest brothers of Thomas the eighth Earl of Desmond. Previously to the seventeenth century Shannid Castle was held by the Earls of Desmond; the ancient war cry, "Shannid-Aboo" is the motto of the Knights of Glen, a still-existing branch of the Geraldines. "Crom-Aboo" the ancient war cry, too, from Croom Castle, in the county of Limerick, also, has been adopted as the motto of the Leinster Geraldines—the Duke of Leinster.

[4] Listowel was the only town that remained in possession of the Sugan Earl, and even that town was taken in November by Sir Charles Volmant, the Governor of Kerry. He wrote the name Wilmot himself.—*Hibernia Pacata.*

Kilmallock, he was received by the people with acclamations of unbounded joy and congratulation—the streets, doors, windows, even the roofs of the houses, were filled with exulting crowds, all pressing to hail the noble heir of an illustrious race. A strong guard of soldiers could not obtain a passage for him, or extricate him from their tumultuous salutations; but when they saw him go to the Protestant Church, they all forsook him, "yea, cursed him, and spit upon him."[1] Such was their immediate detestation of the man who had not only fallen into the interests of the Queen, but who had so far forgotten the spirit of his ancestors as to abandon the faith for which they had suffered and bled. The young lord, who did not understand the Irish language, passed on to his devotions, but on his return he received in the fullest measure the strongest expression of their rage and disappointment. He was left abandoned—left unnoticed and unattended. By none more than by the English undertakers was his presence regarded with jealousy and alarm. They conceived that he would be restored, not only to the honours, but to the estates of the Desmonds—they trembled for their own safety.

Rory Mac Sheehy, the chief Constable of these Geraldines, died this year.[2] The President now held a Sessions of Gaol Delivery, rather than a Court-martial, which had prevailed so long. In Limerick the first Sessions was held; in Cashel and Clonmel the next, where the Earl of Ormond proceeded to meet him; but, owing to a domestic affliction, intended negociations with the President on the subject of suppressing certain disturbances which annoyed him on the borders of Ormond, were deferred.[3]

That the people were driven into the most fearful excesses against the Government, and that there were aggravating causes, is a fact admitted by historians who incline altogether to the English side. Leland[4] attributes them, in a great measure, to the grievous compositions laid upon the lands, from which they were not relieved at the stipulated time; the extortions and bribery of the sheriffs; the easiness of English jurors in condemning obnoxious persons on the slightest evidence, and the terrifying executions of innocent Irishmen; the extraordinary devices used to impeach their titles to estates; the rigorous execution of the penal laws against recusants, and the intrusion, as they deemed it, of the English settlers.[5]

About this time Sir Geoffry Galway, Bart. a lawyer of eminence, Mayor of Limerick, was turned out of his office and made to pay a fine of £500, which was expended in the repair of the castle of Limerick, by the Presi-

[1] Cox.

[2] O'Donovan, in a note in the Annals of the Four Masters, says that the first of the MacSheehys came to this country in 1420, as leader of the gallowglasses of the Earl of Desmond. He built the castle of Lisnacullen, a townland within five miles of Newcastle West, the ruins of which still remain in good preservation.

[3] Hib. Pac.

[4] Leland's History of Ireland, vol. ii., p. 385.

[5] Ibid, p. 410. Leland goes on to say that the horrid accounts of famine and distress in these parts of Ireland most exposed to the calamities of war, can scarcely be suspected to contain falsehood or exaggeration when the effects are considered of those civil commotions in the city of Dublin, which are authenticated by the signature of John Tierch, mayor, by which it appears that

Wheat had risen from thirty shillings to nine pounds per quarter;
Barley malt from ten shillings to forty-three shillings per barrel;
Oat malt from five shillings to forty shillings per peck;
Oats from three shillings and four-pence to twenty shillings per barrel;
Beef from twenty-six shillings and eight-pence to eight pounds per carcass;
A lamb from twelve pence to six shillings;
A pork from eight shillings to thirty shillings.

dent, whose repeated orders he had slighted to try or enlarge a soldier whom he had formerly imprisoned for petty larceny.[1]

While the Earl of Thomond was occupied against the followers of the Sugane Earl, O'Donnell paid a second visit to the county Clare, where, according to the Four Masters, his soldiers burned the whole of the country, on one Sunday, from the borders of Galway on the north-east, to the Atlantic ocean. After burning Ennis, and ravaging the territories of his enemy, O'Donnell dispatched the abundant spoils which he had taken to Tirconnell, and proceeded next to ravage the territory of another of his enemies, the

[1] This affair is thus related in the "Pacata Hibernica." "There was, at this time, one Geoffry Gallway, maior of Limrick, a man that had spent many years in England in studying of the common law, and returning to Ireland about three years since, did so pervert that citie by his malicious counsell and perjurious example, that he withdrew the maior, aldermen, and generally the whole citie from coming to the church, which before, they sometimes frequented. Moreover, about a year since, there happened an affray in Limrick between the soldiers and some of the town, at what time this Gallway came to the then maior, advising him to disarm all the soldiers, and then told them that all their lives were in the maior's hands and at his mercy, whereby a gapp was most apparently opened by him to have induced a wicked and barbarous massacre upon her Majestie's forces. With this man, therefore, did the President take occasion to enter into the lists, upon a manifest contempt offered to his office and government as followeth: it came to passe that a soldier of the Earl of Thomond's company was imprisoned by the said maior for a supposed petty larceny of a hatchet. The President being upon his journey against the rebells that were now reported to have invaded the province, required to have the said soldier delivered unto him, that he might receive a present tryall and punishment for his default, or else repayre to his colours and goe the journey." Here the mayor is charged with having dallied with the president by demanding a warrant for the release of the prisoner, which was afterwards rejected, as well as a second and third framed after his own directions, till the army began its march, when the mayor declared that the authority given him by the charter, exempted him from the jurisdiction and command of the President and Council. "The President much scorning to be thus deluded and dallyed withall, told the maior that hee would shortly find a time to call him to an account for his contempt, not against his person, but against her Majestie and her government established in this province. Who being now returned from the service, and abiding at Moyallo, directed his warrant to the said Gallway, commanding him, upon his alleageance, that he should immediately appear before him and the Councill at Moyallo, where, making his appearance, he was censured to live as a prisoner in a castle in the country and not to enter into the citie of Limrick, until hee had paid a fine to her Majestie of four hundred pound sterling, which was designed for the reparation of her Majestie's castle there, and lastly, that a new maior should be placed in his room. The townsmen presently sent an agent (as their manner is) to make sute to the Counsell of England, seeking to abuse their lordships with counterfeit humility and false suggestions, to get abatement either in whole or in part of this fine aforesaid; but herein they failed of their expectation, and having received a check for their proud contumacy against the President; they were commanded from the Court."

An old very high Dutch gabled house, No. 3, Nicholas-street, is pointed out to this day as "the Castle House," in which Sir Geoffry Galway is said to have resided. It is also said to have been the house in which Ireton, Cromwell's son-in-law, died. An ancient arched door-way forms an entrance into it from Gridiron Lane, which divides it from the Exchange; in front is a baker's shop. It is stated to have been the first brick-fronted house in Limerick. Sir Geoffry Galway's ancestor, John De Burgo, younger brother of Ullick, ancestor of the Marquis of Clanrickarde, called John of Gallway, from having accredited the bills of the citizens of Galway, was knighted by Lionel Duke of Clarence, then Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, for his signal services in defending Ball's Bridge, Limerick, against the great force of the O'Briens in 1361, with permission to him and his heirs to carry the bridge emblazoned on his arms, with the date 1361, with the grant from Henry IV. of the Castles of Dundannion and Lota, county Cork, where he is still represented by William Galway, Esq. The Limerick family is buried in the South aisle of St. Mary's Cathedral, in which there are the mutilated remains of a fine black marble monument, bearing the Galway arms, with the expression, "Quadrant Insignia Galway"—no doubt referring to the above.

Dr. Thomas Arthur makes this note:—"Sir Geoffry Galway the layor and baronett 20 Maii, 1633, did mortgage unto me all his howses, tenements, and gardines in Mongrett-street and in the south langable thereof, for one hundred pounds ster. And I demised the same unto him dureing the mortgage at ten pounds ster. per annum, he Geoffrey dureing his own life tyme payed me the said reserved rent yearly. He dyed 29 Martii, 1636, and since then one of his executores, William Fitzwilliam Creagh, payed me what rents fell due vntell 23 Maii, 1638, inclusively. But since May, 1638, neither his heyre or executors payed me anie rents, whereby three yeares and a half's rent before the warres, were falen due to me being £35 ster.—*Arthur MSS.*

Earl of Clanrickarde. Some Ulstermen, the followers of O'Donnell, now settled in Clare and founded families of various ranks.[1] The country, however, on each side of the Fergus, as far as Clonroad and Ballyalley, was shortly afterwards plundered by Teige O'Brien, son of Sir Turlogh of Ennystimon, and Redmond and William Burke; but these outrages committed on the loyalists were severely punished, John, brother of the Burkes, being executed in revenge, and Teige O'Brien, being mortally wounded while carrying off his prey.

1601. In this year died MacIBrien of Ara, whose son Murtagh was bishop of Killaloe, and, according to Ware, died in 1613, having resigned his charge a year before his death.

In order to frustrate the plans of the national party in Munster, who only awaited the arrival of the Spaniards to break out into open hostility, the President appointed an assize to be held at Cork, and, under pretence of trying civil and criminal causes, sent circulars to all the nobility and landholders requesting their attendance, by which means he was enabled to arrest and cast into prison some of the MacCarthys and O'Mahonies whose allegiance he doubted. The Deputy crossed the Blackwater in the beginning of August, and proceeded towards Dungannon, but he was compelled by the badness of the roads, and the frequent skirmishes which he had with O'Neill, to direct his march towards Armagh. Danvers was driven back with loss to the English camp which the Irish attacked a few days after: but they fell into an ambush laid for them by the Deputy, on which occasion several Irish were slain, and amongst the rest Peter or Pierce Lacy, Lord of Bruff,[2] "equally illustrious," as MacGeoghegan remarks of him, by his virtue as by his birth, and one of the most zealous defenders of catholicity.[3]

During a session held at Ennis on the feast of St. Bridget in this year, Feb. 20th, 1601, sixteen persons suffered the penalty of death, after which the Earl of Thomond departed for England, taking with him his younger brother Donald, whom he presented to the Queen. They returned, however, to Ireland shortly after, having been dispatched by the Queen and Council with reinforcements to Mountjoy, who was at that time engaged in the siege of Kinsale. In the meantime the Spaniards had sent dispatches to the north to O'Neill and Donnell, intreating them to march to their assistance, the number of Spanish troops who had landed at Castlehaven not exceeding 700.

O'Donnell soon made his appearance in Ormond with an army chiefly collected in Connaught and Leinster. A reinforcement of two thousand Spanish troops with cannon and supplies afterwards arrived, and O'Neill occupied a position which enabled him to cut off all supplies from Cork,

[1] M'Curtin and John Loyd's History of Clare.

[2] Lasey, or De Lacy, of Bruff:—Members of this celebrated family were among the first generals of the Russian Empire in the wars against the Turks in the years 1736, 1737, and 1738. At this period Russia possessed as great generals as any other of the European powers, and first among those generals were the Limerick De Laseys (*Memoirs Historique sur la Russie*, 2 *vols. A Lyon.* 1772). Among the generals who commanded under the Mareschal de Lasey, were, *Comte Lacy*, his son, and Browne of Camus, another illustrious Limerick man. The conduct of the Mareschal de Lasey throughout the great campaigns in the Crimea in the years above mentioned, is spoken of in the most glowing terms by the historian of the wars. He entered Poland, commenced the Siege of Dantzig, marched on the Rhine, made the Siege of Azoph, and conducted many other great operations by land and sea. His son also was an illustrious general in these memorable campaigns. The military fame of the family was well sustained during the late Crimean War, &c, by Sir De Lacy Evans.

[3] The ruins of Pierce Lacy's Castle may yet be seen near the Bridge over the Morning Star River at Bruff.

while O'Donnell established a communication with the Spaniards at Castlehaven. Altogether, however, the whole Irish army, according even to English authorities, amounted to only 600 foot and 500 horse with 300 Spaniards, under Captain Alphonso Ocampo, whilst the English force is generally supposed to have amounted to at least 10,000 men.

O'Neill and O'Donnell differed in opinion as to the propriety of attacking the English camp on a certain night, proposed by the commander of the Spaniards, Don Juan Del Aguila, who wrote pressingly to the Irish leaders entreating them to come to his assistance at once; O'Donnell thought they were bound to accede to this request. An immediate attack was resolved on, and by the treachery of Brian MacHugh Oge MacMahon, Carew was apprized of the intended onslaught. On the night of the 23rd, the Irish set out in three divisions, Captains Tyrrell, O'Neill and O'Donnell respectively, commanding the van, the centre, and the rere. The guides missed their way, and after wandering through the night, O'Neill found himself separated from O'Donnell, at the very entrenchments of the English, who were fully prepared for the attack. O'Donnell was now at a considerable distance, and just as O'Neill was preparing either to retreat or put his men in order of battle, the English cavalry charged their broken lines, and notwithstanding the stout resistance of the Irish and the gallantry of the Spaniards, O'Neill's command were either cut down or compelled to retreat. O'Donnell came at last and repulsed the English wing. O'Neill made extraordinary exertions to rally his flying troops, but all to no purpose, nearly a thousand of the Irish fell. The prisoners were immediately hung; and three days after the battle of Kinsale, the heroic Red Hugh O'Donnell had sailed in a Spanish ship from Castlehaven for Spain, where he was received with the greatest honors. O'Neill returned to Ulster. The Spaniards capitulated, marching out of Kinsale with colors flying, and with arms, ammunition, and all their property. On the return of Don Juan, who was suspected by the Irish of treachery, probably owing to the friendship which suddenly sprung up between him and Sir George Carew, he was placed under arrest and died of grief. The famous defence of Dunboy castle by Richard MacGeoghegan and Father Collins, to whom O'Sullivan had committed that fortalice, is an event too well known to require particular description. The President having levelled its fortifications returned to Cork; and after a series of marvellous adventures and romantic escapes, O'Sullivan, O'Connor Kerry, and William Burke reached the Shannon at Terryglass, and having caused their followers to make corraghs or basket boats they crossed the river, and eventually arrived safely in the county of Leitrim, though perpetually harassed by enemies.[1] Garret Stack still held the Castle of Ballygarry from the Confederates, but Sir Charles Wilmot having advanced from Limerick by water to attack it, the garrison surrendered at discretion.

In the year 1602, forty-two of the religious having begged of the Queen to be transported, were ordered to Scattery island, where, having embarked on board a man-of-war, when at sea, by the queen's orders, they were all thrown over board, and the perpetrators were rewarded by abbey lands.[2]

[1] The Queen's forces who attacked O'Sullivan's Castle of Dunboy were commanded by the Earl of Thomond, and during the attack the last chief of the MacMahons of Corcovaskin (Teigh Calch) was accidentally shot by his own son, who proceeded after the fall of Dunboy with the other exiles to Spain, thus apparently terminating a line, which was supposed to be extinct until the publication of the pedigrees of MacMahon, the illustrious Duke of Magenta, proved that it is still well represented.

[2] *Hibernia Dominicana.*

1603. The "pacification" of Munster thus appeared complete, and that of Ulster took place nearly at the same time.

The Annals of the Four Masters[1] mention that before his departure for Spain, Hugh Roe O'Donnell advised O'Neill and the Irish who remained in Ireland after the defeat at Kinsale, to exert their bravery in defending their patrimony against the English, until he should return with forces to their relief, and to remain in the camp in which they then were, because their loss was small. He also pointed out the difficulties of a return to their own country, and the ill-treatment that awaited them in such an eventuality—but the chiefs of the Irish, the annalists add, did not like his advice, but resolved on returning to their territories. "They afterwards," the historians continue, "set out in separate hosts, without ceding the leadership to any, and after suffering much from declared enemies and treacherous friends during their march, reached their homes without any remarkable loss."

The Annals of the Masters for this year end with this entry, "an intolerable famine prevailed all over Ireland." Moryson gives a frightful account of this famine, which the English caused in Ireland "by destroying the rebels' corn, and using all means to punish them;"[2] and, no doubt, the Irish had been utterly destroyed by famine, had not a general peace shortly followed Tyrone's submission. There was a survey made of the lands in the county of Limerick which were forfeited in the reign of Queen Elizabeth.[3]

CHAPTER XX.

REJOICINGS IN LIMERICK ON THE DEATH OF QUEEN ELIZABETH.—HOPES AND DISAPPOINTMENTS.—FLIGHT OF THE EARLS OF TYRONE AND TYRCONNELL

THE death of Elizabeth was very acceptable news in Ireland. In Limerick the intelligence gave great hopes to the Catholics, who believed that they could henceforward freely enjoy the exercise of their religion.[4] Her successor, James, was the first English monarch who had Irish blood in his veins, and the impression was all but universal that King James would restore the ancient religion which, for reasons of state, that worthless monarch had affected to favor. In some places indeed the Catholics had taken possession once more of their ancient churches; and the mayors of Cork and Waterford even refused or postponed the proclamation of the new king, supposing that the deputy's power had died out with the Queen. The citizens of Waterford went so far as to close their gates against the soldiers of Mountjoy, who had rapidly marched to Munster with a strong force, but he quickly undeceived them as to the privileges conferred by their charter, which exempted them from quartering soldiers; for the deputy threatened that "with King James' sword he would cut the charter of King John to pieces"—and Limerick,

[1] Ad. an. 1602.
[2] Vol. II. pp. 283, 284.
[3] First Report of the Commissioners of Public Records, p. 122. Report 1810 to 1815.
[4] Arthur MSS.

Kilkenny, Wexford, and Cashel, were obliged to submit in their turn. The publication of a general amnesty had, however, for a time, a tranquilising effect. This was the last official act of Lord Mountjoy, who shortly after returned to England. He was accompanied by Tyrone and O'Donnell, who were well received by the King. On this occasion Hugh O'Neill was confirmed in his honors and possessions, and Rory O'Donnell, brother to Red Hugh, who died in Spain, was created Earl of Tyrconnell. English law was now first introduced into the territories of these noblemen. Still the horrible persecution went on; in 1604, Redmond Galcorg, Bishop of Derry, and Vice-Primate, was killed by the English soldiers—*Analecta*.

At this time a terrible pestilence, which was brought over from England, raged throughout Munster, and carried off three hundred of the citizens of Limerick. James Galway was mayor, for the second time; and David, son of Nicholas Comyn, and Thomas, son of Patrick Creagh, were bailiffs.[1]

Sir Arthur Chichester, the succeeding Viceroy, re-established the long disused custom of circuits in Munster and Connaught; and as an extension of Royal favor, Corporations were granted to several towns. The rising hopes of the Catholics in the tolerant principles of their new King were soon rudely blighted by the issuing of a proclamation, promulgating the act of Uniformity, and commanding the "Papist" clergy to depart from the kingdom. He had already sent orders to Dublin that the Act of Supremacy should be administered to all Catholic lawyers and justices of the peace, and that the laws against recusants should be strictly enforced; a commission was issued calling on respectable Catholics to watch and inform against such of their co-religionists as did not frequent Protestant churches, and some Catholics who had remonstrated and petitioned for religious liberty were committed to prison; Sir Henry Blunkard was President of Munster, and Edmond Fox being mayor of Limerick, was deprived of his office three weeks before Michaelmas day, for refusing to take the oath of supremacy and not going to church. Andrew Creagh Fitzjasper was chosen mayor in the place of Fox, for the remainder of the year, and this Creagh was the first Protestant mayor of the city. Fox was eleven months mayor—Creagh one month. Dominick FitzPeter Creagh and James Woulfe were the bailiffs.[2] Creagh was succeeded by Edmond Sexten, who had Christopher FitzEdward Arthur and Peter FitzThomas Creagh, bailiffs.[3]

In the year 1605, the customs of tanistry and gavelkind were abolished by judgment in the King's bench and the Irish estate thereby made descendible according to the course of the common law of England.[4] In the year 1606, in order to atone for the severity of the proclamation against the Catholic Clergy, and to "quiet and oblige the Irish," as Cox expresses it, the king issued out a commission of grace under the great seal of England, to confirm the possessors of estates in Ireland, against new claims of the crown, by granting new patents to them.[5] This if fairly carried out, was a very desirable and necessary measure, for a may be easily imagined, a great confusion of titles to estates had been occasioned by the troubles, and various changes which had happened in the kingdom, and whoever could not make out a clear and indisputable title to his estate, which considering the circumstances of the nation, for some time past was scarcely possible to do, lay completely at the mercy of the crown, and had no remedy except to compound

[1] Arthur MSS. [2] Arthur MSS., White's MSS. [3] Arthur MSS.
[4] Cox, Hib. Ang. Davis's Reports. [5] Ibid.

with the king on whatever terms he could, and to get a new grant of his estate. Hence the enquiries into defective titles, which took place in the early part of the reign of King James.[1] These inquisitions were first proposed in the causes of MacBrian Gonagh, O'Mulryan and other septs in Limerick and Tipperary, who had expelled the old English colonies planted there, whose heirs not being known, the lands had escheated to the crown; most counties in Ireland afforded abundance of similar cases. Even of those who had imagined they had settled their possessions by composition, having covenanted to take out letters patent, the greater number had neglected to do so, and holding their lands only by the indenture of the composition made with Sir John Perrott, and not having performed the stipulations they stood in need of new grants to give them a lawful title to their estates. There was also a failure or alleged failure in an infinite number of other cases. This was an age of adventurers and projectors.[2] Every body was at work in trying to find out flaws in people's estates; the Pipe rolls and the Patent rolls were searched for reserved rents and ancient grants, and no means left untried to force gentlemen to a new composition, or to the accepting of new grants at higher rents than before. It was not to be expected that the fair domains of O'Neill and O'Donnell, would escape the greed of these covetous projectors. The claims of O'Neill to the princely possessions of his ancestors were disputed under English laws, he was harassed by legal enquiries into title, until at last he was compelled to leave the country, partly by means of law fictions, and processes calling on him to appear and answer in the cause of the Protestant Bishop of Derry, against Hugh Earl of Tyrone, partly by a conspiracy, supposed to have been concerted against him by Cecil, but which was put into execution by Christopher St. Laurence, Baron of Howth, who entrapped the Earls of Tyrone and Tyrconnell, the Baron of Delvin and O'Cahane into a plot into which they may readily be believed to have fallen by the representations made by Howth, of the probability of new penal enactments against Catholics. This is the opinion of Mr. Moore[3] and others, but it is extremely probable that the plot was contrived by Cecil, the artful author of the Gunpowder plot, and that the flight of the Earls was exactly what the government wanted, who immediately declared them rebels, and proceeded to confiscate their vast possessions in six counties of Ulster.[4] O'Neill and O'Donnel with their families, sailed from Rathmullen on Lough Swilly, for Normandy, from which they proceeded to Rome, enjoying a pension from the Pope and the King. O'Donnell died the following year, O'Neill in 1608; Maguire at Geneva in 1608. The flight of the Earls, which may be said to have terminated the independence of Ireland, took place in 1607.

[1] Carte's Ormonde, II. 264. [2] Carte's Life of Ormonde, ubi supra.
[3] History of Ireland, vol. iv., p. 453, &c., &c.
[4] Hardiman's Irish Minstrelsy, vol. ii., p. 430; Anderson's Royal Genealogies, London, 1736.

CHAPTER XXI.

PERSECUTIONS ON ACCOUNT OF RELIGION.—EXECUTION OF JOHN BURKE, BARON OF BRITTAS.—A NEW CHARTER.—INDENTURE OF PERAMBULATION. —THE BATTLE OF THE MAYORS.

In the year 1609, according to some authorities, according to others[1] in 1610, occurred the cruel execution of John Burke, Baron of Brittas, who was adjudged to a terrible death, and all his property confiscated for the use of the king, merely because a priest had been found celebrating mass in his house. His life and death were holy. Being offered, says Carve, the restitution of all his goods and a remission of the sentence passed on him, if he would only embrace the Protestant faith, he is said to have replied, "I prefer far to save my soul, to become possessor of the entire world." His grand-daughter, Honora was married to the illustrious defender of Limerick, Patrick Sarsfield, Earl of Lucan, and after his death at Landen in Flanders, to the Duke of Berwick.[2]

We extract from Rothe's Analecta, translated in the White MSS. a detailed account of this event, which is the best possible commentary on the pretended toleration of the hypocritical pedant, who now occupied the throne of England.[3]

[1] Carve, a Tipperary man and notary apostolic, refers this event to 1610 in his "Annals of Ireland," page 315.

[2] See O'Daly's History of the Geraldines, and Hibernia Dominicana, p. 565, where his daughter, a sanctified Dominican nun, is said to have died in 1646.

[3] This illustrious champion of his faith was descended from such a noble family, and was possessed of so plentiful a fortune, as that Sir George Thornton, one of the chief governors of Munster, thought him to be a great match for his daughter, Grace Thornton, to whom the Lord Brittas was married, and had nine children by her. He formed a purpose of going to Spain, in order the more freely to enjoy the benefits of the Catholic religion, which at this time was greatly persecuted in Ireland; but his design being discovered to his father-in-law, Sir George, he so effectually managed with his fellow-governor, Sir Charles Wilmot, as entirely to prevent the Lord Brittas's departure. Being thus destuted in his journey he more fully and publicly performed all acts of the Catholic religion, by going openly to mass, assisting at sermons, having mass said in his own house, whither all the neighbours resorted to hear it; his domestic affairs he left entirely to his wife, and devoted himself entirely to religion, by harbouring and supporting ecclesiastics and religious persons, especially those of the order of St. Dominick. This, his conduct, being represented in a new light to Charles Mountjoy, the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, in his passage to Limerick, he thereupon forfeited the Lord Brittas's estate, and it was with the greatest interest and difficulty it was afterwards restored to him. He no sooner got possession, but he prepared a large hall in his house of Brittas for performing divine service therein the following Sunday, which was the first Sunday of October, and whither all those of the sodality of the rosary came to perform their devotions. When the President was informed of this, he sent one Captain Miller with a detachment of horse to apprehend Lord Brittas, just as divine service was going to begin. The congregation was alarmed, and through fear dispersed up and down; the Lord Brittas, with his chaplain and three or four servants, retired into a strong tower adjoining his house, into which they denied Miller or his troop admittance. The President made handle of this to have him proclaimed as rebel, which laid the Lord Brittas under the necessity of seeking shelter in foreign countries; to effect this he went to a distant seaport, in hopes of meeting with a ship to transport him, but he was disappointed, which made him seek for shelter in the inland country; but the edicts against him being published everywhere, he was discovered in Carrick, and apprehended by the magistrate of that town and confined in jail.

When his wife, who was with child, visited him in his confinement, his entire entertainment with her was inculcating on her the principles of the faith, the devotion to the Blessed Virgin, and that she may avoid all commerce with heretics; he, by her, wrote letters to father Edmond Hallaghan, the director of the Sodality, entreating him to have care of her instruction, and though she was big with child, by her husband's orders, she travelled from Carrick to Waterford, and from thence to Kilkenny, in quest of said director. The Lord Brittas, by the President's orders, was removed from Carrick to Limerick, where the President was to hold a court in a short time. On his trial the President assured him that he neither thirsted after his life, nor his estate, both which he should have, provided he conformed to the Protestant faith and religion; but the Lord Brittas absolutely refused to comply, or forsake the true religion he was educated

On the 3rd of March, 1609, King James I. granted a charter to Limerick.[1] The city was erected into a county, and the bailiffs were created sheriffs. This charter, and the proceedings subsequently taken, constitute matter of the highest importance in the History of Limerick. An inden-

in. The two Lord Justices, whose office it was to try him, having remorse of conscience, evaded it, whereupon the President, with despotic authority, ordered Dominick Sarswell, the King's attorney, to try him, which he did, contrary to the dictates of his conscience. He asked the Lord Brittas if he would conform, as it was the King's pleasure, but was answered by him that he knew no king or queen who renounced the law and faith of the King of kings; thereupon Sarswill declared him guilty of high treason, and pronounced sentence of death against him, that he should be hanged, beheaded, and quartered, which sentence the said Brittas received with a joyful and cheerful countenance. When he was brought to the place of execution outside of the city, he behaved with the greatest devotion and composure, as if going to feast. When he was hanged, Sir Thomas Brown, and many other gentlemen, interceded with the President, that he should not be quartered, and their request was granted; his friends conveyed his body into town, and he was buried in St. John's church, Limerick, the 20th of December, in the year 1607. So far Rothe, who gives the date two years earlier than Carve.

His daughter, Eleanor Bourke, became a Dominican Nun, and died in 1646 in the Irish Dominican Nunnery of Lisbon, in the odour of sanctity.

On the 28th of July, 1618, Theobald De Burg, a relative of the above John Bourke, who married a daughter of the Earl of Inchiquin, was created Baron of Brittas by James I.; but he and Lord Castle Connell being in the Rebellion of 1641, were attainted and fled to France. On the accession of James II. they were restored to their estates, which they had forfeited. In the rebellion of 1688, they were again attainted, and lost their properties.

Brittas Castle was on the river Mulchair, in the Parish of Caherconlish.

[1] This Charter recites the great sufferings of the city of Limerick in the rebellion of the Geraldines, their assistance to the King, in the war in Ulster, and in anticipation of the future services of the inhabitants toward the crown, proceeds to declare the city of Limerick a free city of itself. It grants to the mayor, bailiffs, and citizens, and inhabitants of the city, to be a body politic and corporate, by the name of the mayor, sheriffs and citizens of the city of Limerick, with the usual power to hold lands, to demise or assign them, to plead and be impleaded by their new corporate name. It confirms all their former possessions in the most large and ample manner, by whatever corporate name enjoyed, or by whatever legal title, grant, or proscription acquired. The Charter then proceeds to make the city of Limerick a county of itself, as already referred to under the head of "Limits," excepting thereout the King's Castle and the precincts thereof, one lower room under the Tholsel used as a common gaol for the county, and also the site of the Abbey of St. Francis and its precincts, being a fit place for holding the Assizes and Sessions for said County of Limerick, and confers full power for perambulating these boundaries. This Charter enables the mayor, sheriffs, and citizens to choose "one of the more honest or discreet citizens," to the office of mayor, to be chosen as theretofore; directs that instead of two bailiffs two sheriffs shall be chosen, and points out the mode of their election, and how vacancies in the office, by death or amotion, are to be filled up. It directs that all persons thereto free citizens shall continue so to be, and that in all things they shall be ordered and governed as formerly. It enables them to choose as many aldermen, serjeants at mace, and other officers as usual. It confers an exclusive Admiralty jurisdiction, both criminal and civil, over so much of the river Shannon as extends three miles north east of the city to the mouth of the main sea, with all creeks, banks, and rivulets within their limits; gives power to hold a Court of Admiralty or Record every Monday, before the Mayor, Recorder, and Aldermen, any three or more of them (of whom the Mayor and Recorder are to be two), who were to keep the peace at the Shannon within these limits; to receive recognizances, to take fines and amercements, waifs, royal fish and other royal prerogatives, with a non-intromittent clause as to the Admirals of England and Ireland. A Society of merchants of the staple was incorporated by this Charter, by the name of "the Mayor, Constables, and Society of Merchants of the Staple of the City of Limerick;" with the privileges and franchises of the Merchants of the Staple of Dublin and Waterford. This Charter further constituted the Mayor, Recorder, and four of the Aldermen (a class first noticed in this Charter), Justices of the Peace for the county of the city; the four Aldermen to be annually elected as therein mentioned and thereafter noticed; and empowered any three or more of them, of whom the Mayor and Recorder were to be two, to hear and determine within the city, at all times to be appointed by them, all felonies and other crimes, except treason, misprision of treason and murder, and do all things in relation thereto as belonged to the office of Justice of the Peace. This Charter also granted to the Corporation all fines, escheats, and amercements, in as ample a manner as the Corporations of Dublin, Waterford, and Cork enjoyed the same, except such royal fines as should be imposed on the sheriff or coroners of the said county of the city of Limerick; the fines as granted, (except as aforesaid) to be collected by their own officer, to be applied to the repair of the walls, bridges, and other necessary uses of the city; and lastly, it enabled them to hold lands, &c. to the value of £40 per annum, notwithstanding the statute of mortmain.

ture of perambulation[1] was made on the 31st August, 1609, between Donat, Earl of Thomond, Bernard, Lord Bishop of Limerick, Sir Francis Barkley, Knight, and Sir Thomas Browne, Knight, on the one part; and the mayor,

[1] The indenture recites letters patent dated 3rd of March, 6th James I. and states that the Commissioners have perambulated, measured, limited, meared, and bounded unto the said mayor, sheriffs, and citizens, three miles of land, and they declare the said county of the city of Limerick to extend and reach to the bounds of all parts, according to the admeasurements, as they are hereinafter declared, and that the under written towns, castles, lands, and hamlets, and other places named for mears, limits, and bounds, are the extreme bounds, limits and true mears of the said city—three miles from the exterior of the said city, east, west, and south.*

The first bound, mear, or limit, from St. John's Gate, is and doth extend to the new small hillock, round, or moat, made by the causea on the west of Killcowline, betwixt Roshard on the east, and Gortdromagh, west, Gortnehowyle, north-west, all which is the mear of Kilcowline and Walshestown.

The second mear, or bound, is another round which draweth from the first, eastward, standing upon the hill south-east of Carrigparson; the town and lands of Carrigparson lieth within the same, toward the city.

The third mear, or bound, is at the Shannon, directly from the castle of Downashe upward, drawing along the small current or water of Aghanenegorte, and so as the said brook or water runneth east to the moore called Maen Cnockenrewe, so directly to Ballibarrie, leaving the town and castle out, but not the land of Ballybarrie, within the said compass, and the bound to go through the next ford by West Skarte Iree, the towns of Coole Ilenan, Carromartine, Cloneclive, the Gransagh, Garren Ikie, Garrinoe, Cnockenrewe, Clonetwnyh, Aghbegge, Carotanevoye and Careonebellye, and so from Ballybarrie, making directly to the former round or moate, standing on the hill by East Carrigparson aforesaid, within which bound these towns are contained, viz., the two Killonans, Conyheigh, Newcastle, Callagh Itroye, Curraghkip, Ballyreine, Lyshlian, Kilbane, Bealaghennolyne, Bealasymon, Cowell, Sheynan, Kilpatricke, Garriglasse, the Renaghe, Dromrave, Ardmore, Cnockananto, Touryne, Carrigparson, Carnarrie; Walshe his Towne, Balibrowne, Balliogarhie, the Parke Drowmbanyhs; the mear, limit, and bounds, taken from Mongerett-gate, in Limerick, goeth directly to Ballinecurugh, and so directly to the two Mongeratts, Clough Kettine, and so to Brienduffe O'Brien his mill, called the Mill of Claren Icokye, from the said mill to the ford of Cloghtokie, from the ford of Cloghtokie to the ford of Anagh Irestie, as the brook or water between both fords runneth, including the Town and Lands of Cloghtokie aforesaid, wholly to be of and in the county of the city of Limerick, from the ford of Anagh Irestie to the ford of Leyme Ineigh, as the water or brook between both fords runneth from the ford of Leyme Ineigh to the church and trees of Cnocknegawell, from the church of Cnocknegawell along to the stone in the middle of the moore, holding direct course by the hedge of Cnockballinevrahir, and to the height of the same, and by the dyke or hedge directing up the hill along to the moate on the top of the said Hill of Ballinebraher, from the said moate on the top of Cnockballynebraher to the town of Ballinebraher, and through the land that goeth through the middle of the said town, and so along through the lane, southward, by Caher Ivaghellie, including all the lands thereof, to be of and in the county of the said city of Limerick, and so along the highway called Boherbane, close by the land of Lykydowne, leaving the ploughland of Boherhod and Ballyneffrancke without the said mears and bounds, from the lands of Luckdown to the eastward of Carrigmartin, from Carrigmartin downward the lowe waie, westward to the Hedge of Walshestowne, belonging to the Lord Bourcke, where there is a moat erected, and from thence to the first moat above declared, erected at the causea of Kilcowline, which is the first mear or bound assigned in length from the said city of Limerick, the mear taken from the mills of Brienduffe's, called the mill of Claun Icekie, drawing to the north-west as the watercourse thereof runneth through the Bog of Campire, and then leading to the bog directly, to the

* This admeasurement of 1609, which created the county of the city, "three miles every way, in and through the County of Limerick, from the exterior part of the city walls," does not include the North Liberties; and the boundary east, west, and south, exceeds the limit of three miles as prescribed by the Charter. The North Liberties are on the County of Clare side of the river. Their limits are at equal distances from the city, varying from one to three statute miles. They are referred to, and in part defined in the Inquisition taken A.D. 1615, and Epitonus, pp. 138–9, 40. The South Liberties extend on the County of Limerick side of the Shannon in every direction, from four to five statute miles. Whether that part of the river Shannon, between the confines of the Liberties and the sea, is part of the county of the city, has been questionable, but it is generally considered to be so. Offences committed on the river, between the confines of the Liberties and the sea, are triable, and have been tried in the city in one memorable capital instance, in particular, hereafter referred to. In 1854, the late Alderman Henry Watson, Mayor, accompanied by the Corporation, sailed to Scattery Island, where he exercised Admiralty rights. On this occasion, a Revenue Cruiser, then in the Shannon, saluted the Corporation Steam-boat, which was also saluted as it passed Cratloe, the residence of the late Augustus Stafford, Esq. M.P.

sheriffs and citizens of Limerick on the other part. This important instrument sets out the ancient liberties and franchises of the city, and orders the the limits to be bounded by great stones or other notable signs. The charter was followed by a grant of mills and water courses, and lands in the county, to Sir James Fullerton.[1] Patrick FitzDaniel Arthur, was the first mayor under the new charter; and William FitzMartin Creagh, and George White were the last of the bailiffs, and the first of the city of Limerick sheriffs. The indenture excepted and reserved his majesty's castle of Limerick, commonly called the King's castle, with the precinct thereof, one lower middle room under the common gaol of the said city, and all that the site of the late abbey or monastery of St. Francis, and all the pendances of the same, as a place convenient for holding sessions and assizes for the county of Limerick.

The rigors of the law were now enforced with terrible vengeance—the alternative of apostacy or civil degradation was again offered to the citizens of Limerick, their magistrates, &c. as it was in other parts of the kingdom.

The merciless rigors of a bloody code were inflexibly executed; in the year 1611, Cornelius Douan, Bishop of Down and Connor, together with Patrick Locheran, priest, were for the faith hanged and quartered, the 1st of February.—Sir Arthur Chichester being Lord Deputy.—*Analecta.*

In this year David Comyn was chosen mayor, but Edmund Sexten was in the same year, chosen also; David FitzWalter Ryce held the office of sheriff for six months. Christopher Creagh and Patrick Lyseiaght,[2] the one for the entire time—the other for the five remaining months of the civil year. The cause of this was that Donat O'Brien, Lord of Thomond was made President of all Munster. Comyn who was true to his faith, was deposed from his office of Mayor, because he refused peremptorily to go to church, and take the oath of supremacy, he was seconded by Daniel Rice, one of the sheriffs, who also refused. Edmund Sexten was chosen mayor, and Patrick Lyseiaght and Christopher Creagh, who conformed, were made sheriffs.[3] Catholics, nevertheless, in defiance of the government were chosen mayors by the corporation; but they were presented with the oath, which the moment they refused to take, they were deprived of office. The same thing occurred in the next year, 1612, when William Meagh or Mead was chosen mayor, and Patrick FitzHenry White and John Skeolan were sheriffs. They held office for four months. Christopher Creagh was then appointed mayor, he held office for eight months—and took the oath, but did not go

great stone standing in the Hedge called Legancampyne, and from the said stone to Craggenecorbally, mearing with the Lord Bishop's and Brienduffe's land, and so along the highway till it comes to the heap of stones called Lishdermode Ikallie, and so to Shanane, in the highway, betwixt Tirevowoughtragh on the west, and Tirevowoughtragh on the east. The great castle of Crattlaghmoell on the north of the Shannon standeth right over against this way, mearing Tirevowoughtragh west, and Tirevowoughtragh on the east. We, the said Earl of Thomond, and others of the Commissioners before named, having measured from the exterior part of the wall of the said city of Limerick to the bounds, mears, and limits before expressed, do leave and include as well all the towns, castles, and hamlets before-named, with all and singular their members and appurtenances, as all other towns, lands, fields, roads, meadows, pastures, commons, and appurtenances to the same belonging, between the bounds aforesaid and the walls of the said city, to be of and in the county of the city of Limerick, and within the compass of the three miles granted by his Majesty by his Highness's charter to the mayor, sheriffs, and citizens of Limerick. In witness whereof we, the said Earl and others of the said commissioners, to this part of this Indenture to be retorned and remain in his Majesty's High Court of Chancery in Ireland, among the records of the same, have set our hands and seals the day and year above written—Thomond, Barnard Limic, Ffra Barkeley, Thomas Browne.

[1] Report of Commissioners of Public Records.

[2] Thus the name is spelled in contemporary MSS.

[3] Arthur MSS.

to church. George FitzJames Creagh and John Lyseiaght were sheriffs for eight months. Meagh, White and Skeolan were deprived, because they were of the Catholic religion; the others were allowed to fill their places becaused they conformed.[1] Still a struggle was made, and again the Catholics were defeated by the law, which sought to enforce the taking of the oath on the Catholic believers. Dominick FitzPeter Creagh, John Fitz William Arthur, and George Woulf were appointed, the first named, mayor, the others sheriffs; they held office for three months; but all were deposed on the 19th of December, for refusing the oath of supremacy; and in their places were chosen William Haly, mayor, David Bourke and Thomas Power, sheriffs. Thus defeated so often in their attempts to have a Catholic mayor occupy his proper place at the head of civic affairs, persecution continued also to rage, and the part taken by the Protestant party forced the Catholic mayors out of office in the next year, when Michael Walters was mayor of Limerick, Nicholas FitzNicholas Stritch, and William Roche of Cahirivahalla, were sheriffs. They held office for five months, when James FitzJames White was chosen mayor, William Roche, the above mentioned, Peter FitzPeter Creagh, were sheriffs for thirty-three days. James Galway was the third mayor, David Bourke and Thomas Power were sheriffs for two months, Arthur Fanning and Christopher FitzDominick Arthur, were sheriffs for four months. All these, without exception, were of the Catholic faith; and all were likewise disturbed and removed from office, because they refused to go to church, and fulfil the duties which an odious and obnoxious law sought to force on them.[2] We may well imagine the state of the city, under these circumstances; we may well imagine also, the state of the law, which in a Catholic city sought to deprive the Catholics of the power of choosing mayors of their own form of belief. For the fourth time the same thing occurred in the year succeeding, and with a similar result. William Stritch was for the second time chosen mayor of Limerick; James Fitz Henry Whyte and Walter FitzRichard Arthur were sheriffs; they held office for 14 days. Symon Fanning was chosen mayor in place of William Stritch, and George Sexten and George Rochfort, sheriffs. David Comyn was chosen mayor the second time, Nicholas FitzHenry Whyte, sheriff; James Galway was for the fourth time chosen mayor, James FitzJohn Stritch sheriff, Christopher Creagh, mayor, Patrick Lyseaight, Sheriff. The two last mentioned conformed.

The battle of the Mayors appears to have ceased in this year, when Dominick Roche was the second time Mayor, and John Fitzjohn Stritch, for for the second time sheriff, and Richard Lawless, sheriff also. These all conformed. But the Catholics were not to be beaten down. It was owing in fact to this resolute spirit on the part of the Catholics, that Sir George Carew on an occasion already mentioned, had proceeded so severely against the Mayor, Sir Geoffry Galway, Bart. The instructions given to Sir Oliver St. John, afterwards created Viscount Grandison, who in this year succeeded Sir Arthur Chester, subsequently created baron of Belfast, was to enforce with rigor the fine inflicted on Catholics for absenting themselves from the Protestant service.

[1] Arthur MSS. and White MSS.
[2] Arthur MSS.

CHAPTER XXII.

INQUISITIONS—CORPORATE SPOLIATION.

WHILST the wars of the Mayors were raging within the walls of the city, several grants were made, viz.[1] of the cocquet of Limerick, &c. to William Bruncor.[2] An appointment of officer of Customs, and a grant of the king's mills[3] were made; a view of the revenues of the "wears," &c. was also taken,[4] and on the 18th of March, 1615, a most important inquisition was taken before Sir Francis Aungier, Knight, and the celebrated Sir John Davys, the king's Attorney General, with the following "good and lawful men of the said county of Limerick," viz. Henry Barkley of Ballycahan, gentleman; James Rawley of Ballingowley, gentleman; Connor O'Heyne of Caherelly, gentleman; Donell M'Mahawne of Cragan, gentleman; John Oge Gerrald of Ballinard, gentleman; Richard Wall of Cloughtreade, gentleman; Richard Purcell of Ballincarrigy, gentleman; John FitzEdmonde of Gillcterstown, gentleman; Dermode M'Tighe of Twogh, gentleman; Walter Brown of Camus, gentleman; Thomas FitzJohn of Ballynemoug, gentleman; Teigh O'Brien of Gortboy, gentleman.[5]

[1] Repertory of Patent and Close Rolls of Chancery.
[2] Ibid, 1612. Ibid, 1613–14–15.
[3] Crown Rent Roll, 1613.
[4] It appears from this inquisition that "the Mayor and Bailiffs of the city aforesaid, tenants of the Weares of the city of Limericke aforesaid, called the Fisher's tent, lying from the Lex Weare, on the east, as far as the river called Castle Donnell, on the west part, by the yeare, 8s. 10¾d.
[5] This inquisition shows the grants of King John to the bishops of Limerick; the grants of Queen Elizabeth of St. Mary's Priory and its lands at 4d. per acre, to Edmond Sexten, and also the lands of Monksland, Clasknagilly, Branlouge and Inshymore, to the said Edward Sexten; the grants by letters patent of King Henry III. to the Leper House, near the city of Limerick, of forty ploughlands, one ploughland of which the said master of the said Leper Hospital* held when the inquisition was taken—that Gerald, Earl of Desmond held one ploughland in fee of the land called Corbally, parcel of the said forty ploughlands, that he was attainted of high treason, whereby the ploughland became seized by the Queen Elizabeth who granted the same by letters patent to Robert Annislie, one of the undertakers in the Co. of Limerick, for the yearly rent of forty shillings—that Corbally now (1615) is in the possession of Thomas Gould by conveyance and assignment of Annislie, and that no rent is paid out of it to the Mayor and commonality of Limerick. The inquisition found that Bealus, alias Courtbrack, was another of the forty ploughlands—that the Earl of Desmond held it in fee, that on his attainder it was granted by Queen Elizabeth to Robert Annislie at a rent of three pounds per annum; and that it is now (1615) in possession of the Earl of Thomond, and paid no rent to the mayor &c. The inquisition further found that half a ploughland called Farranygallogh, parcel of the said forty ploughlands, was in the tenure and occupation of the nunnery of Killone, in the County of Clare, which together with the nunnery and its possessions came unto the crown, and was by letters patent granted to the said Baron of Insequine, and is now (1615) in the possession of the Earl of Thomond for which no rent is paid to the mayor &c. The inquisition also found that two parts of two ploughlands in three parts divided in Ratwyrd, being parcel of the said forty ploughlands, came into Queen Elizabeth's hands by the attainder of John Browne, and were by the Queen granted to the said Robert Annislie, out of which £6 rent is paid to the King, and that three other parcels of land—viz. Gorteardboher, containing ten acres, Gortrebowley, five acres, Rathgreylan, fifteen acres, with three parcels of land, are accounted for one ploughland, parcel of the said forty ploughlands, and are now in tenure and possession of Phillis White, Simon ffanning, and Edmond Burke of Ballasimon, for which they pay no rent to the mayor &c. The inquisition further finds that certain other such parcels of Gowens lying south near St. John's Gate, and the land of Martin Croft, and Clownegonderiske, containing a ploughland, being part of the forty ploughlands, are now in the tenure of the mayor and commonality of the city, and that the mayor and commonality are seized of the following parcels of land being part of the said forty ploughlands: viz. Park, containing ¾ths of a ploughland in possession of Thomas Comyn, held by him from the

* The Master of the Leper House of Limerick resided in Mongret street, in 1414.
Arthur MSS.

From the startling facts set forth in this highly important and interesting document, which constituted the only means by which the property of the

mayor &c. for 15s. Irish; Rebouge, ⅗ths of a ploughland, in possession of Nicholas Arthure, held from ditto, at ditto rent; Ballysoddo, ⅗ths of a part and held of John Fox from same at same rent; Dubgish, Ballymoldown, and Rathmichael, one ploughland, held by Nicholas Arthure from same at twenty shillings rent; Rathbane ⅗ths of a ploughland in possession of White and ffanning, heirs of Pierce Creagh, for which they pay only twelve shillings and four pence, Irish; Rathuyn, held by Nicholas Stritch of Limerick, merchant, containing the 3rd part of two ploughlands, for which he pays —— rent, Irish; Crewilally, alias Ballincloughe, ¼th of a ploughland held by Christopher Arthure for the rent of 5s.; Cheapman's land, alias Ardnevedoge, half a ploughland, held by Simon ffanning; the mayor, &c. were said to be seized of the following ploughlands, also being part of the 40: viz. Castlebank, 1 ploughland, held by Nicholas Arthure for 20s. Kilrush ½ a ploughland held by Nicholas Comyn or David Comyn, alderman, at 10s. yearly rent—Farrengowen, otherwise Smith's land, 1 ploughland, held by David White,* alderman, at

* The Whites, the Creaghs, and the Stritches have played a remarkable part in the History of Limerick, Clonmel, and Waterford. Sir David White of Russellstown was married to Sarah Bourk, daughter of John Bourk, who was called Lord of Coshure; by his wife Catherine Fitzgerald, daughter to John Fitzgerald Earl of Desmond: they had issue—1st, Solomon White, son and heir to the said David and Sarah—was married to Margaret Walsh, daughter to David Walsh of Ballintober—had issue as follows:—1st, David White, son and heir to the said Solomon, was married to Margaret Brien, daughter to Anlon Brien of Commeragh, and had seven children —2nd, Pierce White, counted a very strong man, but never married,—3rd, Thomas White,—4th, Robert White,—5th, John White, died in France,—6th, Patrick White,—7th, James White, and lastly Stephen White, who was Colonel to King Charles I. and II. and never married. James White, above mentioned, was married to Elizabeth Butler, daughter to John Butler of Clare, grandson to the Lord Dunboyne, by his wife Julian Quirk, daughter to O'Quirk of Muskerry; the said James White had several children, but all died and dispersed by reason of Cromwell's war, except Stephen White who was taken up by his uncle Pierce White, and having no child, was made by the said Stephen sole heir of his estate and all he was possessed of. The said Stephen was married to Catherine Stritch,* daughter to Thomas Stritch who was put to death by Cromwell in Limerick along with several prime gentlemen; by his wife Christian Creagh, daughter to James Creagh of Carrighfaddagh, he had several children, whereof none live but Mary, who is married to James Stritch, son to William Stritch, and Julian Bourk, daughter to Thomas Bourk of Ballinloughane and Westown; said James and Mary have eight children, whereof Thomas is the eldest. The family of Catherine Stritch are these: first, Patrick Stritch of Limerick, son to William, was married to Catherine Bourk, daughter to Walter Bourk, by whom he had two sons named Thomas and Patrick, which Thomas was married to Christian Creagh aforesaid, and had several children, whereof only four lived—Patrick Stritch, married, had no issue, died—2nd, James was a clergyman (Catholic) and Vicar-General of the diocese of Limerick—3rd, Francis Stritch, who died unmarried, and was crazy—4th. Catherine Stritch, who was married to Stephen White before mentioned. The said Doctor James Stritch made Mary his niece sole heiress of his substance and estate. The family of Christian Creagh are, viz.—Andrew Creagh of Limerick, commonly called Andrew Maighgagh, was married to Ellen Fitzgerald, daughter of Fitzgerald of Gurtnatuber,—had issue by her as follows:—first, James Creagh of Carrighfadda, was married to Catherine, daughter to Robert White, Mayor of Limerick, by his wife Eleanor Arthur, sister to Sir Nicholas Arthur of Limerick; he had fifteen brothers, one whereof was Pierce Creagh the youngest, who was married to Mary Brien, daughter to O'Brien Arra, and first married Bridget Rice; he had issue Pierce Creagh, Bishop of Cork, and Alderman John Creagh of Limerick, who was the eldest. Andrew Creagh the youngest was married to Catherine Fitzgerald, daughter to Edward Fitzgerald of Pallice. James Creagh's niece, was married to Pierce

* John Stritch, a gentleman of fair character and inheritance, was forced to depart the town of Genes in Italy by reason of the great spoyle and pillage done to the said town by the Saracens and Infidels, A.D. 933; and Henry I. being the Emperor of Rome, the said John, with his wife and four sons, came from Paris in France and there died. In process of time his children and offspring came to Rouen in Normandy, from thence into England, and part of them came to Ireland; and by reason of the removing of them into sundry places and shires, some of them are called Stretch, Stritchee, Stretchy, Stridch, Strich, Strit, Strett, Strethem, and such now inhabiting in England, Ireland, and in other countries in Europe as the aforesaid names, and such now inhabiting in Florence and Italy, and other places of the same country. Collected by Richard Stritch, gentleman, of Limerick in Ireland.

This account of the Stritches was taken from an old piece of vellum which was three hundred years stamped and in the possession of Michael Stritch. The Italian name is Strochio.

In the Arthur MSS. the name is usually written Strech, and sometimes Stretch. There are very few of this old name now in Limerick.

The Creaghs continue numerous and respectable in Clare and Limerick.

Corporation could be identified, it would appear that jobbing among corporators, was not in these times unusual, and that the lands, which should

20s. yearly. Closinmackine, ½ a ploughland, held by D. White, at 10s. yearly. Ardnegallagh, otherwise Knockardegallagh, Caherdavy, Shanevolley, and Farrenconmary, 1 ploughland, held by James White, Thomas Comyn and Rory Omighan, at 20s. Irish yearly; Ballygadynan, 1 ploughland, anciently held from the Mayor and by John Blunt, now held by John Arthure at 20s. yearly rent; Clonecannan, otherwiseCahernefinnellie,1 plowland held by David Comyn and Edmond Comyn, at 20s. yearly rent; Cownagh and Clonedrinagh 1 plowland, held by David Comyn, Richard White and Tiege M'Shane at 20s. yearly rent; Ballymaughtenmore, Moylish, and Ballyinaughtenbeg, 1 plowland, held by Wm. Stritch, alderman, John Arthure and William White, merchants, at 20s. a year rent; Prior's land lying north of Thomond Bridge, containing 15 acres, and Farrengkelly seven acres, both ½ a ploughland and parcel of the 40 ploughlands, which Prior's land is parcel of the former six ploughlands, of St. Mary's House, granted by the king's majesty to E. Sexten, and was held by the said E. Sexten, yielding no rent to the mayor; Farrengkelly, the glebe land of the vicarage of or rectory of Kilaly, now in possession of Vicar of Kilaly, paying no rent to the mayor, &c. The yearly rent of the burgage within the said city is and always was only 20 marks—the king's mills, under one roof, in the west part of the city walls, betwixt the said Weir and the rock called Corrogower on the Shannon near the King's castle were sometime held by the mayor, and the said mill is the mill for which £20 Irish parcel of the sum of lxxviii six shillings and eight pence Irish, was accounted for in the Exchequer —that the said mills came into the hands of Queen Elizabeth who leased same to Richard Stretch, which mill is now held by William Stretch, alderman, by virtue of said lease;* they find also that the following 8 ploughlands, parcel of the said 40 ploughlands, which eight ploughlands Richard de Clare did hold of the Kings of England as feoffee of the said mayor and commonality or otherwise, viz. Knocknishin containing 1 ploughland, held by the Earl of Thomond; 1 ploughland in Ballycannan; 1 ploughland in Cappagtiemore, which 2 ploughlands are also held by the Earl of Thomond; Glanegrosse, 1 ploughland, held by Donogh Teighe O'Brien of Glanegrosse aforesaid; 1 ploughland in Frybagh, held by Thomas MacNamara, Owen M'Mahone and others; ½ a ploughland in Craltelaghmoell held by Donell M'Namara ffoyne; ½ a plowland inCrallelaghneill held by Cowra MacLydda and James Rochfort, ½ a plowland in Castledonnell, alias Gallelaghmore; ½ a ploughland in Quireenboy, which 2 last mentioned are held by the heir of Edward White, and that the aforesaid 8 ploughlands, parcel of the said 40 ploughlands, and held by the said Richard de Clare, do lie so near unto the said city, and answer no rent to the said mayor and commonality, are by tradition and hearsay, from ancient men affirmed to be within the old and ancient liberties and bounds first limited to the said city in the N.W. side of the said city. The inquisition bears the signatures of Fr. Aungier, and Jo. Davys.

Morony of Limerick, her name was Margaret Creagh; she was Creagh by father and mother. The said James Creagh had another daughter by Catherine who went to France, and was married to Richard Creagh of Rochelle; he had issue as follows:—1st, James Creagh, who was captain in Sheldon's Regiment and was killed at Aughrim,—2nd, Sir Richard Creagh of Rochelle, and a daughter who died without issue.—Per Eleanor Stritch.

The above particulars of the ancient families of Whites, Bourkes, Stritches, and Creaghs, are copied from an old MS. in the possession of Miles Vernon Bourke, Esq. M.D. of Limerick, a descendant maternally of the Stritches.

In Sir Bernard Burke's Landed Gentry of Ireland, the Creaghs of Dangan, County Clare, are represented as descended from Pierce Creagh, Esq. of Adare, Mayor of Limerick in 1651, son and heir of Pierce Creagh, Esq. of Adare, M.P. for the city of Limerick in 1639, and deprived of his estate of Adare for having corresponded with the Duke of Ormond. On the restoration, he returned from France, and obtained by patent, the castle, town, and lands of Dangan, County Clare.

Helenus White, Esq. J.P. of Limerick, possesses a pedigree on illuminated vellum, which shows that Richard White, the first of his family, came from England to Limerick, in A D. 1418, and acquired great honor and reputation. He settled at Ballyneety, so called from his name (Whitestown) in the County of Limerick, says the pedigree, and afterwards acquired the estate of Ballynanty in said county. From this Richard White of Ballyneaty descended several families of the name. Richard built the Castle and Church of Ballyneaty, and began the building of the Church of Ballynanty, which after his death was finished by his son and heir, who acquired the estate of Tullybrackey, where he also built a Church. The descendants of Richard erected stately burying places in the said Churches of Ballyneety or Whitestown, Ballynanty, and Tullybrackey, and in the Cathedral Church of Limerick. Ulster King at Arms, A.D. 1716,

* Curragower mill was held by several persons from time to time, but early in 1858 it was burned to the ground and not rebuilt. It was then held by Alderman Quinlivan, who worked it for some years, as tenant to the Limerick Harbour Commissioners, who purchased it, A.D. 1839, from the Old Corporation, to whom they gave a sum of £300, and to whose tenant, Mr. Cornelius Nash, they gave £2300, for the interest of his lease.

have been let at a fair and equitable value, were parcelled out among the corporators and their friends, at a figure so very low, that when we examine the rental of this noble property, we ask ourselves where were the consciences of men, who could thus deal with public property? Whilst we admire the principle and fidelity which prevented the Stritches, the Whites, the Comyns, the Arthurs, &c. from renouncing faith and taking the oath of supremacy, from retaining the wand of office, rather than violate duty, we must deplore the laxity in Corporate affairs which prevailed in an otherwise heroic age, but which we shall have to denounce a century later, when the property of the citizens was nearly alienated altogether, and the city bereft of the patrimony which the charters of successive monarchs conferred upon it, and which was found and recognised by the inquisition of James I. to which we have been just referring.

James's reign as we have seen, was rendered remarkable in Ireland, not only by the wholesale plunder of Catholics, but by their savage persecution. The question of the king's supremacy created great disturbances among the corporators, and it was not until the accession of Charles the 1st in 1625, that the execution of these unjust and cruel laws were so far relaxed, that the mayor and sheriffs, viz. James Bourke, James Stackpole, and George Burke of Limerick, went publicly to mass: so far back as 1605, Fox the mayor was deposed for refusing to take the oath, and Andrew Creagh was appointed the first Protestant mayor. In 1617, a proclamation was issued for the expulsion of the Catholic clergy, and the city of Waterford, whose corporation had, like that of Limerick, resolutely refused to take the oath of supremacy, was in consequence deprived of its charter.

In the year 1616, the mayor ordered the gate call Mongret, which had been long closed, to be reopened.[1] Hitherto the Catholics had strenuously resisted the appointment of any but Catholics to the magistracy, but at last the Viceroy and council promulgated a decree prohibiting any one from discharging any public office, unless he had first taken the oath of supremacy, and solemnly attended the Anglican service, and this under the penalty called *præmunire*. Hence it happened that they elected those whom they expected to be obedient to the king's wishes, whom they now call "conformists," as they call the Catholics "recusants." In 1616, Dominick Roche, mayor, John Stritch and Richard Lawless, sheriffs, both conformists. 1617. John Stritch mayor, George James Creagh and Pierce or Peter Harold,[2] sheriffs. The two later had conformed.

certifies the pedigree above referred to, and an endorsement contains the names of Daniel O'Kearney, Bishop of Limerick, 1st of September, A.D. 1776, attesting that this family of the Whites had always remained in the Catholic faith; of Laurence Nichell, Secretary to the Bishop, and by his command; and of Michael Peter MacMahon, Bishop of Killaloe, *testifying* to the same effect. These Whites suffered severely by confiscation. The name of White appears in the city annals at a much earlier period than the fifteenth century. The family had enjoyed very high positions in the city as Magistrates, Mayors, &c. and in the Catholic Church, of which several of them were distinguished dignitaries, including Doctor Jasper White, P.P. who lived in the year 1668, and compiled important ecclesiastical records, which are extant, and to which I refer in the proper place; and the Rev. James White, P.P. St. Mary's, compiler of the MSS. Annals of Limerick.

[1] Arthur MSS.

[2] HAROLD.—This is one of the most ancient families in the city of Limerick, and is now represented by Daniel and Edward Harold, Esqrs. (who inherit the paternal property which in penal times was held in trust by Lord Milton). They are sons of the late Richard Harold, Esq., of Pemywell House and Park, and grand-nephew of General Baron Harold, of the regiment of Keaingsfeld in the Bavarian service, who distinguished himself highly abroad, and received the different orders of the Holy Roman Empire. Several others of the family rose to the highest rank in the service of Saxony and Bavaria. The Danish forces having had a bloody conflict

1618. Dominick Roche was Mayor and resigned in Dublin, when Pierce White was chosen. The sheriffs were Edward Sexton and David Roche, both conformists.

Sir Oliver St. John, whom we have seen appointed with special instructions to enforce the law against recusants, also banished by proclamation, all monks and friars educated in foreign seminaries; but his intolerable severity had created so many enemies, that he was unable to make head against them, and was superseded in 1622, by Henry Lord Falkland, to the great joy of the Catholics, who as at the accession of king James, began to erect and repair abbeys, and to re-appropriate the churches. Usher, Bishop of Meath, afterwards so well known as Archbishop of Armagh, distinguished himself at this period by his gross intolerance, though his own ecclesiastical court, according to Bishop Bedel, might from its disgracefully corrupt state, have more fitly employed the energies of his great mind, than the most efficient mode of riveting the penal chains upon Catholics.

In 1626, Falkland advised the Irish Catholics to send agents to King Charles I., who actually accepted from them the offer of £120,000 in return for some relaxations of the penal laws, then known by the name of "graces," and the advantages resulting from what were extended to other religionists besides Catholics. The money was to be paid in three yearly instalments, and the first instalment was actually paid, when the agents on returning home, found that not only were the royal promises evaded, but that a proclamation had been issued against the "popish regular clergy"—and Lord Falkland being recalled, the penalties enacted in the reign of Elizabeth were mercilessly enforced.

with the Irish at Singland, in which twelve hundred men were slain, an angel appeared in the camp of Auliff, the Danish Prince. Since then the Harolds of Limerick bear the angel habited issuing from a Ducal coronet. The Harolds of Dublin have a Lion Rampant gules as their crest—the arms of both families are the same—the motto is *formitas in cælo.* In St. Mary's Cathedral the seat of one of the ahcient oak stalls is carved with the Harold Arms and the above motto. Of this family was Harold, Bishop of Limerick, A.D. 1151. The name appears frequently on the principal roll of the city from A.D. 1418 to 1689. Twelve of the name were mayors of Limerick. Eighteen of the name were bailiffs and sheriffs. Sir Balthazaar Nihill, one of the Knights of Malta, was married to Miss Harold of Limerick. General de la Hitte, the Minister of Foreign Affairs in the French Republic, was married to the daughter of the celebrated beauty, Miss Jane Harold; she was wife of Rogerson Cotter, Esq., of Mallow (uncle of Sir J. Cotter, Bart., of Rakferant), and aunt of Daniel and Edward Harold, Esqrs. above mentioned. This family is related to the Ryans, of Inch House, Co. Tipperary; the Macarthys, of Spring House, Co. Tipperary; the Shiels, of Limerick, &c.; the Grehans of the County Dublin; the Galways of Limerick and Cork; the Roches of Limerick; the Woulfs of Clare, &c. &c. The portrait of Miss Jenny Galway, the wife of Richard Harold of Pemywell, and daughter of Sir Geoffry Galway, who was executed on the surrender of Limerick, in 1651, to Ireton, is in the possession of Messrs. Daniel and Edward Harold. The late eminent Chief Baron Woulfe's grandmother was Miss Harold, of Pemywell. A curious circumstance connected with this ancient family occurred during the mayoralty of the late Alderman Joseph Gabbett. The ninth son of the General Baron Harold, above mentioned, feeling the absolute necessity of possessing himself of the family genealogy, which was essential to his recognition abroad, wrote to the mayor expressing his anxiety to this effect. The letter was written in French—he was not aware that any of the name survived in Limerick. The moment Alderman Gabbett received the letter, he communicated with Richard Harold Esq., who immediately forwarded the required documents, duly attested and signed by the authorities, including the Catholic and Protestant Bishops of Limerick. The document went to its destination at Dusseldorf, where the young soldier was forthwith enrolled among the nobility, and his progress in the army, in which he had already distinguished himself, was rapid in the extreme.

CHAPTER XXIII.

AFFAIRS IN THE CITY.—DR. THOMAS ARTHUR.—PROJECTED CATHOLIC UNIVERSITIES.—WENTWORTH.—ARCHBISHOP USHER, ETC.

To return to the affairs of the city—1624. In this year the Lord Deputy Falkland arrived in Limerick, and was entertained by Mr. Sexten, the mayor. On September the 4th of this year, died Donough O'Brien, Earl of Thomond, at Clonmel; he was buried in St. Mary's, Limerick, where there is a remarkable monument erected to his memory, which I notice among the monuments in that Cathedral. He was Lord President of Munster.[1] During the reign of James I., the following persons had filled this high office:—Donough, Earl of Thomond, Sir Henry Beecher, Sir Henry Danvers, Sir Oliver St. John, Henry Earl of Thomond, Sir Edward Villiers, and Sir William St. Leger.

It was in this year that Dr. Thomas Arthur, by his great skill in the profession, saved the life of the man whose name we have already referred to, who figured more conspicuously than any other in his time, as a historian, an antiquary, an opponent of Catholics, and a prelate of the Church Establishment—we mean Dr. James Usher, who is called "pseudo-primas Ardmachanus," by Dr. Arthur, and who had lately returned from England, where he had been a long time, afflicted with a most dangerous disease which had baffled the skill of the physicians of that country. Not having been done justice to by the doctors in England, Dr. Arthur accordingly proceeded to

[1] The authority of the President, in his district, was equal to that of the Viceroy in Ireland. He had the power of life and death, could create knights, was royally attended with guards, and had power by patent to command all the forces raised in the province. He had authority to hear and determine all complaints and to hold Commission of Oyer and Terminer, and gaol delivery throughout the province, and to hold his courts when and where he thought proper, with power to execute martial law upon all persons, who had not five pounds of freehold, or goods of ten pounds' value, and to prosecute any rebel with fire and sword; for this purpose he might array any of the Queen's loyal subjects. He could hear and determine complaints against all magistrates and officers, civil and military, throughout the Province of Munster, and the Crosses and Liberties of Tipperary and Kerry, and might punish the offenders at discretion. He had authority to put persons accused of high treason to the torture, and reprieve condemned persons: and to issue out proclamations, tending to the better ordering and regulation of the Queen's subjects. He had a retinue of thirty horse and twenty foot; the under captain's allowance was 2s. per diem, and the guidon and trumpeter's 2s. each. He had also a serjeant-at-arms to carry a mace before him; and it was his duty to apprehend all disobedient persons.

Fynes Morison has given the following statement of the expense of the presidency of Munster for the year 1598.

			£	s.	d.
The Lord President's Salary,	per annum,	... ...	133	6	8
His diet, with the Council allowed at his Table,	do.	... ...	520	0	0
His retinue of 20 foot and 30 horse,	do.	... ...	803	0	0
The Chief Justice,	do.	... ...	100	0	0
The Second Justice,	do.	... ...	66	13	4
The Queen's Attorney,	do.	... ...	13	6	8
The Clerk of the Council,	do.	... ...	20	0	0
The Clerk of the Crown,	do.	... ...	20	0	0
The Serjeant at Arms,	do.	... ...	20	0	0
The Provost Marshal,	do.	... ...	255	10	0
			£1,951	16	8

Drogheda, to visit him professionally, dwelling in the Archiepiscopal palace, and remaining there for some time from the 22nd of March, 1625.[1]

The proclamation which was in this year issued against the regular clergy, was every where evaded and turned into ridicule. It was read in Drogheda by a drunken soldier in such a ridiculous manner, that it created great amusement amongst the inhabitants, and was so despised by the Catholic clergy, that they nevertheless exercised full jurisdiction, and not only proceeded to build abbeys and monasteries, but "had the confidence"[2] as Cox expresses it, "to erect a university in Dublin, in the face of the government, which it seems thought itself limited in this matter by instructions from England." Concessions and ordinances, which were made in the Roman Chapter of the Dominicans were issued, appointing, among other important matters, that Five Universities should be erected in Ireland, viz. at Dublin, at Limerick, at Cashel, Athenry, and Colerain.[3]

It is by no means indicative of the progress of toleration, to find the same government refusing even a charter to a similar institution at this very day in Dublin, nor, says the same writer, was the beauty of the Protestant church at this time sullied by its avowed enemies only. Things sacred were exposed to sale in a most scandalous manner; parsonages and episcopal sees were alienated, and the churches were generally out of repair.

1626. There was a proposal from the Court this year for the toleration of the Catholic religion in Ireland; but the Protestant Bishops protested against it.[4]

1629. Complaints were now made against the Lord Deputy for partial administration. He was soon after removed, and Adam Loftus, Viscount Ely, Lord Chancellor, and Richard, Earl of Cork, Lord High Treasurer, were sworn Lords Justices.

These Lords Justices caused St. Patrick's Purgatory to be dug up,[5] and by directions from the Council in England seized on fifteen of the new religious houses of the Irish Catholics.[6]

[1] "On the 30th of August I proceeded to Limerick, where I remained until the tenth day of the following March with my wife, and obtained in the meantime from some patients £21 8s. 6d. At that time it was, that Mr. James Usher, Doctor and 'pseudo-primate' of Armagh, who had lately returned from England, where he had long laboured under a severe disease, to remove which, he had tried in vain the assistance of the royal physicians at a vast expense, sent for me. I waited upon him, while staying at his own palace in Drogheda, March 22nd, 1625. Then having heard his statement and weighed the opinions of the most eminent physicians, and serriously studied the symptoms which arose throughout the whole history of the disease; from these I thought I had explained the cause of this doubtful disease, which every day grew worse and worse, and which had hitherto escaped the observation of several very eminent men, which when I was sensible I had perfectly ascertained after making a slight experiment to try my conjecture, I confidently undertook his cure; nor did my hopes once deceive me. The curing of so eminent and on account of his erudition, so celebrated a man, of this grievous and stubborn disease, which baffled the skill of the royal physicians and most eminent doctors of England, made me celebrated and a favourite amongst the English, whom I had greatly disliked [exosus] for the sake of the Catholic religion." While this cure was progressing, the Doctor accompanied the Primate to Lambay Island, where remote from intrusion they devoted their attention to the cure. The Primate gave him £51 for his professional services.

[2] Hib. Angl.

[3] Hib. Dom. pp. 115-6, which gives the year 1629; and shows, p. 117, that these ordinances were confirmed in 1644 to the Dominican province of Ireland.

[4] White's MSS. [5] Ibid.

[6] The state of affairs regarding land at this time, is shown by the following curious entry, which I find in Dr Thomas Arthur's MSS.:—

"The Lord Henrye O'Bryen, Earl of Thowmond, 19° Martii, 1635, did lease unto me for four score and nineteen yeares, three plow-lands and a half in Creatlaghmore and Portregue, at the rent of a red rose in mid-summer, or a grain of pepper if it he demanded. Uppon condition that if his honor, his heyres, executors or assignes die within six moneths after warning

Land changed hands to a great extent in these troubled and disastrous years; and bargains were struck, which are hardly paralleled in the cheap dealings of the more modern Incumbered Estates' Court. Dr. Thomas Arthur states, that Daniel FitzTerlagh O'Brien of Annagh, in Ormond, Esq., on the 1st of September, 1631, sold him the absolute fee simple of two plow-lands and a quarter, less one-eight and fortieth part of a plow-land, in the Barony or Cantred of Arra, Co. Tipperary, in the Parish of Temple-an-Calha, near Ballina, with the fishing weirs thereunto belonging, in the river Shannon, for £200! He states moreover, that Daniel's foster brother, Kennedy M'Donough O'Bryen, sold him on the same day, the half quarter of a plow-land, called Mehannach, and the half quarter of a plowland, called Droumnakearten, for £31!! In order to warrant and defend all these lands against all persons unto him (Dr. Arthur), his heirs and assigns, Moriartagh O'Bryen, son and heir of Daniel Kennedy M'Donough, procured John O'Kennedy of Douneally, William O'Kennedy of Lissenaragid, and Conor O'Cleary of Bruodyr, "all gentlemen of Ormond," to become bound with them in one thousand pounds bond of the statute staple, acknowledge to him at Limerick, 6th January, 1636. It is a startling fact that in a few years afterwards, these gentlemen of Ormond, the O'Kennedys of Lissenaragid, and of Dounally, figure in the Book of Distributions as forfeiters.

Wentworth's progress in Connaught was made in 1635, to try by inquisition the King's title to the counties of Roscommon, Sligo, Mayo, and Galway, and the county of the town of Galway; in this he was successful, Galway alone opposing—but the sheriff and jurors, composed of the principal inhabitants of the county, confessed the King's right, after they had been sent to the Star Chamber, and gave in their oaths to that effect in the Court of Exchequer.[1] The case of tenures upon the Defective Titles was decided in a solemn judgment by all the Irish judges. Five of the judges concurred in the opinion that the holders of the Letters Patent from the King or any of

be given them by me, my heyres, executors or assignes, pay us in whole sum and entyre payment the sum of one thousand and fiftie pounds, sterling, with all the arrears of the interest thereof, then the said lease to be expired. William Brickdale, Esq., and George Conessis, Esq., are bound with his honor in bonds of the statute staple for the warrantie and performance of covenants. His honor by a special note under his hand is bound to save me from all subsidies and other country charges to be imposed upon that land during that mortgage. Edmond, Lord Baron of Castle Connell, who, in right of his wife, the Lady Margaret Thornton, the relict of Dunnough O'Bryen of Carrigogunnil, was tenant to the said Earl in the premises, did atturne tennant unto me, and payd me during his life a hundred pounds rent thereout, per annum. And since his death, the said Lady Dowager Margaret, of Castle Connell, payed me duly every year one hundred pounds sterling rent thereout until Easter, 1642, inclusively. But ever since then payed me no rent thereout, and yet detained the land until she deserted it in ano. 165- (perhaps 1650) In a marginal note the land is said to contain: in Kilelypsh, 250 profitable, 183 unprofitable acres, 22 acres one-tenth profitable, Portreigue in Kilfentenan Parish, 243 acres profitable, 58 acres one-tenth unprofitable, in ano. 1637, in Stratford's tyme. These plow-lands in the survey made in the Earl of Stratford's tyme contained 720 acres. The Civil Survey Jurors, March, 2nd, 1635, were these: Robert Starkey, Torlough MacMahonne, Paul MacNemara, Neptune Blood, Thomas Hickman, Captain Thomas Cullen, Thomas Clanchy, George Clanchy, Thomas Fanning, George M'Nemara." "

[1] Writing from the abbey of Boyle, 13th of June, 1635, Wentworth says to Lord Cottington, "It's true I am in a thing they call progress, but yet in no great pleasure for all that, all the comfort I have is a little *Boney Clabber*; upon my faith I am of opinion it would like you at one measure, would you had your belly full of it, I warrant you, you should not repent it; it is the bravest freshest drink you ever tasted—your Spanish Don would in the heats of Madrid hang his nose and shake his beard an hour over every sup he took of it, and take it to be the drink of the gods all the while. The best is, we have found his majesty's title to Roscommon, and shall do the like I am confident for all the other three counties, for the title is so good there, there can be nothing said against it."—Strafford's Letters and Despatches, vol i. p. 441. [Boney Clabber is the Irish *baine claba* for "thick (sour) milk."]"

his Majesty's predecessors, were altogether void in the above counties. Two of them gave judgment that the Letters Patent were void only as to tenure. On the 13th of July, 1635, judgment was given by the court in favor of the annulling of the Letters Patent.[1]

The fashions and customs of the citizens in these times were rather singular.[2]

In the course of his journeys in 1636 to and from Connaught, Wentworth, on the 19th of August, paid a visit to Limerick—he remained nine days, and was entertained by Dominick White, the mayor. A guard of fifty young men of the city attended him. John Meagh was captain of this guard—John Sexton and Pierce Creagh were subalterns. Wentworth left the city by St. John's Gate, and in doing so knighted the mayor. He bestowed on the corporation a silver cup, gilt, valued at £60.[3] The impression made by his visit, notwithstanding the flattering evidences of municipal favor which he received, was anything but agreeable. To this our own day his name is used by nurses in Leinster to frighten wayward children. His black and ferocious appearance was commented on by Dr. Arthur.[4] His friend and councillor, George Radcliff, too, made the same hostile impression, as the nervous satire of Dr. Arthur was also used to indicate the estimate which was formed of his character by the people.[5] One of the articles of impeachment, however,

[1] Writing from Portumna shortly afterwards he says, "No Protestant Freeholder to be found to serve His Majesty on any occasion in this county (Galway), being in a manner mostly compounded of Papists, with whom the Priests and Jesuits (who abound in far greater numbers than in other parts) have so much power, as they do nothing of this nature without consulting them."—*Ibid.*

[2] 1636. A wedding present in this year will no doubt be a curiosity in the eyes of my lady readers. It was given by Bartholomew Stackpole Fitzjames, Esq. to Miss Mary Arthur, daughter of Dr. Thomas Arthur before their marriage:—

"A small goulde cross; a goulde ring weighing 22 carats; 2 small gould rings 5 carats each; £6 in silver; a small case of instruments; a payer of imbroadered glowes; 4 yeardes of satten rybbine; 2 yeards of broad satten rybbine; i yeard and ½ of boane lace, worth 8s. per yeard; i blak hoode of duble currle; one payer of whyte glowes; i payer of Spannish leader shooes; x yeardes of blak pynked satten; 9 yeards of skey colored tabbey; i whyte fann with a silver handle; i crowne lowe hood; 6 payers of whyte glowes; 4 yeards of 8d. broad satten rybbine; 4 yeardes of French sarge with 3 vnces of silver lace; i large taffeta hood; i crowne lowe hood; 6 payers of whyte glowes; 2 ivorye combes; i payer of pfumed cordouan glowes; a small silver seale."—*Arthur MSS.*, *p.* 133.

[3] White's MSS.

[4] A physiognomic anagram on the name of Thomas Wentworth, a truculent and nefarious character; a few letters of the name being changed:—

Thomas Vaentvoorth,
Homo torve tu Sathan.
(Grim-visaged fellow Satan thou.)—*Arthur MSS.*

[5] I publish the following twenty anagrams, with the change of a few letters, on the name of George Radclyffe, in which are clearly explained his origin, habit of body, mental character, the offices and duties he fulfilled, and his probable future exit:—

Georgius Radclyffes
Sic Fera gregi dolus.
So a wild beast is treacherous to the flock.
George Raclef,
Fera gregi colus.
A wild beast is a torture or whip to the flock.
Georgio Radclife,
O fera gregi dulci.
O wild beast to the sweet flock.
Georgius Radclyfes,
Fera disclusio gregi.
A cruel abridgment to the flock.
Georgius Radclyfes,
Suggessi Clodifero.

Alluding to his evil counsels to the Lord Deputy not to receive appeals or complaints from the people to the King.—*Arthur MSS.*

I give the above as specimens of the twenty.

against Wentworth afterwards was his having enlisted a large number of Catholics in the Royal army. There is no doubt he did enlist Catholics, and that many of the Catholic as well as Protestant gentry got commissions from him.[1]

Dominick Oge Roche Mayor of Limerick, in 1639 was created Baron Tarbert and Viscount Cahirivhalla by King James II. titles which were never acknowledged by the House of Hanover. He was grandfather of the celebrated Sir Boyle Roche who died without issue in 1801.

The same troubled state of men's minds, the same apprehensions, imaginations, &c., which occupied the attention of the people in earlier times, continued to disturb them now in 1640. We have a singular evidence of this in a letter preserved in the R. I. A., among the Smith MSS., which relates a curious story of the "enchanted" Earl of Desmond, and his appearance under the form of a Black Horse in the Castle of Castle Connel.[2]

[1] Sir John Browne, Knight of the Hospital in the County of Lymrick, was indebted in a comparatively small sum to Dr. Thomas Arthur by bond dated 13th July, 1639. Sir John became a member of Parliament, and immediately after became a captain in the army of Lord Strafford. Soon after the wars began, he went into England, where being of the King's party, upon some quarrel between him and Mr. Christopher Barnwall, he was killed in a duel.—*Arthur MSS., p.* 119—120.

[2] Limerick, the 13th of August, 1640. This was sent to the Archbishop of Armach now in Oxford:—

ffor newes wee have the strangest that ever was heard of, there inchantments in the Lord off Castleconnell's Castle 4 miles from Lymerick, several sorts of noyse, sometymes of drums and trumpets, sometimes of other curious musique with heavenly voyces, then fearful screeches, and such outcries that the neighbours neere cannot sleepe. Priests have adventured to be there, but have been cruelly beaten for their paynes, and carryed awaye they knew not howe, some 2 miles, and some 4 miles. Moreover were seen in the like manner, after they appeare to the viewe of the neighbours, infinite number of armed men on foote as well as on horseback. What to make of this neither my Lord, nor the best divines wee have can tell, they have had many consultations about it. This hath bin since St. James's tyde; much more could I write of it, and more than this had I tyme to wryte; but one thing more by Mrs. Mary Burke with 12 servants lyes in the house, and never one hurt, onley they must dance with them every night; they say Mrs. Mary come away, telling her she must be wyfe to the inchanted Earl of Desmond; moreover a countrey ffellow going off Knockiney ffaire,* to sell his horse, a gentleman standing in the waye, demanding whether he would sell his horse, he answered yea, for £5: the gentleman would give him but £4: 10: 0, sayinge he would not get so much at the ffaire, the fellow went to the ffaire, could not get so much money, and found the gentleman on his return in the same place who proffered the fellow the same money; the fellow accepted of it, the other bid him come in and receive his money. He carried him into a fine spacious castle, payed him his money every penny and shewed him the fairiest black horse the fellow had ever seene, and told that that horse was the Earl of Desmond, and that he had three shoes alreadye, when he had the fourthe shoe, which should be very shortlie, then should the Earl be as he was before, thus guarded with many armed men conveying him out of the gates. The fellow came home, but never was any castle in that place either before or since.

Uppon a Mannour of my Lord Bishoppe of Lymerick, Loughill hath been seen upon the hill by most of the inhabitants aboundance of armed men marching, and these seene many tymes—and when they come up to them they do not appeare. These things are very strange, if the cleargie and gentrie say true. God willing to-morrow or next day I purpose to go to the Castle, better to satisfye myself, this was but amongst other business to the Towne to averr the truth of the same.

JOHN HOLME.

And I procured the loan, whereoff this is a true coppie. I understand this Holme is a gentleman to the Lord Bishopp of Lymerick.—*Smith MSS. in the Royal Irish Academy.*

* The Fair of Knockany appears to be one of the oldest fairs of which there is record, It is first mentioned under date 777 *years before Christ*, in the Annals of the Four Masters, and is noticed several times at more recent dates. It is not so anciently recorded as the Fair of Pilltown in Meath, but this latter has been disused since the English Conquest, so that Knockany appears to have the high distinction of being the oldest Fair on record in these countries, or indeed in any country. Fairs were about the earliest institutions mentioned, and they played a most important part in the history and civilization of the human race. It is not a little singular, then, that we should in Ireland have such early records of them, established, as they were, in all countries and

CHAPTER XXIV.

THE CIVIL WAR.—THE CONFEDERATION.—REFUSAL OF THE CORPORATION TO RECEIVE THE PAPAL ENVOY.—CORRESPONDENCE BETWEEN THE MAYOR AND THE ENVOY.—OCCUPATION OF THE KING'S CASTLE BY THE CONFEDERATES.—MURROUGH OF THE BURNINGS.

THE causes which led to the desolating civil war of this century have been already explained. The intentional non-enrolment in chancery of the new letters patent, the evasion of the ministers of Charles to carry the graces into effect, and the repeated plantations, discoveries and other means of depriving the native proprietors, at last produced their natural effects, and we shall have shortly to describe another dreadful civil war, which was to be followed by another, both being attended by a repetition of the favorite scheme of confiscation. The acts of Lord Strafford in Ireland, where he is still known amongst the people by the name of "Black Tom," have been pronounced by the Historian Hume to be "innocent and laudable," but independently of the fact that he was the chief means of destroying the woollen manufactures of Ireland, he is known to have advised his royal master to violate his promises to the Catholics, though he publicly rebuked those who doubted his majesty's "gracious regards." The means by which he enforced his schemes of plunder, by fining, pilloring and branding those jurors who refused to find for the king, are in themselves enough to refute these shamefully untruthful statements of the English Historian Hume. These means were indeed much more vexatious in their character than those persecutions which drove the Scotch Covenanters into a rebellion, which brought about those results that began with Strafford's execution, and which ended in the establishment of the Cromwellian usurpation. Wandesford[1] the successor of Strafford was himself succeeded by the Puritanical Sir William Parsons, and Sir John Borlase, both bitter haters of everything belonging to Catholics except their property, and it was the opinion of no less a person than king Charles himself, that but for these men's disobedience to his commands, the terrible Irish rebellion of 1641 would not at all have happened, or would have been quickly suppressed.[2] These commands of the king were to pass

throughout the remotest ages; and still more remarkable is the fact, that in the Irish Fairs ceremonies and customs were performed almost identical with those described by Herodotus, as practised in the ancient Fairs of Persia and other Asiatic countries. Indeed there are many most interesting facts connected with this subject, which have met with attention from antiquarian writers. I need not add that Knockany Fair exists to this day in fully its ancient importance.

[1] In reference to Christopher Wandesfoord (sic.), I find a curious entry in Dr. Thomas Arthur's diary, which I translate :—

"Christopher Wandesfoord (whom I had previously attended) now Justiciary of Ireland, has been seized with a malignant fever this 14th day of November, which I predicted would end in his death, and he died on the 6th day :— £1 0 0

Idem, 15th November,	...	...	...	...	0 10 0
Idem, 16th November,	...	...	...	...	0 10 0
Idem, 17th November,	...	...	...	...	0 10 0
Idem, 18th November,	...	...	...	...	0 10 0
Idem, 19th November,	...	...	...	...	0 10 6
Idem, 20th November, on which day he succumbed to the sickness				...	1 0 0

Sir James Ware mistakes when he states that he died suddenly.

[2] Curry (and his authorities), Civil Wars, 147.

the bills for the securing of the estates of the natives, and for confirming the other "graces" before referred to, which Strafford's own biographer Macdiarmid admits were certainly moderate, relating as they did to abuses arising from a defective police, to exactions in the court of justice, depredations committed by the soldiery, monopolies which tended to the ruin of trade, retrospective enquiries into defective titles, penal statutes on account of religion, and other evils, for which, to borrow Moore's expression, these wretched people were obliged to bribe their monarch.

To this misconduct on the part of the government, and to other acts of oppression may be referred the atrocities of the great rebellion which now broke forth—a rebellion which ended in another sweeping confiscation, and which, according to Sir William Petty, cost the lives of no less than 36,000 persons.

The insurrection at first was confined to Ulster, but the barbarities of the soldiers of the President of Munster, Sir William St. Leger, soon compelled the gentry of Kilkenny and Tipperary to form associations for the protection of their lives and property. Several noblemen had remonstrated against the cruel and indiscriminate vengeance exacted by these soldiers for certain robberies and outrages committed by some of the lawless natives; but these remonstrances were heard with contempt, in consequence of which Lord Mountgarret and others of his friends became convinced that a conspiracy was being formed against the interests of the Catholics, and a general defection took place, which resulted in an appeal to arms, the immediate consequence being the reduction of all the towers and forts in the towns of Kilkenny, Waterford, and Tipperary.[1] The turbulent factions of some branches of the O'Briens were not as may be imagined idle on this occasion, though the Earl of Thomond exerted his influence as far as it extended. But, on the other hand, the anti-national Government was served with an energy on the part of another member of this family which had most important results, and which has branded the name of Murrogh O'Brien, Lord Inchiquin, with indelible infamy, under the popular soubriquet of *Morogh an Tothaine*, or, "Morrogh of the burnings." In the December of 1641, a coalition took place between the Anglo-Irish Catholics of the Pale and the ancient Irish. Out of this coalition sprung the Catholic confederation, whose object was to establish their religious independence, and to recover the estates which they had lost by the sword, or the not less fatal instruments of legalised plunder. The confederation of Kilkenny consisted of two hundred and fifty-one members, including eleven spiritual peers, fourteen temporal peers, and twenty-six commoners. The members returned for the county and city of Limerick were O'Dwyer, afterwards Bishop of Limerick, William Bourke, Baron of Castleconnell, John Baggot of Baggotstown, Mark FitzHarris of Cloghinat-foy, Thomas O'Ryan of Doon, George Comyn, Patrick Fanning, John Haly, Daniel Higgins, and Bartholomew Stackpole, all of Limerick. Lord Mountgarret was President of the Supreme Council. The death of the celebrated leader took place at this time at Kilkenny; his place was supplied by the Earl of Castlehaven. Garret Barry was nominated General of the Munster forces, Owen O'Neill of those of Ulster, Thomas Preston for Leinster, and Colonel John Bourke for Connaught. They commanded all persons to bear faith and allegiance to the King. They assumed to themselves the administration of justice, assigned

[1] Carte's Ormond.

seven hundred men as a guard of honour for the assembly, sent for aid to foreign governments, petitioned the King and Queen for a redress of their grievances, and assumed the regulation of the currency.

While Parsons and Ormonde were exerting themselves to restrain the mutinous dispositions which were at this time evinced by the soldiers under their command, the Irish national cause, which had sustained some reverses in Leinster and before Cork, were counterbalanced by the capture of Limerick. In the beginning of June a numerous but ill-disciplined body of troops sat down before it, including Lord Muskerry, General Barry, Pierce Butler, and Viscount Ikerin. The citizens evinced the strongest desire to receive the confederates, to whom they at once opened their gates. An attack on the King's castle was immediately decided on, and Captain George Courtenay, who commanded the place, prepared to defend it. This officer, who was the younger son of Sir William Courtenay, had sixty men of his own company, twenty-eight warders and others, in all amounting to two hundred men, to maintain the defence, but they were much distressed for provisions, which they could only procure by stealth from the city. They had only sixty muskets; the rest of their arms were petronels, pistols, carabines, and fowling pieces, and only five or six casks of powder. The confederates commenced their attack by making a boom across the river opposite a place called Mockbeggar-Mear, within musket shot of the castle.[1] It was made with long aspen trees fastened with iron links on the Thomond side to two mill stones, and at the opposite or city side to the tower of the Quay. The object of the boom, the completion of which after several interruptions was at last effected, was to prevent Sir Henry Stradling, who commanded some parliamentary ships on the Shannon, from throwing supplies into the water gate of the castle, and notwithstanding Courtenay's guns, the object was attained. The Irish took possession of St. Mary's Church, on which Muskerry ordered a gun to be mounted, from which they kept up a steady fire upon the castle; but though the surrender of the place was expected to take place immediately, owing to want of provisions and ammunition, the Castle still held out: they accordingly resolved to undermine it.

On the 21st of June three mines were completed and ready to be sprung; the first mine was begun near the churchyard of St. Nicholas, and when it was finished and a sufficient quantity of earth carried out, they set fire to the timber, which propped the cavern they had made, when a great part of the bulwark sunk down.[2] They made two other mines with less success, but they continued working until the 21st of June, when a breach was made in the main wall of the castle; Captain Courtenay capitulated, and the city of Limerick was in the hands of the confederates. Muskerry, Garret Barry, and other officers, took possession on the next day. This was the most important advantage as yet obtained by the confederates; indeed the news of the capture of Limerick is said to have broken the heart of Sir William St. Leger, who died shortly afterwards. On his death the military command of Munster was conferred on his son-in-law Lord Inchiquin, "Murrogh of the Burnings," Vice-President of the province, David Barry, Earl of Barrymore, being joined in commission with him to take care of the civil government,

[1] In Ferrar's time a large piece of this boom fastened to a rock, supposed to weigh three or four hundred pounds, might be seen at the time of low water near the then House of Industry, now the County of Limerick Royal Regiment of Militia Barracks, on the North Strand.

[2] Carte's Ormonde, vol. I. p. 341, from which Ferrar's account is taken.

which by the death of the latter, which took place soon after, became also solely vested in Lord Inchiquin. The cannon and ammunition thus obtained by the confederates did them good service. One of these was a thirty-two pounder, by the terror of which they reduced all the neighbouring castles except Loughgur and Askeaton. In these our own days of Whitworths, Armstrongs, Parrotts, and Blakelys, it is amusing to read Carte's description of this huge piece of ordnance, which was of so large a bore, he says, that it was drawn by twenty-four yoke of oxen. The county Limerick, however, which was the great granary of the province,[1] was in the hands of the confederates, and Inchiquin was unable for want of men to carry out his desires of destroying the harvest. Towards the end of July the two Generals prepared to march into Cork where the sea ports were held for the parliamentarians by Lord Broghill, Sir Charles Vavasour, Sir John Paulet, and Sir William Ogle.

The Catholic party, who were now in possession of Limerick, made every exertion to repair and strengthen the fortifications.[2]

Among those who were seized and imprisoned on this occasion by the triumphant party was George Webb, Protestant Bishop of Limerick. Ware states that he was a native of Wiltshire, an Oxford Student, greatly distinguished for the smoothness and eloquence of his style as a preacher in the Court of Charles I. He died a prisoner in the Castle of Limerick, his body was interred in St. Munchin's Church yard; was taken up soon afterwards in order to see if there were rings or other valuables buried with him, and again deposited in his last resting place. It is said that he had been in possession of the mitre and crosier of Cornelius O'Dea, who had been Bishop of Limerick from A.D. 1400 to 1426, and of the Black Book of Limerick, from which I have quoted so largely in the early chapters of this work, and from which I shall have occasion to quote more largely hereafter; and that they then came into the custody of the Catholic Bishop, with whose successors the mitre and crozier have ever since remained, objects of the highest ecclesiastical and archæological interest.

Pierce Creagh was mayor in 1643, when the ramparts westward of John's Gate and Mungret Tower were built, in the battlement of one of which was the following line:—PIERSE CREAGH, Mayor, 1643.[3]

[1] Ibid, I., 842.

[2] 1642. This year, Pierce Creagh being mayor, the rampart from St. John's Gate of Limerick, within the walls, towards the west, was made, and the new tower built there (Mungret Gate Tower); this appears by the stone fixed in that tower on the walls, where it says, that when Pierce Creagh was mayor that tower was built, but makes the year 1643.—*White's MSS.* Dr. Arthur's statement in reference to this circumstance is in Latin, which we translate literally as follows:—"When the citizens were strengthening the Southern Gate of Limerick, dedicated to St. John the Baptist, with an exterior triangular bulwark, at the public expense, I thought the work, when it had been finished, worthy of being celebrated with the following few verses, to be inscribed on marble:—[The verses are in Latin and may be literally translated as follows:]

Altars and native hearths, and laws defending,
Now doth the Royal city from this fort,
The King's foes far remove, the miscreant knaves
Stained with the dreadful murder of a king;
Removes afar those evil working troops,
Foes to our country, lusting for our gold,
Our homes and all.

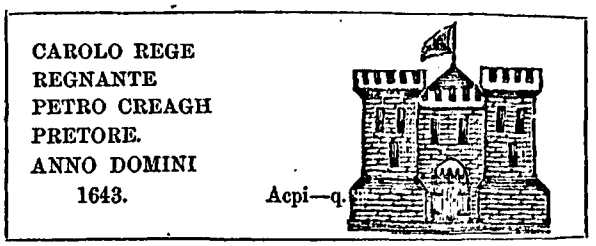
[3] At Plassy Mills, the property of Richard Russell, Esq., J.P., on a stone about four feet long, but broken thus ·|·, built into the mill, and seen from the small bridge over the mill stream,

During and before the mayoralty of Pierce Creagh FitzAndrew, many improvements were made by him.[1]

By an act of parliament passed in this year, the escheated portions of the city and suburbs, with the island of Inniscattery, the fisheries of the Shannon, together with twenty-four thousand acres adjoining the city, and the same immunities as Dublin and Bristol, were set out to English adventurers at £60,000, and £1050 a year quit rent.[2]

In this year, while the confederates, now masters of Limerick, Galway, Sligo, and Duncannon, and of all the chief towns of the kingdom, except Dublin and a few sea-ports, were strengthening their resources, and gaining important advantages, a commissioner arrived in Ireland from the Holy See, being sent by Urban VIII. at the instance of the celebrated Father Luke Wadding,[3] a native of the city of Waterford, an able statesman, who at this time resided at St. Isidore's College in Rome.—This was Father Peter Francis Scarampi, a priest of the Oratory, who was the bearer of a pontifical Bull, in which he praised the zeal with which the Irish fought for the independence of their religion. He was also the bearer of 30,000 crowns, collected by Father Luke Wadding from the Barberini, Spada, and other noble families. His Holiness also sent a large quantity of arms and ammunition, and a jubilee, with a plenary indulgence to all who should take up arms in the defence of religion. Scarampi, on his arrival, proceeded directly to Kilkenny, where he found the confederates warmly discussing the question of an armistice; the Irish of the Pale being anxious to make terms with Ormond, while the old Irish, encouraged by the clergy, were hostile to any

that runs into the Shannon there, is the following inscription, formerly over Mungret Gate:—



[1] Pierce Creagh FitzAndrew was active and enterprising. He built a fine "Stone howse" in Mary-street, which house is yet standing, and in which mantel-pieces, with the initials of his name, and the initials of his wife's name, may yet be seen.* The house is No. 9. It was mortgaged in 1631 to Dr. Thomas Arthur for a sum of £300; and it is a curious fact that in the year 1860, this identical house was sold by auction, and purchased by a Mr. Cooney, of Broadford, in the County of Clare, for the same sum of £300. It was in his mayoralty that the causeway was finished through the Friar's bog (Monabraher), and the bridge over the causeway built, as appears by the inscription raised on a stone in the bridge in black letters:—

"Hunc pontem ac Viam Stratam fieri fecit
Petrus Creagh filius Andreæ major ciutatis
Limericensis sumptibus ejusdem ciutatis, A.D. 1635."

In Davis' MSS., it is said in rhyme that a Scotchman came to ply a ferry-boat between Limerick and Parteen, but as he demanded money in advance, the city refused to deal with him—hence the causeway was made.

[2] Irish Statutes, 17th Charles I.

[3] Hib. Dom. 650, and the authorities there quoted—the author here quoted assigns this mission to the year 1644, but the Arthur MSS. to 1643. The latter date is adopted by Father Meehan also, in his interesting history of the Confederation of Kilkenny.

proposals which should not ensure their religious rights. The Papal envoy gave every encouragement to the old Irish party.

The conduct of the Mayor and Corporation, and of certain prominent citizens of Limerick in this crisis, was selfish and timid in the extreme; they desired, as it were, to remain quiescent spectators of what was passing, rather than take an active part in events of the deepest national interest. The truth is that many of them were secret sympathisers with Lord Inchiquin, and the Earl of Thomond with whom they carried on a constant correspondence. To counteract the mischief which was growing out of this state of things, the Council of the confederation, which was now in Clonmel, despatched Sir Daniel O'Brien of Dough, and Mr. George Comyn of Limerick, with directions to confirm the party faithful to the confederates in their resolutions, to sift to the bottom of what was agitated, and to prepare the way, if possible, for the coming of the confederate Council to Limerick. But the Mayor, and those who acted with him, notwithstanding the opinions to the contrary of the Right Rev. Dr. Arthur, who was Catholic Bishop, the Clergy, and the citizens generally, were violently opposed to the introduction of the Council and Envoy, and represented the country to be scarce of corn between Clonmel and Limerick; that great inconvenience would arise from the crowds which would be certain to arrive if the Council repaired to the city.[1] Dr. Thomas Arthur conducted the correspondence on the part of the Mayor, &c. and his letters, two of which from his MSS. I give in a note, testify to the extreme sensitiveness which was felt lest the Papal Envoy and Council should arrive in Limerick.[2]

[1] Billing's Fragmentum Historicum in Desiderata Curiosa Hibernica.

[2] "Doctor Dominick White, for the second time Mayor of Limerick, and the rest of the Councillors and principal men of the city have earnestly requested me to write in their name this letter to the distinguished personage Lord Peter Francis Scarampi, at present acting in the capacity of Apostolic Nuncio for Ireland, to explain, in the form of apology, the true causes of ingress into that city being refused to him on the 28th of October, anno Dom. 1643.

'Most Illustrious Lord.—Our Lord Bishop Richard Arthur, venerable for the dignity of his love and merits, indignant on account of your Lordship's non-admission, has interdicted me the Mayor of Limerick, my predecessor and other leading men of our Council, nor can we find any room for pardon with him, unless your Lordship, of your eminent humanity and clemency, will vouchsafe to intercede for us. But you will say that we are persons of an impudent character, to presume to ask that favour of you who lately excluded you in a shameless manner. Yet we hope, indeed, that your Lordship will be more favourably disposed towards us, when you shall have weighed the influential causes which forced us against our will to commit that act of inhospitality, which causes we shall here without deceit explain.

Our city from the beginning of this war has been divided principally into two sects or factions, of which the one did in a great degree hanker after murder, theft, rapine, and robbery, whilst the other while it had devoted to the pious services of labouring for religion, king, and state, disdained to be defiled by the commission of such base crime and the stain of filthy lucre. The former, conscious of guilt, and apprehensive of a rebuke for their crimes, and a forthcoming demand of restitution one day or other, fear all things; trust not even those that were bound to them by ancient ties, find no asylum sufficiently secure, persecute the innocent with internecine hostility. Whilst the latter, from the conscientiousness of their integrity, is buoyed up with better hope, and is compelled to devote a considerable part of their industry, in repelling and overpowering the tricks, stratagems, frauds, and snares of the other party that menace them, and they were particularly engaged in that care recently, when the elections were appointed for the creation of mayor, sheriffs, and other new magistrates; for then the feelings of the citizens and of all ranks were divided between antagonistic leanings, and so, great feuds, quarrels, and passionate disputes arose, as well in the county as in the city, that none such have hitherto occurred within the memory of our forefathers. For the first faction laboured with all its might for the creation of magistrates, who would comply with and agree to their suggestions and counsels; who, if they should attain their object, threatened to lead 500 soldiers to winter and spring quarters to Limerick, when there was already a cessation to arms and sieges; then at length, when they should be secured by so great a force or garrison, they threatened that exile, the gibbet, and the loss of all their properties impended over such of the other party as were troublesome, and other such things as surpassed all endurance. By these clamours of malice and envy, discreet men of the innocent faction (if I may use the expression) were excited and

The Council saw through the hollow manœuvre; but as they could not garrison the city, they adopted prompt measures to prevent the citizens from

roused, and they acknowledged that now the time was at hand when, if they possessed any resources in talent, industry, friends, dependants, or wealth, they were bound to employ all these energetically in the defending and upraising of the commonwealth soon doomed to fall, and in the preservation and defence of their lives, their wives, their children, and all their properties. And lest they should give occasion by their own neglect or violence to the city, being betrayed and reduced to the last degree of distress by a too numerous party who aimed at it, they spent days and nights in anticipating and averting the attempts of their antagonists, and in restoring their fellow-citizens to a better way of thinking and becoming integrity.

Meantime, while we were circumstanced in such peril, after we had passed several months suspected, and apprehensive in avoiding and laying stratagems alternately, behold we learned by sudden report that your Lordship would come hither in a few days, which kept us in a state of anxiety and solicitude: for we feared lest some clandestine embassy sent by our adversaries would draw you over to give credit to their attempts by your presence, being sufficiently assured; and having clearly foreseen that if your most illustrious Lordship should influence the minds of the citizens, while hesitating, vacillating, and in suspense, that we should lose our cause, which is so legitimate and of so great moment, and on which our own safety and that of the whole community depends, and that the populace, being won over, would raise some disturbance in the city; wherefore we judged that it was of the utmost consequence to the public interest, as soon as possible, to entreat you through our envoys, that you would be pleased to make a longer delay at Cashel while we should provide for ourselves and the interests of our community; which care kept us so anxious and busy employed, and distracted our attention, that we had not time to pay your Lordship the respects due from your humble servants, by suitable honors and adequate preparations; and that presently when we had transacted the business which was then to be done in the city, that your Lordship's arrival would be most grateful to us. But our envoy having by no means obtained his point, brought us word that your most illustrious Lordship had decided to ride up to our gates for the purpose of seeing our Bishop [Presul]; from which unexpected reply that former suspicion of ours received a great aggravation, respecting the clandestine and crafty pronouncement of your arrival by our antagonists, which we could not be led to expect would take place, until astonished by the sudden intelligence of your being mounted on horseback before our gates. We at length adopted the resolution, that our envoy should explain to you in what anxiety about present circumstances our Council and people were involved and engaged, and to request in our name, that for that night at least you would go to either of the splendid houses distant not more than one mile, of Mr. Jordan Roch, Town Councillor, or Nicholas Haly, Esq. also a fellow-citizen of ours, where you would be honourably received, and there on the next morning kindly await the further wishes of the Council. Waiting in the meantime to see if we should happen to learn from some of your attendants or household secretaries, something that would remove that scruple about the designs of the adverse faction, and had that happened according to our desires, we would receive you freely, and, as the saying is, with open arms; but your hasty and more distant withdrawal disappointed both of us in our wishes and expectation.

Illustrious Sir, you have the true sentiments of our minds disguised by no fabrications, which we suppliantly pray you may receive with the same sincerity of mind; and that you pardon your servants, whom the fear of domestic feuds, plotting against our lives and fortunes, has drawn aside from the path of our usual and ancient civility and due deference; and humbly imploring the apostolic benediction that you would kindly grant it to us, and that you would graciously remove the indignation of our bishop against us, for which marks of civility and decency, our city Councillors and all classes would be eternally obliged to you, as well as myself.

Your Lordship's most humble Servant,

Limerick, 14*th October*, 1643.

This other letter also by the advice of the same Mayor and Council, I wrote to the same Peter Francis Scarampi on the 5th January, 1643, old style.

Most Illustrious Lord—As when I was lately at Waterford, and had offered to you the apology of our mayor, and of all classes of our city, and explained to you the reasons of our constant duty and obedience to the apostolic seat, so in turn when I came to Limerick, I extolled the praises of your kindness, benignity, and indulgence towards them, and brought word that your most illustrious Lordship had decided upon thoroughly effacing and removing the mark of the offence you had taken, honoured our city and aged bishop with your presence, and fixed for that purpose upon the next spring as being most suitable, being the time when you should have some respite from the anxiety of business, as well as when the serenity of the air, the tranquillity of the weather, and the pleasantness of the country might conduce more to your health, and mitigate the tediousness of so long a journey. The reason for which candour on your part, and foresight in selecting the time of the proposed journey, all approved, and did not expect your most welcome arrival before that time. But our mayor very lately heard that our bishop had intended (I know not what secret advice moving him to it), himself and the rest of the common council, and some one of the clergy, should invite and bring hither your most illustrious Lordship at so unseasonable a time of the year, when, without the pressure of some urgent necessity,

joining the Earl of Thomond to the injury of the Confederate Government. The influence which the Earl of Thomond exercised over the merchants of Limerick was well known, because he occupied Bunratty Castle, and the islands on the Shannon, which commanded the navigation of the river. He could destroy their commerce, injure their credit, and prevent their approach to or from the sea, if he chose. The Council despatched Sir Daniel O'Brien and Daniel O'Brien of Dough, to seize the Castle of Bunratty, and the person of the Earl. The one was the uncle, the other the near kinsman of the Earl—and both were persuaded that it was the best thing could happen him, for the Council had resolved, if he could thus be compelled to join the Confederation, that without interfering with his religion, a great part of his estates would be preserved for him, and no declaration required by which he should be subject to the penalty of neutrals. But the Earl was fully alive to what he conceived to be his own interests. He had already given up Bunratty to the Parliamentarians, and it was not recovered without a formal siege,[1] as we shall see as we proceed.

CHAPTER XXV.

THE APOSTOLIC NUNCIO RINUCCINI.—SIEGE OF BUNRATTY CASTLE.—ESTIMATE OF ORMOND.—TE DEUM IN ST. MARY'S CATHEDRAL.—ORMOND'S PEACE DENOUNCED.—BOURKE DEPOSED.—FANNING CONSTITUTED MAYOR.—ATROCITIES OF MURROUGH OF THE BURNINGS AT CASHEL, &C.

THE war, in its very beginning, produced great changes in the circumstances of some of the highest personages in the land. The Marquis of Antrim, whose Dowager is stated to have been reduced to such a state of poverty by the war,[2] returned to Kilkenny this year, having effected his

no prudent person ought to persuade, or even propose that your Lordship should expose yourself to the uncertainty of the weather, the inclemency of the winter, and the inconveniences of so long, muddy, and deep a journey. Wherefore our mayor, and the other leading men of the council intreated me to write in their names to your most illustrious Lordship, and in the first place recall the memory of their due respect towards you, their most humble request that, since your Lordship is pleased to adhere firmly to your first point, and commendable purpose, and to be induced by no intreaties to anticipate that time, which is so suitable, and which you will appear to have more prudently taken forethought for your health, exposed to very many inconveniences, on account of the unusual variety of climate, soil, and food, and to do a most acceptable thing to our mayor and the rest of our council, preoccupied in collecting very large sums of money, as well for promoting the expeditions of those led into England, and the army (intended) for Ulster, as well as towards the third collection of £30,000 sterling, to be paid to the King, as well as (preoccupied) by other cares arising out of present circumstances. Wishing your most illustrious Lordship every success,

Your very humble servant,

T. A."

[1] Billing, *Fragmentum Historicum.*

[2] We give the fact in the words of Dr. Arthur:—

1643. Dame Elis Ny Neyl, Countess Dowager of Antrim, by reason of the warrs, was reduced to extremitie, and driven to pavne her 2 rings, a cross, and a ievvell of gould, inlayed with rubbies and dyamonds, to John Barnevill, for £20 sterling, with a bill of sale past of them, unless shee had redeemed the same by the 20th day of September, 1643, which not being able to doe of her own moneyes, was driven to mortgadge the premisses to Thomas Roch FitzPyers, of Byrr, merchant, for the said sume of £20, which shee delivered to the said Barnevill in redemption of the said jevvells, and promised him, the said Roch, £20 10s. for lending her the said £20 from the 2nd of August to Michaelmas ensuing, 1643. And the said Countess being at Lymrick the 9th of September, 1643, desired me to pay the said Thomas Roch the said sume of £21, and to

escape from Carrickfergus, and recently come from England. He proposed to raise troops to assist Montrose in Scotland; and the Confederates, whom he had joined, agreed to furnish him with arms, and 200 barrels of oatmeal, which were to be shipped to Scotland by Mr. Archer, a merchant of Kilkenny[1]

On the 21st of July, 1644, Ormonde was duly sworn in Lord Lieutenant of Ireland. About this time Edmond O'Dwyer, afterwards Bishop of Limerick, where he distinguished himself when Ireton beseiged the city, was sent to Rome by the Confederation, with a memorial to Pope Urban, praying his Holiness to promote Father Luke Wadding to the College of Cardinals. On 17th of July, Lord Inchiquin had addressed a memorial to the Parliament in England, which was signed also by Lord Broghill, Sir Percy Smith, and other distinguished officers, against the cessation of hostilities for a year, which had been signed by Ormond on the part of the King, with Lord Muskerry on the part of the Irish Confederation. Inchiquin was in consequence appointed President of Munster, which had been refused him by the King, and which was the cause of his changing to the side of the Irish Parliament. He was, however, reduced to inactivity at present by the winter and the want of supplies, and in the spring of the next year the Confederate General, Castlehaven was in the field at the head of 6000 men, with whom he overran the country, taking possession of Cappoquin, Mitchelstown, Mallow, Doneraile, the Castle of Liscarrol, and other strong places.

In the end of October considerable succors were received in money and supplies from Pope Innocent X. These timely succors consisted of 2000 swords, 500 cases of petronels, 20,000 pounds of powder, and five or six trunks full of Spanish gold. They were entrusted to the care and management of the celebrated John Baptist Rinuccini, prince and archbishop of Fermo, in Italy, who was consigned to the supreme council of the Confederation, with the rank of Nuncio Apostolic, and was received at Kilkenny with the greatest possible joy and honour by the council; presently he was surrounded by archbishops, bishops, a great number of the nobility and citizens following the Lord Mountgarrett, President of the Council, welcoming him with open arms.[2] In his report to the Pope, Rinuccini shows he had formed but a poor estimate of these outward manifestations of respect and attachment. He gives no credit to Ormond for sincerity in any one point of view: he states, on the contrary, that the Marquis boasted of having the Pope's money, and he alleges that, instead of making preparations to meet projected attacks on the confederation, he did all he could to afford the enemy a safe and victorious progress to Kilkenny.

As a counterpoise to this success, we may mention the loss at this time of the Castle of Bunratty, belonging to the Earl of Thomond, and which

keepe her said jewell in my owne custodie untill shee were able to paye mee, to prevent future consumption and inconveniences which may ensue unto the said Ladye through the accrueing interest sought by the said Roch: I to pleasure the said Countess payed the said Roch the £20 aforesaid, and kept the said jewells salfe for the said Ladye, demanding noe interest of moneyes of her. 30th Aprilis, 1649, by vertue of the said Ladye Dowager, her letter dated at Grangebegg 29° Martii, 1649, I delivered the said jewells to Sr. Connor O'Cuillenane, a Franciscan fryar, from whome I receaved twentie pounds, and five shillings, sterling, and who uppon his oate promised to see me payed of 15s. more, by May day then next ensueing, instead of the 3 picatouns which were counterfaiet, and that I would not then receave for my payement. John Arthure FitzRobert, James Ryce FitzJohn, Nichd. Wale, and Thomas Power FitzJames were present.—*Dr. Thomas Arthur's MSS., p.* 137.

[1] The Archers were an ancient Anglo-Irish family in Kilkenny.

[2] Vindiciæ Catholicorum Hiberniæ.

was now taken by the Earl of Inchiquin. But this important castle was subsequently re-taken by the Confederate troops under Lord Muskerry,[1] an advantage not deemed inferior to the capture of the castle of Roscommon, which about the same time was taken by the Confederate Preston.

On the 13th of June, 1646, Father Hartigan, S.J. who had been sent into Ulster as chaplain general to the troops, returned to Limerick with the news of the great victory obtained by the Confederates, under Owen Roe O'Neill, over Monroe at Benburb; along with the news Father Hartigan brought thirty-two standards, captured from the enemy. More than 3000 of the British forces were slain.

[1] The capture of Bunratty Castle was an object of the most critical importance to the Confederates. The Earl of Thomond,* who before lived peaceably in this castle, admitted into it at this time, a garrison of 800 foot and 60 cavalry, most of them reformed officers, under the command of Lieut.-Colonel MacAdam, "a stout officer," who began at once to raise works to strengthen the castle, which, owing to the marshes about it, might be impregnably fortified. Bunratty, which was strong, was deemed before the invention of artillery capable of defying all attempts to take it. It was now placed in a state of complete defence, and a mount was raised whereon were four pieces of cannon. A small castle, and behind this the church, which is now a ruin, stood at a little distance from this platform, all within a deep trench, well flanked, in which the Parliamentarians meant to draw water from the river, which ran to the east of the castle. Lord Muskerry advanced to encamp in the parish of Bunratty, having taken a castle upon quarter which stood at the entrance into the park, wherein the enemy had left some musqueteers. The finest deer in Ireland roamed through the park; and the Irish soldiers took good care to supply themselves with plenty of venison; the wood, too, was preserved from destruction because the dry brush afforded better firing, and was easier gathered. Lieut.-General Purcell, Major-General Stephenson, and Colonel Purcell, all veteran officers who had served in the German wars, were principally instructed with the conduct of this action. (*Billing.*) After some skirmishing, they became masters of all the ground without the broad, deep trench on the west side of the castle, and sat down at such a distance that the brow of the bank kept Muskerry's camp from being annoyed from the castle or the mount. Faggots and baskets were supplied by the under wood. The garrison in the castle was brought by a portion of the Parliamentarian fleet on the Irish coast, under the command of Sir William Penn, which had arrived in the Shannon on the 11th of March, 1646, and which in its course up the river had committed several atrocities on the unprotected inhabitants; it anchored between six and seven o'clock on the same evening off Bunratty, and sent a trumpetter to the Earl of Thomond, with a letter from Sir William Penn and Lieut.-Colonel MacAdam,—the Earl received it kindly, embracing the motion, and promising to join them. (*Memorials of Sir William Penn*). After negociations, which were carried on the next day by Sir Teague M'Mahon—the Earl not appearing in person—they landed 700 men on an island close to Bunratty; Captain Huntly, one of the Earl's retinue, waiting on them, invited them to confer with the Earl, with whom they dined, and found him well disposed towards the Parliament; the soldiers then marched over, and quartered in Bunratty that night. The Earl was evidently anxious to play off the Admiral and his party if he could; but he committed himself irretrievably to them. (*Memorials of Sir William Penn*). The ship, which the pilot told them might go up within two or three cable's length of Bunratty, at five fathoms at low water, grounded on a ledge of rocks six feet high at the north side of the river, and was not got off without difficulty, and sustaining severe injury. The seige was carried on with skill and bravery on both sides; the beseiged, who were supplied with men from the ships, sallied out often, but owing to the proximity of the hill, and other causes, their sallies did no harm. In one of them, however, on the 1st of April, Captain Magrath, commander-in-chief of the Irish horse, was wounded; a route followed, in which a large number of the Confederate army were taken prisoners by the Parliamentarians. In the afternoon a general attack was made on the Confederate camp at Six Mile Bridge, where a hot engagement ensued, which terminated in the overthrow of the Confederate camp, the soldiers of which were pursued two miles, and 250 bags of oatmeal, and other provisions which were found in the camp, were taken by the Parliamentarians, whose stores were well nigh exhausted. Captain Magrath and a lieutenant, both of whom had died of their wounds, were honorably buried with three vollies of small shot. Previously to this Lord Muskerry had made every exertion to distract the attention of the

* Sir Barnabas O'Brien, sixth Earl of Thomond. On his arrival in England, where he married Mary, youngest daughter of Sir James Fermor, Knight, lineal descendant of the Barons Lempster, Earls of Pomfert, he waited on the King at Oxford, who created him Marquis of Billing, in Northamptonshire, a title never enjoyed by his posterity, as the patent did not pass the Great Seal owing to the troubles.—*Lodge.* [He was descended from CONOR, who d. in 1539; Inchiquin from MORROGH the Tanist who died in 1551. The last Earl of Thomond died in 1741. The above ancestors were brothers.]

The nuncio writing from Limerick in the 16th of this month, thus describes the thanksgivings offered up upon this occasion.[1] The next day (Sunday 14th June, 1646,) at four o'clock in the afternoon, a triumphal procession was formed from the church of St. Francis, where the standards had been deposited. The whole of the military in Limerick under arms led the way, after them came the standards, borne aloft by the gentlemen of the city. The nuncio accompanied by the Archbishop of Cashel and the Bishops of Limerick, Clonfert and Ardfert followed; after whom came the members of the supreme council, the mayor and magistrates in their robes of office. The people filled the streets and windows, and on the arrival of the procession at the cathedral, the Te Deum was sung by the nuncios choir. He himself offered up the accustomed prayers, and concluded with a solemn benediction. Next morning he assisted at the mass in St. Mary's Cathedral, for the giving of thanks, which was chanted by the Dean of Fermo in St. Mary's Cathedral, in the presence of the prelates and magistrates above mentioned.[2]

The negociations and intrigues which followed these events,[3] and which ended in the signing of Ormond's peace in 1646, fill a large space in the history of the times. The Nuncio protested with all the vehemence he could employ, and summoned the prelates and other chiefs among the clergy, with the heads of religious houses to meet him at Waterford, where with all the formality of an apostolic visitation, or a regular national synod, the peace was unanimously denounced, the scruples or fears of those who inclined towards it, were set at rest by promises of Rinnuccini that large assistance would come from Rome, and that the Archbishop of Cashel had given his assent by saying "*in verbo tuo laxabo rete.*"

besieged, and to lodge a number of his soldiers in a place by which a part of the army might be enabled to invest the castle; this was successfully executed, but the soldiers, hearing a noise which they imagined was the approach of cavalry, fled in consternation, the sergeant appointed to command the party being the first to take to his heels, relying on too great indulgence hitherto observed in such cases. Lord Muskerry, however, made a stern example—the sergeant and ten soldiers were executed on the spot. To make up for the partial reverse, Lieut.-Colonel MacAdam, who is admitted by Billing to have been a most skilful and couragious officer, whose loss to the Parliamentarians was irreperable, was killed by an accidental shot from a field piece that was planted among gabions.* His loss was the main cause of the capture of Bunratty by the Confederate army. Several pages of that very interesting work, "The Memorials of Sir William Penn," (2 vols., Duncan, London, 1833) are occupied with a diary of this seige, and with the proceedings of the Parliamentarians before Bunratty. During the time they attacked the castles of Rossmanaher, Cappagh, Renane, Captain Hunt's castle, &c., and killed many inoffensive country people, who, in the diary of the operations, are called "Rogues," &c. &c. The progress of the seige was satisfactorily hastened by the presence of Rinunccini, the Papal Nuncio, who remained at Bunratty twelve days, forwarding the batteries, completing the undertaking, and ultimately, when victory crowned the effort with success, causing the English standards to be carried through the streets of Limerick as trophies of the Catholic religion. *(Nunziatura).*

[1] From the Nunziatura in Irlanda: Florence, 1844.

[2] Among those killed at Benburb was Lord Blany; Lord Montgomery who commanded the horse, was made prisoner; in his pocket was found a note of the lists of the army on their way to Kilkenny, where they expected to be in twelve days march. Besides the general joy which so signal a victory was to all the confederates, and the solemn thanks which were rendered to God for it by the Council and Nuncio at Limerick, the Pope, as soon as he had heard of it, went in person to Santa Maria Major at Rome, to be present at the Te Deum he caused to be sung for the good success of the Catholics in Ireland.—*Billing's Fragmentum Historicum.*

[3] In a letter to the Father General of the Jesuits, at Rome, the Nuncio complains that the Fathers of the Society in Ireland were the causes of all the commotions against him, and that they raised disobedience to his interdicts. He states, however, that the Rector of the Order in Limerick refused to obey Father Molone, the Superior in Ireland who conducted the intrigues against him. He adds that in Kilkenny, by his (the Nuncio's) influence, the Jesuit Fathers obtained the Abbatial Church of St. John, and in Waterford the Church of St. Peter.

* Lieutenant-Colonel John MacAdam was an ancestor, I am informed, of the MacAdams of Blackwater House, in the County of Clare.

In his report to the Pope, Rinnuccini gives not only a full account of the causes which produced the confederation of 1641, but enters into all the particulars connected with the event; the errors with which it was mixed up; the want of union among the leaders; the conflicting interests and passions that were engaged; Ormond's fatal and lamentable peace which he denounced as the most unfortunate thing that could happen for the affairs of religion.

In Limerick where the confederate council sat, the peace, which had been solemnly established by decree of that body, was carried by the public vote of the city assembly, but the officers appointed for the execution of the charge were affronted, the confederate government was treated with utter disobedience. On the evening of the 20th of August, the heralds of Ormond's peace came to Limerick, the gates were shut against them, the next day they were allowed in and the herald at arms, vested in the coat of his office, attended on by John Bourke, the mayor, the aldermen and some of the principal citizens, who were at all times willing to accept any advantage which they supposed would subserve their own interests, began to proclaim the peace. A vote in its favor had been carried by the mayor and aldermen the day before. The people resolved to resist it, and were then exhorted by the clergy, who had published the censures, which had been decreed by the Nuncio and congregation, at Waterford, a few days before. Under the conduct and by the instigation of Mr. Dominick Fanning, and the Rev. Father Wolf, a Dominican Friar, who at the High Cross, in the midst of 500 armed citizens fulminated excommunication against its adherents, the people fell suddenly on the herald, flung stones at him, at Bourke the mayor, and all the aldermen who were about him, and all those of the "better sort" who countenanced the action; and having scattered their ranks with so unexpected a volley, the wounded herald, tore his coat of arms from off his shoulders, beating[1] the mayor and some of the aldermen, and without the slightest respect for their scarlet robes or the badges of magistracy, drove them for shelter into the next door that stood open. Soon after, amid the acclamations of the crowd, without form suggested by charter, or any ancient custom for the usage of election, they chose Dominick Fanning, mayor, and to him, the Nuncio, a few days after, by his letter returned thanks for the obedience he had given to his decrees, and for his zeal in favor of the Catholic cause.[2]

It would no doubt be surprising that "Ormond's peace" should be received in Limerick or elsewhere with such marked disapproval, not only by the Bishop and clergy, but by the citizens at large, who resolved to show their hostility in the most emphatic manner in reference to it, were it not that there was no confidence in the noble family of the Butlers, or in their designs or doings. That Lord Ormond had been playing a double part in order to save his own enormous possessions, was suspected; it has since been made quite plain. When on the 12th of May, 1535, the Lord Butler was created Viscount Thurles and Admiral of Ireland, and on the 21st of May, with his father, the Earl of Ossory, was made Governor of the Counties of Kilkenny, Waterford, and Tipperary, and the Territories of Ossory and Ormond, they promised to do their utmost to recover the Castle of Dungarvan, and "resist the usurpation of the Church of Rome," the first engagement on record to that effect.[3] Their reward was great—many abbey lands

[1] Cox states that the Herald's name was Henry King. The anniversary of the day of this occurrence was for many years called Stony Thursday, from the quantity of stones that were thrown.
[2] Billing's Fragmentum Historicum.
[3] Clanrickarde's Memoirs.

and rich abbeys fell into their possession, having been wrested from being a provision and dependence of the Church. The Holy Cross of Tipperary was not the least among the number; and others of the same kind, as well in Tipperary, as in Waterford, Carlow, and Kilkenny,—and in numbers so great that a natural son of the House of Butler had an entire abbey for his share, by grant from his father. Ormond, therefore, had powerful motives of his own, to oppose, not only the Catholic clergy, who hoped to be restored to their properties, or at least to a part of them, but the Irish party, who seconded the exertions, and sympathised with the cause of the clergy. No one did more to sow dissensions in the councils of the Confederates—and this was known so well by the usurping Parliament that they never exerted the rigor towards him which most of the loyal cavaliers felt at their hands.[1] Dominick Fanning and Father Wolfe only gave expression to the universal feeling with which people and priests viewed the conduct of Ormond, and this is the key to the excesses which Carte exclaims against it, as it is to the justice of the course taken by those in Limerick who resisted Ormond's peace. These events were speedily followed by other manifestations, which showed the undercurrent that existed against the Nuncio, who was never in favor with that influential portion of the Catholics who in secret sided with Ormond, and who cared for nothing but their own security and aggrandisement. A long list of charges was preferred against Rinuccini, to which he afterwards replied.[2] But though the peace was solemnly proclaimed in Dublin on the 30th of July, 1646, he adhered to his determination, and, after further negociations, Owen Roe O'Neil was appointed commander-in-chief of that portion of the Irish army which remained true to the cause of the Nuncio. Whilst Rinuccini was in Limerick, Richard Arthur, Bishop of the diocese, who so deeply sympathised with the Confederates, died. He was a native of Limerick; and the Nuncio, to whose interest he was devotedly attached, and who bestowed high praise on him attended his funeral.

Events now plainly indicated what was to follow soon afterwards. The battle of Dangan Hill took place, and the Confederate army was defeated with great slaughter—a disaster at which Billing appears to rejoice, calling it "a judgement on the Irish for their perfidious breach of the peace."[3] Castlehaven also professes to look upon the reverse in the same light, and alleges that the Confederates began to be as tired of the Nuncio as Inchiquin was of the Parliament.[4] Inchiquin, who had ingratiated himself into the favor of the army, now marched out in the beginning of August, took Cahir castle by storm,[5] proceeded to Cashel, where the terrified citizens, throwing

[1] Clanrickarde's Memoirs.

[2] His reply is given in the Supplement of the Hibernia Domnicana.

[3] According to Cox, volumes of scandal, reproaches, &c., were written against Ormond by the Nuncio's party and the confederates. He alludes most probably to Dr. French's Bleeding Iphegenia and his Unkinde Desertor of Loyale men.

[4] Castlehaven's Memoirs.

[5] Letters were this day read in the house from the Lord Inchiquin, giving accompt of the taking of 12 Castles in the County of Typerare, and the Town and Castle of Cahir, which was thus taken; his Lordship passing over the Shewor at Cahir, one of his Troopers plundering neer the Town, was discovered wounded and taken, and Col. Hopsley in a disguise was admitted to go into the Castle to dresse him, who before had discovered some defects in the outward Bawn, and timorousnesse of the Warders. The Colonell after led on a party to storme, and took that Bawn, and some out Turrets, and within few hours had the Castle surrendred, on quarter only for life, above 20,000l. of corne burnt in that country, the Castle (qy. Cattle) drove away, so that our souldiers made hard shift for victualls. From Cahir his Lordship marched Septemb. 12, to the City of Cashiell, formerly the Metropolitan of the Province; where the Inhabitants, (amazed at the reducing of Cahir) left open the gates and fled to the Cathedrall a large and

wide their gates, repaired to the cathedral for protection—where, under the shadow of the temple, venerable with the hoar of ages, and consecrated by the holiest memories to the highest services of patriotism and religion, Murrough O'Brien, debasing a name hitherto so highly honored, perpetrated the savage atrocity which will be for ever associated with his memory. In a portion of the building, which is to be seen at this day, a monument of his refined cruelty, Murrough "of the burnings," after having shaken the walls[1] with the thunder of his guns, in despair of obtaining an entrance, had recourse to the horrible expedient of piling up a quantity of turf against the outward wall, and to this he applied fire, by the action of which the religious and other people who were crowded inside, were absolutely baked to death.[2] Upwards of thirty priests and friars fell victims to the atrocious Inchiquin on this ever-memorable occasion. Flushed with these victories, as no doubt he called them, he defeated the Irish army under Lord Taaffe at Knockinglass, near Kanturk, where there was also a terrible slaughter. Inchiquin then led his army into the county of Limerick. In a short time he brought the whole province of Munster, the cities of Limerick and Waterford, the towns of Clonmel and Kilmallock, under contribution. He proceeded to the county of Kilkenny, where he took Callan, and having some of the baronies in that county made tributary, a part of his cavalry marched within musket shot of the city of Kilkenny, where he succeeded so far that he paralysed the council of the Confederates. It is not surprising that the Nuncio should feel intensely this state of affairs, which was principally brought about by the jealousies, the disunions, the envy, it may be added the treasons, of certain of the Catholic party, and that he should express himself in terms of extreme bitterness and reproach, to the Holy Father.[3] These losses, fearful in extent and significance, would be sufficient to make all parties in the Confederation, including the most Irish and inflexible, to seek for peace, if it could be had with honour; but the Parliamentarians had now so far succeeded in England that the King had become a prisoner in the Isle of Wight, and there was no access to him. The Confederate council, which had already removed from Limerick to Kilkenny, sent Lord Antrim, Lord Muskerry, and Geoffrey Browne, Esq., to France, to see the Queen of England and the Prince, in order to make them acquainted with the gloomy state of affairs. Dr. French, Bishop of Ferns, and Nicholas Plunkett, Esq., were sent to Rome to negociate for assistance. An ambassador was sent to Spain for the same object. Meantime, whilst these active negociations were proceeding, the citizens of Limerick were improving and strengthening the city, fortifying the out works,

spacious pile, seated upon a Rock, fully manned, his Lordship intends to endeavour the reducing of it, then to fall upon Fethard, and from thence to Clonmell. The Gentry in the Countrey desire to be admitted to a contribution, and his Lordship desires supplies from his souldiers from hence.—*From a Perfect Diurnall of some Passages in Parliament, from Munday, 27 Septemb. till Munday the 3 of October*, 1647.

[1] The portion of the Cathedral which Inchiquin struck with his cannon did not fall, though a breach was made, till 1848, when it came down with a terrible crash.

[2] The black marks of the fire are to be seen to this day.

[3] Nunziatura.

and preparing for the emergency. The north gate of St. Francis's Abbey was finished, and bore this inscription:—

> SANCTE JACOBI DEFENDE NOS AB HOSTE, HIC BELLONA TONAT, SEDET HIC ASTRÆA RENASCENS, HOC PIETAS AD AQUAS AC SACRA PANDITUR A.D. 1647, RR. CAROLI: DOMINI° FANNING PRET: DAVID CREAGH JACOBI SEXTON VICE COM.

The Catholics continued to hold possession of the city. Rinuccini had given directions for the resumption of the Divine service and ceremonies in their olden pomp and splendor, in St. Mary's Cathedral, to which he appointed the seculars and regulars, preachers on days specially set forth.[1] Catholic rectors were in the receipt of their rents and dues.[2] It was essential, under the circumstances, that they should not only show their sympathy, but that every prompt and decisive means should be adopted to place the city in a becoming state of defence. Affairs, however, outside, were hurrying with rapid strides to a disastrous issue. The Nuncio, who had been making wonderful exertions to sustain the old party of the country, to encourage the timid, to fortify the wavering, to infuse life into the councils of the Confederates, discovered that all his exertions were of no avail. Those who had appeared willing to accept his proposals were among the first to betray him. He found himself in a city—Kilkenny—where he had seen three hundred armed horsemen enter at the command of Lord Mountgarret, where the dominion of ill-intentioned persons would, in a few days, have joined hands with an army which was his declared enemy.

It was stated[3] that the commissioners of the council at Kilkenny had agreed to send letters to Prince Charles, to the effect that if he came to them, he should be proclaimed King of Ireland, and ratify the agreement between the council and Ormond, they would join with him against England, the Prince still making good all engagements to them by the latter and his agents. The council, it was further stated, Ormond being present, ordered that a squadron of ships, part of Prince Rupert's Fleet, and part of the Irish, should be sent to block up the Bay of Dublin, to hinder provisions from coming thither by water, and that all the forces they could spare out of garrisons should march into the field into Leinster, to a general rendevous within sixteen miles of Dublin.

Everything conspired to compel the Nuncio to make a hasty retreat—he had lost, among others, the wise advice of his friend Richard Arthur, the Bishop of Limerick, whose obsequies he had attended. He left Kilkenny, to

1 See Ecclesiastical portion of this History.

2 "The lease made unto me by Andrew Creagh Maior of Lymerick and Francis Gough, Bp. of Lymerick, and Thomas Dunnohow Rector of St. Laurence, of the Tenement or waste Messuage in Mongrett-street, belonging to that Rectorie, was dated 20° die Junii anno Domini 1632, the rent reserved thereout to the Rector is fife shillings yearely by even portions, which was duely payed by James Mahowne in my absence yearely until Michaelmas 1644, since then myself payed the same to the Catholique Rectors, as appeareth by their several Acquittances, the last whereof beareth date the 17th of November, 1649."—*Arthur MSS.*

It further appears from p. 100 of Arthur MSS. that this rectory of St. Laurence was in the patronage of the Corporation. Dr. Arthur states that at this time, 1648, he attended the Right Rev. Dr. James Moloney, Bishop of Killaloe, for an old fracture, which was not cared for previously, the bad effects of which had been going on for nine months, and which turned into gangrene. He says he was paid his fee of £1, probably the ordinary fee of that day.

3 From a perfect Diurnall of some passages in Parliament, from Munday 12th March till Munday 19th March, 1648.

the terror and consternation of those who had heard of his sudden departure, many of whom expressed a belief that it was his intention to move O'Neil against them; but O'Neil at this time had not six hundred soldiers, and before he could collect the remainder of his army together, the conspirators were aware that the forces of Preston would have arrived in Kilkenny before him. He thus escaped arrest, and the confiscation of the money which he yet had with him, and resolved to proceed to Galway, which had shown a strong affection for the cause, and be near the sea to take shipping for France on the very first moment. He reached Maryborough in his route, where he met Don Eugene, and several of the Bishops, who took council as to the imminent danger in which he was at the moment, surrounded by Preston's army, which was deemed ten thousand strong.[1] The Bishops begged of him, on their bended knees, not to abandon the country in the emergency—that if he had no regard for his own honour, he should for that of the Holy See, of which it would be said with eternal shame in Ireland, that after having sent succours in religion, the Irish gave nothing but empty shadows. He saw that things had come to the worst—that delay was only a danger. However, after several interviews, he came to the resolution on the 27th of May, together with the sub-delegated Bishops, of publishing an excommunication against the accomplices and adherents of the truce, and of interdicting the cities where it would be received. In an instant 2000 soldiers passed from the side of Preston to O'Neil. This bold step saved the cause, for the time, from utter annihilation. Seventeen of the Bishops were for the censures, eight were against them. The religious orders were divided in the same proportion; the Dominicans, with only one exception, and the Franciscans, without an exception, concurred with the Nuncio. Preston, taking advantage of the disagreement among the Bishops, stated that the excommunication did not affect him. Disunion, desertion, treachery, and above all, the overwhelming influence of Ormond even on the Bishops, who otherwise felt for the cause,[2] forced the Nuncio to adhere to his determination of abandoning the country. With good guides he was conducted in safety to the confines of Connaught, and remained in the house of Mr. Terence Coughlan, of whom he speaks in the warmest terms of praise, as a man, who having joined neither side, in these disastrous times, was confided in generally, and had a singular affection for the Catholic religion, which he showed by his enthusiastic reception of the Nuncio. Coughlan heard one evening that Preston was to pass the following day, in order to unite with the troops of Viscount Dillon, and he immediately acquainted the Nuncio with the fact; nor was he less prompt in at once departing, than Coughlan in advising him to the step. He was conducted that night to a strong place on the river side; and in his journey he did not refrain from admiring the twilight of these northern nights, which irradiated the whole horizon, and gave light to their footsteps.[3] From that place he went by water to Athlone, and from thence at last to Galway, from whence he could not at the time depart, and where directions were sent by the Ormondists to deprive him of the very necessaries of life. His vouchers and papers, which had remained with the Dean of Fermo, in Kilkenny, had been already seized, so that he could not show what money he had expended. The Bishops who adhered to him were threatened with the loss of their churches and benefices. Several were most severely dealt with. Don Eugene, for not uniting with Inchiquin, was declared to have

[1] The Nuncio in his report to the Holy Father states that this was an exaggeration.
[2] Nunziatura. [3] Ibid.

broken the confederation, was pronounced a rebel, and guilty of high treason. The effects and property of the Nuncio were taken possession of, and sold by auction in Kilkenny. The Nuncio was in want of a ship. The San Pietro lay at Duncannon Fort, which had ever been true to the cause of the Nuncio since it fell into the hands of the Catholics two years before, when Preston took it, not, however, without the special assistance and valuable help of Father Scarampi. Ultimately, however, the San Pietro was got around the coast to Galway, from which he took his departure soon afterwards.

On the 29th of September, Ormond, who had been some time in France, from which he took his departure by Havre-de-Grace, landed at Cork, accompanied by Lord Castlehaven and others.[1] Lord Inchiquin went to Cork to meet and welcome him. Slowly advancing towards his noble palace at Carrick-on-Suir,—a palace which to this day, even in its decay, shows what it had been in its olden splendour,—he gave it to be understood by every one that he was sent by the Queen in order to find a means of settling the affairs of Ireland. In Carrick-on-Suir he received a solemn embassy from the Assembly of Kilkenny, at the head of which was the Archbishop of Tuam,[2] standard-bearer to all those who, forgetful of their duty to the Holy See, employ their hands in every act of sacrilegious violence,[3] and that person, above all, who had promised the Nuncio that he never would consent to the re-establishment of the Marquis.[4] On the 6th of October he published a declaration upon his arrival in Ireland, in which there is the passage :—"We profess and declare, first, to improve our utmost endeavours for the settlement of the Protestant Religion, according to the example of the best reformed churches—secondly, to defend the King in his prerogatives."[5] The city of Limerick, which was applied to for money, to meet the exigencies of the Irish army, pleaded inability, and offered only £100.[6] The four distinct interests in the kingdom, continuing to remain irreconcilable, viz. the King's, the Presbyterians', the Supreme Council's, and Owen Roe O'Neil's, the Parliament, on the 28th of March, solemnly resolved that Oliver Cromwell should be constituted General of all their forces then in Ireland, and that he should be sent thither. Cromwell, accordingly, prepared for the expedition with the greatest diligence.[7]

[1] The Lord of Ormond is at last landed, beyond all expectation; and for his better welcome hath brought over with him 4000 Armes, and 500 Curassiers' Arms, part of that supply designed for the Scots' armey in England by the Lord Jermin, and those in France; hee hath not brought above 50 Cavaliers, and yet enough to put this poor kingdom into more troubles, and make it the seat of their malice, where it can have no vent in England. Wee are in exceeding want of men and money, without which wee can do nothing, unless it be to sculk out a little, and perhaps snatch away a garrison, and so return. The Bogg of Allen was taken rather by courtship than foul, at the armies last march.—*Moderate Intelligencer, from October* 12 *to Oct.* 19, 1649.

[2] The Archbishop of Tuam in his escape from Kilkenny, on his way to Tuam, was killed by the Scotch at Sligo. He had a document on his person which gave an account of the monies brought to Ireland by the Nuncio, and how they were expended. He received from Cardinal Barberini 10,000 scudi, from Cardinal Mazzarini 25,000 lire, Tornese; he also received arms and ammunition. The Nuncio also had 15,800 scudi of his own, which he gave in sustainment of the cause.—*Nunziatura.*

[3] Nunziatura.

[4] Ibid.

[5] Carte's Life of Ormond.

[6] Nunziatura.

[7] Cox Hib. Angl.

CHAPTER XXVI.

CROMWELL SENT TO IRELAND — CONTINUED NEGOCIATIONS — LIMERICK THREATENED—ORMOND AND THE BISHOPS—BISHOP O'MOLONEY—PROGRESS OF IRETON, &c.

CROMWELL, having taken the field in 1649, perpetrated the most revolting excesses. The Province of Connaught, however, continued in the hands of the Catholics, whilst Waterford, Limerick, and Galway, were so strong as to be capable of resisting the advances of Ireton, the son-in-law and lieutenant-general of Cromwell. These cities, too, hoped for succours from sea, and feared no force that could be brought against them. The forts of Duncannon and Sligo, the castles of Athlone, Charlemont, Carlow, and Nenagh, were in the hands of the Catholics also. Strength and numbers were of no avail, however, without union, and we have seen already how deficient in that essential element were the councils of the Catholic party—parties, we should say—for the Catholics were split up into contending factions. Ormond allowed the Catholics to select a leader in place of O'Neil; the choice fell upon M'Mahon, the Catholic Bishop of Clogher, who not only stood high in the estimation of Ormond, but possessed great favour with the Ulster Irish.[1] M'Mahon saw the necessity of the whole nation uniting together as one man for their defence; he laboured so hard with the clergy that he got them to enter into a superficial union at least, to bury in forgetfulness all that had passed; to enter into solemn resolutions that for life, fortune, religion, they could expect no security from Cromwell; to express their detestation of all animosity between the old Irish and the English and the Scotch Royalists, and their resolution to punish all the clergy who should encourage them. Brave and courageous in his new capacity, but deficient in experience and generalship, M'Mahon was defeated with great loss in a battle at Letterkenny, by Sir Charles Coote. Ormond at once cast his eyes on Limerick, "a place of the utmost consequence, and which soon would be attempted by the Parliament forces." Having come to Limerick, he endeavoured to persuade the citizens to receive fifteen hundred infantry soldiers and three hundred cavalry, as the only means of saving the kingdom; this proposal was rejected; and Ormond attributed its rejection to the influence of the clergy. He summoned twenty-four of the Catholic Bishops to attend him at Limerick, that he might confer with them and some of the nobility, and resolve, on their advice and assistance, on effectual measures for the advancement of the King's service and that of the people. A conference was held, in which the Bishops agreed to certain propositions which they presented to Ormond for the removal of the discontents; they required that the Receiver General should account for the monies levied since the peace, and that a privy council should be composed of the native nobility, spiritual and temporal, to assist the Government. Ormond consented. The Bishops then published a declaration that they would root out of men's hearts all jealousies and sinister opinions of Ormond and the Government, desiring his further directions, and promising, on their part, the utmost care and industry. These proceedings partially changed the determination of the citizens of Limerick—but events proved that the change

[1] Carte.

was not permanent, and that Ormond, as time went on, was not treated with even the outward show of civility, on account of his disingenuousness, and the efforts he continued to make to induce them to receive a garrison. The officers of the city guards neither went to him for orders, nor would they take orders from him. Without special leave of the mayor no officer of the army was admitted to his presence to receive directions to suppress the Parliamentarians, who at the moment were roaming over the country and in the neighbourhood. Lord Kilmallock, a Catholic peer, and officer of the army, was committed to gaol for no other reason than that he quartered a few horsemen, with Ormond's own orders, within the city. These and other reasons worked on him to quit Limerick, and proceed to Loughrea, where he was followed by the Bishops, and where he complained that their Lordships did not treat him in a fair manner. He stated that as soon as he left Limerick, the Bishops of Limerick and Ross waited on Lord Inchiquin, who was then in the city; that they desired Inchiquin not to quit the kingdom, stating that he was of an ancient race, and offering him, if he would join them, and put off the Commissioners of Trusts, to place all things in his hands. Ormond and Inchiquin had held up a constant correspondence; they made these facts known to each other, and concluded, perhaps, with great truth, that the Bishops were anxious to obtain a riddance of both.[1] Negociations continued to be pressed. The city seemed to desire Colonel Pierce Walsh to be sent to command the militia; this was done; they demurred about a garrison; they thought 3000 foot and 300 horse, the numbers proposed, too great; they insisted the garrison should be Ulster men;[2] that the county of Clare should be set apart entirely for their subsistence and pay; that the city should be charged with no loans or levies on that account; that the troops should be quartered in huts without the walls, and under the command of the Bishop of Limerick, Hugh O'Neil, or Mortagh O'Brien. The jealousy and suspicion of Ormond continued. Dominick Fanning, gathering a body of resolute young men, entered a Dutch ship in which the Marquis was sending abroad two trunks of papers which he desired to secure, and which Fanning supposed was money. When it was found that the trunks contained papers only, they desisted; but they took a solemn oath to stand by one another in that action. Sir Nicholas Comyn, mayor, who had received knighthood from Ormond, convened the town council, and called before him the rioters; they said they were ignorant that the trunks belonged to Ormond, and asked pardon. The mayor compelled them to disclaim their oath of combination, and to take a new one of obeying the Lord Lieutenant, and of doing nothing without license of the magistrates. Ormond, to encourage these good inclinations, removed to Clare, quartering the troops he had with him (1700 foot and 350 horse) in the neighbourhood, with orders to be ready to draw to a rendevouz. He did this the rather because Cromwell had at this time sent propositions to Limerick, offering the citizens the free exercise of their religion, the enjoyment of their estates, churches and church livings, a free trade and commerce, without garrison, provided they would give a free passage through the city for his forces into the county of Clare.[3] While visiting, on the 11th of June, some troops in Clare, within four miles of the city, two aldermen, Creagh and Bourke, waited on the Marquis, with a request that he would settle a garrison in Limerick.

[1] Carte.
[2] These, Carte says, would destroy the troops on foot at the charge of the Province.
[3] Carte's Ormond.

According to appointment these aldermen met him at the mayor's stone—stating the city had accepted his proposals, with the exception of the guards. He sent them back with assurances that the guards he meant to take with him, should consist of but 100 foot and 50 horse, all Roman Catholics, such as had constantly been of the Confederacy, and were interested in all the benefits of the articles of the peace.[1] But when near the city gates, the same aldermen came to him, with an account that Father Wolfe, the Dominican Friar, who had distinguished himself before, when peace was proclaimed, had raised a tumult in the city to oppose his entrance, and having forced or wheedled the keys from Rochfort, the sheriff, had seized the gates; so that it was impossible for him to come until the tumult had ended. The same night, Dominick Fanning called in Colonel Murtagh O'Brien, a man entirely devoted to the old Irish party, whose cause Fanning and Wolfe had so zealously espoused, with his regiment increased by 200 recruits; but though the mayor opposed his entrance at the gates, they forced their way in, seized the corn laid up for the supply of the army, which Ormond thought would be at his disposal, and a quantity of corn which belonged to Ormond exclusively. Ormond forthwith retired to Shanbally, four miles from the city. The bishop followed him with a proposal to forgive Colonel Murtagh O'Brien, to which he consented, if they submitted to his proposals, which not being done, the Commissioners of Trust and the Marquis of Clanrickard insisted that the bishop should excommunicate Fanning and O'Brien, which he peremptorily refused. Soon after Ireton advanced with his troops towards the city, and threatened to besiege it. The magistrates asked Ormond that Hugh O'Neill might be made their governor; he agreed, offering also to put himself in the city and share the fate of the citizens, but they refused, insisting particularly on O'Brien's regiment, and troops of their own choosing. Being near at hand in Clare, Ormond sent orders to the mayor and Hugh O'Neill to seize on Colonel O'Brien, and deliver him a prisoner to the guard appointed to receive him. The mayor who took a week to consider, answered that the government of the city was intrusted to Hugh O'Neill, who wrote in turn to say, that he was merely a cypher, not suffered to stir, except as the mayor and town council thought fit. Ormond was ready to forgive O'Brien, though he insisted that he should not hold command; but the citizens would on no account admit Ormond inside the walls; and under these circumstances it was impossible to keep the body of his army together, as to attempt it, except at the other side of the Shannon, and near Limerick, with the absolute command of the city to secure it, would have been utterly ruinous, and to have done it in the county of Clare or north side of the river was impossible, since the ground work of the army, must be raised and supported from thence; which, whilst forming, would have exhausted all the substance of Clare, and not have effected the work.[2] Galway also refused to receive him; he was thus shut out from every expected advantage. The dominant men in the city, and the clergy, knew him too well, to repose the slightest faith in any one of his principles. It was urged by him, that they had received proposals and listened to overtures from the Parliamentarians, without his consent, or so much as giving him notice. They denied sympathy with the Parliamentarians, but he came to the conclusion that his protracted stay in

[1] Carte. This correspondence is given at full length in Cox Hib. Angli., but is not of sufficient interest to demand more of space than this reference to it.

[2] Carte.

Ireland would tend to no good; however he resolved to remain until he had received the king's directions as to his conduct. Meantime, application was being made by the Catholic party to Leopold, governor of the Low countries, to Spain and to Austria, offering to each, that they would place themselves under which ever power granted them protection. Carte states, that they knew Ormond's attachment to the king, for when the Nuncio and the Confederates in the fulness of their strength, offered him the crown of Ireland, he rejected it. This, however, by no means agrees with the recorded opinion of the Nuncio, to which we have already referred, nor to the estimate formed of the character and conduct of Ormond throughout by the Catholics. Carte asserts that the Bishops with the full concurrence of the Nuncio, and when the Confederates were in the zenith of their power, offered Ormond the crown of Ireland, if he would change his religion and embrace their cause; but that his fidelity to the king prevented him accepting any such proposal.[1] This, however, cannot be proved. Indeed the truth appears to be altogether the other way.

In accordance with this resolution they assembled at Jamestown, in the county of Leitrim, on the 6th of August; and on the 10th, they commissioned the Bishop of Dromore, and Dr. Charles Kelly, the Dean of Tuam, to acquaint him with their desires "that he would speedily quit the kingdom, and leave the king's authority in the hands of some persons faithful to his Majesty and trusty to the nation, and such as the affections and confidence of the people would follow." He professed to be astonished at these overtures, but the Bishops intimated to him that instead of his returning a direct reply to their letter, they would meet him at Loughrea on the 26th of the month.

Ormond went to Loughrea, where the Bishops of Cork and Clonfert proceeded to receive his answer to their propositions, which, according to Dr. French, Bishop of Ferns, were loyal, dutiful, and moderate. He replied in a long letter that he was not willing to withdraw out of Ireland, as they for the peace of the kingdom and the reconcilement of differences among the Catholics, expressed a desire that he should do. They told him plainly that the people seeing no visible army for their defence, despaired of recovering what they had lost or of preserving what remained to them. Finding that they could not persuade him to change his resolution or bend to a just view of affairs, on the 15th of December, they published a declaration against the continuance of the king's authority in Ormond, and a solemn excommunication, by which they delivered to Satan, all that should oppose or disobey it, or feed, or help, or adhere to Ormond by giving him subsidy, contribution or intelligence, or by obeying his commands.

Dr. John O'Moloney, Bishop of Killaloe, was among the Bishops who attached his sign manual to this edict; and well did he pay for his boldness, as we shall soon see. The synod of Jamestown, before their breaking up, appointed a committee to act by their authority during the recess; and commissions were given out by this committee for levying soldiers, for which a rendevous was fixed at Ballintober. The Bishop of Killaloe had raised a troop and appointed a rendevous at Quin. Ormond sent Edward Wogan against them; the party was dispersed, the Bishop taken prisoner, and he would have been put to death had not Ormond saved him,[2] though he had signed and promulgated the excommunication. On this memorable occasion

[1] Carte.

[2] Carte.

Ormond laid hands on a sum of money amounting to £1400, which the Bishop had hidden away in sacks of wool—a circumstance which elicited from Dr. Thomas Arthur a pasquinade which reflects no high credit on his good taste or judgment.[1]

That Dr. Arthur was well disposed towards Lord Ormond is evident from many proofs which have been given from time to time of his sentiments, from his practice, as a physician, among those who belonged to the government, &c. I find the following memorandum which I translate in evidence of the fact, in his MSS. "On account of the service rendered to him about the 4th of the November, of last year, (1650), when at length on the 21st day of May, of this year, His Excellency Lord James Marquis of Ormond, Viceroy of king Charles the second in Ireland, was at Loughrea, and I made him aware that I received no recompence for my exertions, he decided that I should immediately be paid £10 sterling out of the public treasury, which the treasurer paid me on the next day."

Well indeed may Dr. French designate Ormond, "an unkinde deserter of loyal friends." Even the king from his retreat in Scotland, sent him a letter in which he expressed regret that a better understanding did not prevail between him and the Nuncio; but this letter, which had been brought to Waterford by Captain Roche, was not delivered until it was too late, as Colonel Roche alleged, owing to the state of the country between Limerick and that city. The Bishops and Clergy were not supported by the forces they expected from a distance, which Carte attributes to the refractoriness of the Prelates, rather than to the successes of the Cromwellians. A second letter to the same end and purpose was sent by John King, the Dean of Tuam, who arrived from Scotland on the 13th of August, 1650; it conveyed to Ormond irresistible confirmation of the truth, but the fact is, notwithstand-

[1] "The clergy of Ireland (says Dr. Arthur) being weary of the unlucky administration of Lord James Marquis of Ormond, Viceroy of Charles II. in Ireland; and suspecting him of being too favourable to the party of their enemies, whom by his supine neglect he permitted to invade three provinces of the kingdom, and to take all the strongest cities, towns, and fortresses, and to overrun the country at pleasure with impunity; at last, having assembled a genuine provincial synod, one held at Clonmacnoise, the other at James' town, they determined to withdraw forthwith, all the orthodox subjects from their fealty and obedience to him having signed a public edict [to this effect] enforced by the threat of excommunication. Whereupon the Marquis, being thereby filled with indignation, having caught the Lord Bishop of Killaloe, John O'Molouna, an economical and thrifty man, who had signed that edict, and who, he had heard, had a large treasure at home; while staying in a certain castle in the neighbourhood, he dispatched some English spies, followers of his own, who seized upon him and upon £1400 sterling, which he had wrapped up in large woolsacks, and placed him before his judgment seat; after committing him to custody, and thus making him pay the penalty of his own rashness and that of others, at last, after one or two months upon his asking pardon he let him go; having in the meantime allocated all the money to the King's army. In reference to which I wrote the following verses." —Which verses we may add, with every respect for the worthy Doctor's memory, by no means reflect credit upon his muse, as will appear from the following translation, in which it will be seen we rigidly observe the critical canon of rising and falling with the original:—

"A cool fourteen hundred the bishop had hoarded,
And in fleeces or woolsacks ingeniously stored it—
But alas for the beauty and charm of my story,
The wool had a smell, being sweaty and gory—
And the wolf smelled the blood of the sheep on the scrapings,
And bolted at once with the trifle of ha'pence.

"'Twas the cursed greed of gold made the bishop to save so,
'Twas the cursed greed of food made the wolf misbehave so—
Had the bishop discharged his episcopal duty,
My lord had no blame and the robber no booty."

ing the assertion of Father Peter Walshe, who compared Ormond to Joseph in Egypt, Ormond's determination to desert and to betray the Catholics, is indisputable, as he proved under his own hand in a letter to Lord Orrery.—Ormond now resolved to remain no longer in Ireland. On the 11th of December he set sail, and landed in Bas Bretagne three weeks afterwards, the weather being stormy. He took with him, in his little frigate, which was provided by the Duke of York, Lord Inchiquin, Colonel Wogan and forty other officers, besides several passengers, Sir George Hamilton, Receiver General, Mr. Belling, Lady Clanrickarde and other persons of quality who went to France afterwards. He appointed Lord Clanrickarde his Deputy.[1] Notwithstanding the occurrences at Jamestown and Clonmacnoise, where Dr. French thinks a zeal, more unseasonable than prudent was manifested, but which was corrected afterwards by a general assembly of the Clergy at Loughrea, where the nobility and gentry of the kingdom had met,[2] when advantageous proposals from Cromwell's agents being unanimously rejected by the confederates, the country remained loyal to the monarch, and resolved to stand or to fall with his destinies. The result proved that their confidence was misplaced.

The events which followed in rapid succession, left the kingdom an easy prey to Cromwell. Notwithstanding the efforts of Edmond Dwyer, Bishop of Limerick, who manifested great address and talent for public affairs, and who wrote a powerful document in defence of the position he sustained,[3] and those of the Bishops who continued to struggle against the tide which threatened every moment to overwhelm them, there was alas! a faction in the country which still adhering to Ormond, gave such aid by their divisions to Ireton as enabled him in a very short time to prove the danger of divided councils. Limerick contained a party of Catholics who not only did not provide for the emergency, but which painted honester men than themselves in odious colours, and informed his excellency secretly that they were to be suspected and feared! It was those who spoke in this way of others that would in reality become traitors, and those they would cover with suspicion, proved honest men, true to God, to country, to king.[4] Cromwell at this period had perpetrated the bloody massacres of Drogheda and Wexford, and had made his name a terror to the entire people of Ireland.

[1] Ormond having appointed Clanrickard to command in his absence, as the King's Deputy, to whom the nation showed all due obedience and submission, is a manifest argument that he was not banished out of the kingdom by the confederate Catholics, for whom he named a commander in his absence.—*Bleeding Iphegenia*, p. 111.

[2] Bleeding Iphegenia, p. 111.

[3] Hibernia Dominicana.

[4] Dr. French, Bishop of Ferns.

CHAPTER XXVII.

IRETON'S CAMPAIGN—THE SIEGE OF LIMERICK—TERRIBLE SUFFERINGS OF THE CITIZENS—TREASON OF FENNEL, &C.

IRETON, having now made all provisions for an early campaign, and received some reinforcements from England, resolved to begin by besieging Limerick. Sir Charles Coote was directed to advance towards Sligo, in order to pierce into Connaught, that Limerick might be invested on all sides.[1] The Irish were preparing to relieve the city, when Coote, drawing off his men, passed suddenly over the Curlew mountains, and invested Athlone. Clanrikarde was unable to make head against Coote, who took Athlone, and marched against Galway. The Earl of Castlehaven was called to the assistance of Galway, and he had marched but a few miles, at the head of four thousand men, when a party he had left to defend the pass over the Shannon, suffered themselves to be overpowered by the enemy, and fled precipitately—but we anticipate events.

O'Neil was now appointed Governor of Limerick, and he did his duty with a courage and true nobility of soul which brooked no compromise. Sir Geoffrey Galway, the son of him who had been persecuted in the days of Queen Elizabeth; Geoffry Barron, whom French calls an ornament to his country; Alderman Dominick Fanning, Alderman Thomas Stritch, Dr. Higgins, and many others of the citizens, held counsel within, and would listen to no overture that came from Ireton or his partizans. There was no one more prominent than Terence Albert O'Brien, Bishop of Emly, in preparing the citizens and soldiers for the storm, and in urging them to leave nothing undone to conquer Ireton and his merciless myrmidons. They were nobly seconded by the indomitable Dominick Fanning, the zealous Father Wolfe, who had prevented the city accepting Ormond's peace, by General Purcell, and others.

For some months past Ireton had been putting all things in readiness for his army; tents, arms, beds for the soldiers, cannon, ammunition of every sort, were sent up the Shannon by him towards Limerick, by vessels provided for the service. Garrisons had already, since the previous March, been placed in the castles of Castle Connell and at Kilmallock, convenient outposts for strategetic purposes; other places were likewise invested or blockaded. The Parliamentary army was ordered to rendevouz at Cashel, from whence Ireton marched by way of Nenagh, down by the Silver Mines, and across the roads to that part of the Shannon which flows opposite Killaloe. The Earl of Castlehaven, who had been before this time appointed, by Ormond, commander-in-chief of the province of Munster and the county of Clare, now held that office for the whole kingdom, marched with what forces he could draw together, and encamped at Killaloe, to observe Ireton's movements. Ireton was thoroughly aware of the weakness of the confederate forces, feeling assured that they only kept up appearances till Cromwell and King Charles had decided their quarrel. He kept a guard on his side of the river, as Castlehaven did against him.[2]

[1] Carte. [2] The Unkind Deserter.
[3] Ludlow's Memoirs and Castlehaven's Memoirs.

The antagonist troops lay in that position together for some time; Castlehaven had 2000 horse and foot disposed along the river, and defended by breastworks, which had been placed there to obstruct Ireton's passage into Connaught. Ormond, who had not yet sailed from Galway, wrote "post haste" to Castlehaven to proceed to him, because Stephen De Henin the abbot of St. Catherine was in the harbour, and in his company many officers, with a quantity of arms, ammunition, and other materials of war, which were sent by the Duke of Lorraine, to whom the city of Limerick was mortgaged, and assigned as a security for £20,000 supplied by him for the King's service. The Duke was to be constituted protector royal of the kingdom of Ireland, with power over all the Confederate forces and places, with that title and dominion, till the war was over and his damages satisfied—a regular agreement having been entered into for that purpose.[1] On Castlehaven's almost immediate return, he found all quiet at Killaloe; treachery had done its work, the pass had been sold. He was not aware of how the dark deed had been done; but he received from Ireton, by a trumpeter, a letter which occupied four sides of paper, closely written in a small hand, the drift of which was to set forth "the justness" of the Parliament's proceedings; their great power; how short a time he (Castlehaven) would subsist; what bad company he was in; abusing the King most heartily, and after several other sayings, offering Castlehaven, if he would retire and live in England, not only his personal safety and the enjoyment of his estate, but the esteem and favor of the Parliament. Castlehaven showed the letter to Father Peter Walsh, who appears to have been with him at the time; and by his advice, and by the same trumpeter, he answered every point, rejected the proposition, and desired that no more trumpeters should be sent with such errands.

Ireton, soon after this correspondence, by the treachery of Captain Kelly, made himself master of O'Brien's Bridge; and whilst Castlehaven was hastening to oppose him, Colonel Fennel, to whom the pass at Killaloe had been entrusted, treacherously deserted it, and fled into the city of Limerick with his soldiery—he had sold the pass. Just before this event, as if he had intended to divert the course of the river, Ireton had set the soldiers and pioneers at work to take the ground lower on his (Ireton's) side, that the water venting itself into the passage, the river might become fordable. This so alarmed the Confederate forces that the most of them were drawn out to oppose them. The ways were almost impassable from bogs and morasses, hither neither man nor horse could pass without peril, so that they were obliged to lay hurdles and great pieces of timber across, in order to bear the carriages, waggons, &c., of the Parliamentary forces, which they effected under pretence of making a passable road between their camp and Castle Connel, where, as we have seen, provisions had been already laid up for the

[1] Charles II. in a letter addressed to the Duke from Paris, and dated Feb. 6th, 1652, thanks him for the supplies sent to the Irish, and promises to send persons to enter into a treaty with him for the promotion of the Catholic interests. In another letter addressed to Clanrickarde, and dated March 23rd, 1652, his Majesty says that he had sent the Earl of Norwich to Brussels, to treat with the Duke, the terms of whose articles with the Irish, he says, Clanrickarde had properly rejected. But he recommends the Irish Commissioners (Lord Taaffe, Sir Nicholas Plunket, and Jeoffry Baron) to the Marquis, and bids him use their advice and service as theretofore. Galway was joined with Limerick in this treaty. The submission to the Pope, suggested by the Bishop of Ferns and the Royal Protectorship, appears to have been the most objectionable condition in the articles in the eyes of Clanrickarde and the King. Clanrickarde had allowed the Duke to advance the £20,000 on the security of Limerick and Galway, leaving the article respecting the Protectorship to be settled at Brussels; but the deputation sent to Brussels, concluding a treaty, against which Clanrickarde protested, the negociation came to an end.

army. Ten days had elapsed before all things necessary had been accomplished; and at the end of that time, Colonel Reeves was commanded to bring three boats which he had, to a place appointed for that purpose by one o'clock in the morning. At the beginning of the night three regiments of foot, with one of horse, and four pieces of cannon, marched silently towards the place where the boats were ordered to lie, and arrived there an hour before day. They found but two boats waiting for them, which, however, served to carry over three files of musqueteers and six troopers, who, having unsaddled their horses, caused them to swim by the boat, and were safely landed on the other side. Two sentinels of the Confederate forces were in the castle, of whom one was killed, and the other made his escape.

Ireton's boats had transported about sixty foot and twenty horse before any opposition was given; but then some Confederate horse coming up skirmished with Ireton's; and in this action a young officer named Howe, who had accompanied General Ludlow, one of Ireton's chief officers, into Ireland, highly distinguished himself. About 1000 of the Confederate foot now advanced; Ireton's horse were ordered to retire; they obeyed with some hesitation; the rapid advance of the Confederates was arrested by the guns of the Parliamentarians, which had been placed on a hill on their side of the river, from which they fired so constantly and so vehemently, that the Confederates were forced to retreat under shelter of a rising ground; and not being able to regain what they had lost, to provide against further detriment by retreating more through the woods into their own quarters. Meantime the Parliamentarian ships, with all things necessary for a siege, had anchored in the river, and only awaited orders to proceed to the desperate enterprise in which they had engaged.

Sir Charles Coote, during these proceedings, was engaged in bloody deeds in Connaught, where he besieged Portumna house, the residence of the Earl of Clanrickarde, and whom as we have seen, the Earl of Ormond had constituted his deputy in that province. Ludlow, from whose memoirs we have drawn some of these details, in his progress from Connaught to Limerick, where his presence in aid of Ireton was essentially demanded, summoned Gurtenshegore, a castle near Gort, belonging to Sir Dermot O'Shaughnessy, who being at the time in Galway, had left his tenants, some soldiers, and Folliot, an Englishman, to command them, in the castle. Here Ludlow was treated, for a time, with utter contempt, the occupants of the castle sounding their bag-pipes in derision, although fire and faggot, iron bars, pickaxes and sledges threatened them. The defenders resisted bravely. A desperate engagement ensued, Folliot acting with determined pertinacity—and it was not until after severe fighting, the castle was surrendered. Ireton's army marched immediately to Limerick. Five hundred head of cattle that had been taken in Burren, Co. Clare, were driven on, and killed to refresh the army, to which Ludlow and his friends now returned, and which had already possessed themselves of a fort that stood in the middle of the river Shannon, on the great Lax weir, where the ruins of the castle are yet to be seen. A small battery of two guns had been erected against the castle; one of them was fired into a room, and breaking the leg of a soldier, so terrified the others that betaking themselves to their boats, they abandoned the place—which the Parliamentarians perceiving, fired so furiously on them, that all in the boats surrendered, notwithstanding which, some of them were put to the sword, by the merciless soldiery, whose hearts were steeled against humanity. They perpetrated a cold-blooded slaughter, which Ireton condemned, and

demanded that the matter should be referred to a court martial. This was done, and Colonel Tuthill, who commanded, and his captain were cashiered. At length the besieging army reached the gates of Limerick, and sat down before the walls; but aware of the strength of the city, and satisfied that it was well nigh impregnable, Ireton did not trust to the chances of arms, but tried what could be done by further exercise of that treachery, which had compelled Fennel to abandon the pass of Killaloe, and Kelly that of O'Brien's bridge, acts of treachery which gave an easy march to the Parliamentarians within the very shadow of the old walls of Limerick.

From an entry in Dr. Thomas Arthur's diary, 23rd June, 1651,[1] it is apparent that the Parliamentarians in their attack on this occasion, made good their footing on the King's Island; he states that he professionally attended Dominick FitzDavid Rice, who nobly and strenuously defended the city on the occasion of this invasion of the island by the Parliamentarian army, Mr. Rice having received a severe wound, which demanded amputation of the lower part of the leg. He also saved the life of Doctor Credanus, who was struck by a shell, which lacerated his hands and tendons, and threatened gangrene. He gives the names of several who died of the pestilence which raged through the city, including in the list the names of many distinguished citizens.

An immediate summons sent in by Ireton for the surrender of the city, was promptly rejected, though at the time, famine and pestilence were doing their deadly work with a greater facility, than shot and shell did subsequently. At this eventful period Edmund O'Dwyer, Terence Albert O'Brien and all the good men and true of the time, were congregated within the plague-stricken walls, and with the aid of the Brothers of St. Vincent de Paul who were then in Limerick, caused the citizens to be firm. Again the summons was rejected.[2]

Then came the question of a treaty—this was discussed; and six commissioners were appointed on each side, viz.: for cause of country and faith, Major-General Purcell, Mr. Stackpoole, the Recorder, Colonel Butler, Jeffrey Barron, who had been one of the supreme council, Mr. Baggot, and Alderman Fanning. The commissioners nominated by Ireton were, Major-General Waller, Colonel Cranwell, Major Smith, Adjudant-General Allen, and another.[3]

They all met in a tent between the city and Ireton's camp, where for several days, they dined together and treated of conditions. But having in the meantime got great expectations of relief, either by the successes of the king in Scotland, or by the cessation of feuds and discords among the confederates at home, who, if they joined in love, when their enemies joined in hate, would be far more able, more numerous and powerful than Ireton's army, insisted upon terms which Ireton's commissioners would not accede to. The result was the conference broke up without result, and preparations for the siege went on more vigorously than before. A fort, which Ireton had been preparing on one side of the city, and called to this day Ireton's fort, being almost finished, and materials being ready for building a bridge to be laid over the Shannon, to preserve the communication between the besieging forces on each side, a resolution was made by them, to reduce a castle which was occupied by the defenders beyond Thomond bridge. To effect this object, a battery was erected, and a breach having been made, Ireton

[1] Arthur MSS. p. 78.
[2] Ludlow does not give the name.

remembering the vigor of his troops in the action at Sir Dermot O'Shaughnessay's castle, desired that one man should be drawn out of each troop to be an example to the foot who were selected to storm. This was done. Armed with back, breast and head pieces, and furnished with hand grenades—a Mr. Hackett of the guards having been chosen to lead them on—they did not number more than twenty in all—the design succeeded beyond expectation—the men having thrown in their grenades, rushed up to the breach, entered with Hackett at their head, and were followed by those who were ordered to support them. Hackett was successful—the place was evacuated; and the confederate soldiers retired by the bridge into the city. The castle was then searched by Ireton; and four or five barrels of powder were found in a vault ready to be fired by a lighted match which had been left there to blow up the Parliamentarian soldiers. Ireton having so far succeeded, having rewarded Hackett and his men, came to the determination of possessing himself of the king's island, which then as now encompassed by the Abbey river, was a position likely to suit his present purposes, and quicken the result of the siege. Boats were prepared, floats sufficient to transport three hundred men at once were placed in readiness, and orders were given to drop down the river about midnight.

Three regiments of foot and one of horse were detailed for the service; the first three hundred, which were foot, and commanded by Colonel Walker, being landed on the island, rushed up to the breastwork of the defenders of Limerick, where they met an unexpectedly warm reception. Such was the valour with which they were repelled, that but two or three returned alive to Ireton's camp to tell the tale of ruin; the river was strewn with the carcases of the slain, who failed even to make good their footing. Then, the bridge having been finished, Ireton, with most part of the army, marched over to the other side of the river, where he marked out ground for three bodies of men to encamp separately, each to consist of about two thousand, giving orders for the fortification of the camp, assigning to each regiment its proportion and position, quartering the troops by brigades in the most convenient places he could, either to defend themselves, to relieve each other, or to annoy the forces opposed to them. The moment the great fort, on which were all the available men he had at his disposal, was finished, he drew off all his forces from that side of the river they had been, except a thousand foot and about three hundred horse, which he left on the island under the command of Sir Hardress Waller.[1] Nor were the Confederates outside the

[1] Sir Hardress Waller—"Waller of Castletown"—belonged to an ancient Kent family which bore the shield of the Duke of Orleans pendent from their family crest, in memory of their having made that French Prince of the blood prisoner at the battle of Agincourt. To this family Sir William Waller, the distinguished Parliamentary General, and Edmund Waller, the well known poet, belonged. George Waller, father of Sir Hardress, was its chief (as is now Mr. Waller of Castletown), and marrying a daughter of the ancient family of Hardress, who took the opposite side to him in the civil wars, and obtained a Baronetcy from Charles I. in 1642; he was father of Sir Hardress. This gallant soldier was employed at the taking of Bristol; and Cromwell says, in his dispatch to Speaker Lenthall, describing the successful assault on the nobly defended house of Basing, "Sir Hardress Waller, performing his duty with honor and diligence, was shot in the arm." He afterwards proceeded to Ireland, where he had long before acquired the Castletown estate by marriage with Elizabeth, one of the daughters and co-heirs of Sir John Dowdall, knight of Kilfenny. Here he was made Major-General of the Horse, and was M.P. for the County of Limerick; he also acquired large estates in the county by grant, which included Lickadoon Castle near Roxborough; but being one of the judges at the trial of Charles I. he was tried for it at the Restoration. He pleaded guilty, and had not only the gift of his life, but permission to reside with his family. But all his property was forfeited, and granted with that of the other regicides, to the Duke of York, from whom, when King James II., it was again taken at the Revolution, and sold in lots to the Hollow Sword Blade Company and other persons. Lady

walls idle; they were aware of the vast advantage of retaining Limerick in their possession, and to achieve that object they spared no exertion. Lord Muskerry had brought together about 5000 horse and foot in the counties of Cork and Kerry, and David Roche between two and three thousand men in Clare. Lord Broghill and Major Wallis were despatched to oppose Lord Muskerry, whilst General Ludlow, with a detachment, was sent to look after the other. Broghill encountered Muskerry, and defeated him. Ludlow crossed the river at Inchecroghnan, and had some difficulty in preventing the pass of that place falling into the hands of Roche's soldiery, who, however, retreated, and enabled Ludlow to return to Limerick, after having encountered and overcome some severe obstructions before he relieved the garrison of Carrigaholt. He at length arrived at Limerick, where considerable progress had been made in the works, and where a reinforcement from England had landed nearly four thousand foot, to recruit an army which had been thinned by the climate, the change in food, the diseases to which they were subject, and the casualties of war.

Ireton, nowithstanding this timely succour to his forces, began to tremble for the fate of the campaign. The plague was raging in the city. In every street the wild wail of sorrow was heard over the stark corpses of the victims of famine and the black sickness, which the want of air, the stench, and the awful circumstances of the place had caused. An hospital was erected by Ireton outside the walls, while the works was progressing for the siege. In the interim he visited Killaloe, where a garrison lay, and directed that a bridge should be built, or rather, we imagine repaired, for the better communication of the counties of Tipperary and Clare. Ludlow accompanied him in this duty, and many horses were knocked up by the journey—so hard were they driven. The progress of Cromwell's army in England, while matters were going on thus in Ireland, was so successful, that he carried every thing in the field before him. The intelligence of these victories was heard within the city; but it did not blanch the cheeks, or unnerve the hearts of the brave men who had sworn to defend their altars and their hearths with the last drop of their blood. It was a weary time for Ireton—a fatal one for his army, which in the gloom and mist of our climate, were daily dying in hundreds of fever and ague, and plague—who were suffering too from scarcity of provisions, and also were anxious that the siege should be raised, or that some event should occur to draw them out of their alarming difficulties.

There was no sign of surrender made from within. Ireton could make no impression by cannon or by persuasion—he would have left if he could. He went with Ludlow into the neighbouring parts of Clare to look after the confederate soldiers who were there in numbers, to seek sustenance for his wasting army—but he could do nothing. Horses and cattle vanished, as if the earth had swallowed them; men and arms disappeared as if by magic, the moment Ireton and Ludlow came near them. While Ireton and Ludlow were thus engaged, a sally was made by two thousand foot out of Limerick—so suddenly that they almost surprised the body-guard of Ireton; they were

Waller, however, whose family were of old Irish descent, and had secretly favoured the Stuarts in the civil war, was not interfered with in the possession of the Castletown estate which she had inherited from her ancestors, and which still belongs to her descendants. Her daughters had made marriages that gave the family some court influence at this time, and helped to keep his head on the shoulders of Sir Hardress. Elizabeth, Baroness Shelburne in her own right, married the able and powerful Sir William Petty. Bridget married Mr. Cadogan, and was mother of that gallant general, the first Earl of Cadogan; whilst Anne married Sir Henry Ingoldsby, Bart. whose conduct in 1660 materially assisted in restoring Charles II. to his father's throne.

driven back, but a destructive fire was opened upon the Cromwellians from the wall, under cover of which the forces that made the sally returned in safety within. Sir Hardress Waller endeavoured to persuade the garrison of Clare castle to surrender, but he was not able. Ludlow who was with him making the experiment, returned to the siege, and great numbers of the citizens endeavoured to make their escape from the city, stricken with the plague, and spreading it among Ireton's men. Ireton commanded them to return, threatened to shoot any who should attempt to come out for the future, and caused two or three of them to be hanged and others to be whipped back into the city! The daughter of a poor man was among the number he sentenced to execution,—with piteous tears and lamentations the poor man desired they should spare the daughter and put him to death—but his request was refused. The butchers hanged the daughter, and whipped the wretched father back into the city! To add to the horror, a gibbet was raised within view of the walls; two persons were executed on it; they were condemned for something else—but they were put to death, to scare others from attempting to leave the city. The terrors of this frightful siege cannot be depicted in adequate language. Councils became divided within the walls. Death stalked through the streets, grim and ghastly, whilst the plague-victims lay on the foot-paths, spectacles for men to weep over. Ireton received hints that the strong were becoming weak—but, in this he was misled. The old Irish party remained firm against his advances, and the counsels of Terence O'Brien always dissipated doubt in the most alarming phases of the situation. The conduct indeed of the Bishop of Emly throughout the siege was of the most patriotic, noble and self-sacrificing character. He was offered an enormous sum of money—no less than forty thousand golden crowns,[1] and permission to retire wherever he would out of the kingdom, provided he ceased to exhort the people against surrender; but his heroic soul spurned the temptation—he had resolved to fight the good fight and win the crown that is promised to the just. When Ireton heard of the stern inflexibility of the bishop, he resolved at once to except him from amnesty, and every other condition he proposed to the besieged. He swore too, that he would visit with the most woful consequences the citizens if they hesitated to bring to him the head of the bishop, together with those of the twenty men who had voted against giving the city into his hands. A council assembled—a debate ensued. Two hundred ecclesiastics now met, and with one voice they proclaimed their determination to interpose between Ireton and the twenty he had named for death—but in vain, for all ecclesiastics were excepted. O'Daly throws out a dark hint, which is supposed to reflect on some of those who were engaged inside the walls at the time, and adds that the witnesses to the circumstances to which he alludes were in Lisbon at the moment he wrote. O'Brien offered to give himself up, so that the others should be saved—but his proposal was rejected by the ecclesiastics. There were some men, however, not to be trusted; and they were as well known to Ireton as to those who were about to become his victims. Fennel was one who held an important post, and who had already manifested his treasonable designs. Stackpole, the Recorder faltered; others of the corporation wished there was an end to the siege and its horrors. Ireton fomented the divisions that had prevailed so long—he inveighed, by name, against the men who were firm, against one whom he called a soldier of fortune,

[1] O'Heyne quoted in the Hibernia Dominicana.

meaning O'Neill who he said made a trade of war and did not value the lives of the people. Again the waverers demanded terms and compromises. The town council met—the meeting was stormy. O'Brien, Wolfe, Higgins and Purcell, with those who sympathised with them, cautioned the trembling cravens as to what they were about. The Irish had a prophecy that the last battle would be at Knocknaclashy, and as it was there that Broghill met and defeated Muskerry, a few weeks before, they held to the belief that victory would certainly favor the English. Cox remarks how strange a thing it was that the "Bridge-Barrels" of both armies were accidentally burnt at the commencement of the fight—but he adds that the soldiers on both sides never fought so bravely and so determinedly, "hacking and hewing with their swords, when they had spent their shot." Ireton was filled with joy at Broghill's victory, for he, too, felt the effect of the prophecy, though, no doubt, he was unwilling to appear credulous, and he ordered a grand salute of three vollies to be fired in his camp in token of so signal a triumph—the news of which was brought inside the walls in a very short time. However, he had no means of taking the city by assault or storm, or the regular process of a siege. The stores were full of provisions, calculated to last three months—the energy of the devoted portion of the citizens, headed by the bishops and clergy, would hear of no compromise. But there were mutinous and clamorous men for a cessation of arms, and false traitors, who wanted only the opportunity of handing over, bound hand and foot, bishops, clergy, and faithful citizens, to the remorseless rage of the tyrant; but interdicts and excommunications were posted upon the cathedral doors and the other churches of the city against those who would dare to betray the gates to Ireton.

So strong an impression was made, by the earnest party inside, that the treaty proposed by Ireton in which so many of the principal persons were excepted as to life, was rejected; and force was again put in requisition. The great guns were landed from the ships—other guns were brought from adjoining garrisons—a battery was erected against that part of the wall which had no earth lining within, no counterscarp, no protection, and that weak defence had been also shown to Ireton by some hidden traitor. The battery being in order, and the storming regiments told off to their several posts, a fire was opened—a breach was soon made—and a parley was beaten. The traitor Fennel had already seized on John's gate, and having been supplied with powder,[1] he threatened to give up the post to the enemy unless the garrison would consent to capitulate! When the breach was made, and the parley beat, the resolution to surrender the city was taken in the treason for which preparations had been made—the East gate was delivered up.[2] Ludlow states that this was the gate of the out-town or Irish-town, which was separated by a river,

[1] It is said by Cox that the powder was supplied by Creagh, the Mayor, and that he (Creagh) was aware of Fennell's intentions; but this is not generally credited.

[2] O'Daly states that the events which now impended were foreshadowed by three portentous signs which he enumerates:—The first, a most extraordinary phenomenon, witnessed on the 17th July, 1651, a little before midnight of the sacred day of St. Alexius; six weeks had the soldiers been fortifying the walls, and repairing the circumvallations; all was just completed, when, lo! from the eastern side of the mountain which is north of Limerick, there arose a lucid globe, brighter than the moon and little inferior to the sun, which for two leagues and a half shed a vertical light upon the city, and then died into darkness over the camp of the enemy. The second was the apparition of the Blessed Mother of God at about three o'clock in the afternoon, on the summit of the Church dedicated to her. She was seen by some simple people at work in the fields, accompanied by St. Francis and St. Dominick and five other heavenly beings, who seemed to follow her to the Convent of the Dominicans and thence to the Church of St. Francis

with a draw-bridge over it, from the English town. Ireton ordered all the arms and ammunition to be preserved, and the soldiers who were not of the city to be drawn up between it and the Parliamentary army, that such as desired might have convoys to conduct them to their respective parties; and that those who wished to return to their habitations should have passes to that effect. The governor of the city, Hugh O'Neil, met Ireton at the gate, where he presented him with the keys of the city and gave orders for the marching out of the soldiers who were not townsmen, according to the articles. These numbered about 2,500 men, not a few of whom, as they were going out, fell down dead of the plague. Several of them also lay stark dead and were buried in the church-yard. Ireton was shown the stores of arms, ammunition and gunpowder, the quantities of provisions, altogether a three months' supply. The fortifications were also shown—he was pointed out everything, and told, at the same time, that nine or ten of those who were excepted in the articles, threw themselves on his mercy, and were waiting his orders in a house which the governor (O'Neil) named. The illustrious Terence Albert O'Brien, bishop of Emly, was taken in the pest-house, where Father Wolfe and major-general Purcell were also at the moment. Geoffrey Barron and Sir Geoffrey Galway surrendered. Dominick Fanning, the lion-hearted, who had at all times bravely withstood whatever was contrary to principle and to faith, was taken in the church-yard of St. Francis, where he had secreted himself in the tomb of his ancestors[1]. It is computed that 5000 people died in the city during the siege of the plague and of sickness, but notwithstanding this, the above number of soldiers marched out, and there still remained 4000 Irishmen within, capable of bearing arms.

Two days after the surrender the mayor came to the place of worship (St. Mary's cathedral it is supposed) where the court-martial sat, and whether by words or actions he gave cause to those present to suspect who he was—he was arrested and committed to prison. O'Dwyer, the bishop, made his escape —it is alleged, in the dress of a soldier[2]. At the court-martial, O'Brien, the glorious bishop of Emly, and major-general Purcell appeared, and were questioned as to what they had to say why they should not suffer death. De Burgo gives from O'Heyne, who had been an eye-witness, a full account of the extraordinary manner in which this saintly prelate met his death[3].

within the walls. O'Daly states that he narrates the circumstances as they were heard by Father James Dooly from those who witnessed them. The third was the birth of a monster a few days before the surrender of Limerick. This strange object, the mother of which was far from being correct, may be thus described:—Out of one trunk grew two bodies having all the members complete; but what astonished every one was that whensoever the two faces indicated friendship or hostility, the shoulders of the twain might be observed to retreat, so that they never could join in cordial embrace. Father Meehan, the translator of O'Daly, remarks that it is not to be wondered at in such disastrous moments, a people who suffered every thing for religion, should conjure up visions, and take omens from a flash of lightning or some unusual meteoric appearance. Such has been the case with every people under heaven, particularly in time of war. The puritanism of Parsons and Borlase were not proof against the cawing of crows on the top of Dublin Castle in the year 1662.—*Meehan's Translation of O'Daly*, p. 208.

[1] I give this fact on the authority of the writer of "Aphorismical Discovery of Faction"—a MS. in Trinity College Library—who throws the whole blame of the surrender of Limerick on the treachery and cowardice of Fennell.

[2] Ludlow says that it was understood afterwards that he was of a more peaceable spirit than the rest; and suspicion has been cast on the part he acted throughout.

[3] Father Terence Albert O'Brien, or O'Brian, Master of Sacred Theology, an alumnus of the Limerick Convent (of St. Saviour), Prior of the Province of Ireland, elected at Kilkenny in 1643, as I have said elsewhere, and created in 1644 Bishop of Emly in Munster, under the Archbishop of Cashel, after the death of James O'Hurley, presently referred to, departed this

Purcell fell on his knees, and begged earnestly for his life, but this request was denied to him: at his execution, in order to support him, he was held up by two of Ireton's musqueteers. Father Wolfe met his death as his life declared he would—with spirit and vigour.[1] O'Neil and Geoffrey Barron were

"

life for a better world an. 1651, being hung at Limerick for his defence of the Catholic faith on the vigil of All Saints. Of this truly Apostolic Prelate, worthy of the golden ages of the Church, consulting the brevity prescribed to me, I shall say nothing except what has been stated by his contemporaries—to wit, the Rev. the Master General *de Marinis*, and other Fathers of eminent wisdom members of the general Roman Chapter of 1656, lately referred to, who write in its transactions to the following effect:—

"Here (in the province of Ireland) has arisen in prolific maturity a great harvest of those who have suffered grievous torments, especially in our time, for the Catholic faith,—a harvest garnered in heaven by handfuls, since out of forty-three convents, which the order possessed in this island, not one remains at this day, which the fury of the heretical persecutor has not burned or levelled to the ground, or secularised to his own profane uses. To the year 1646 were numbered amongst them 600 fathers, more or less, of whom perhaps not one-fourth is now left, and, that exiled from their native country, the rest being either cut off by the martyrdom of their house, or having met a tedious death after a cruel banishment to the Islands of Barbadoes in the new world.

"Amongst the priors most deserving of first mention, is the most illustrious and reverend Father Terence Albert O'Brien, a scion of the renowned stock of the ancient kings of Ireland, who having happily completed his studies in the province of Spain, returning to his country, did by his example and word wonderfully improve the vineyard of the Lord, having filled with good fruit the priorship of his native convent of Limerick twice and that of Lorrah once. As provincial he attended the General Chapter *(Capitulem Generalissimem)* held at Rome in 1644, where being honored with the degree of Master by the new General Master of the order, Brother Thomas Turkins, for the merits and zeal which he had intrepidly displayed in defending the unity of the order and just reverence for the supreme head, and being a short time afterwards appointed by Urban VIII. to the Bishoprick of Emly, he devoted his whole energies to it, so that he everywhere constantly united the inviolable maintenance of his order and institute with the dignity of a prelate, and everywhere indefatigably aided the church, which at that time was ever so much in need of such a head in Ireland, by his authority, counsel, and vigilance. And while thus employed, in the year 1651, in the city of Limerick, then pressed with a severe siege by Henry Ireton, son-in-law of Cromwell, and a genuine Cromwellian, proconsul (Procromullius of Ireland) set a noble example of integrity and firmness, for, being tempted privately by the above-named leader of the heretics by the offer of 40,000 golden crowns, and free leave to emigrate wherever he might choose, provided only he left the city, magnanimously refused, preferring to assist even unto death his Catholic fellow citizens, than to make a figure elsewhere, by means of a safe conduct granted by heretics, or to pursue pleasure unmolested. Accordingly, when the city was at last taken, being arrested, bound, and dragged to the market place, he there gloriously finished his course, on the very day of the vigil of All Saints, being publicly executed on the gallows.

"While he proceeded joyfully to the place of punishment, bowing with a serene countenance to the Catholics who inconsolably weeping had flocked around him, he spoke these last words, which penetrated the hearts of even the heretics themselves:—'Preserve the faith,' said he, 'keep the commandments; do not complain of God's will, which, if you do, you will possess your souls; and do not weep for me, but pray that, being firm and unbroken amidst this torment of death, I may happily finish my course.' The persecutor, Ireton (to whom Albert had expressly denounced the approaching vengeance of God), being a short time after dreadfully tortured with plague and phrenzy, openly confessed to the officers who stood by him, participators in his malice and aggression, that the murder of the innocent bishop was now at last fatal to himself. Then, turning his face to the wall, he kept privately muttering to himself, saying, 'I never gave the aid of my counsel towards the murder of that bishop; never, never; it was the council of war did it, it was the work of the council, let themselves look to it,' &c.; and 'I wish I had never seen this popish bishop, or never seen him except at a distance.' Amidst such words, and the scourges of conscience, with deep groans, he delivered up his soul to the lower regions. The head of the martyr, fixed on a lofty stake, and placed on the top of the King's Fort *(Arx Regius)* was in times long after seen to drop, as it were, still fresh blood, with the face entire, the flesh, skin, and hair, in no respect changed, a certificate of incorruption, for the tradition is constant, that he lived to the last with virgin purity; so that we may, even from this, conjecture that as Virgin, Doctor, Bishop, and Martyr, he is now distinguished in heaven by more than one crown. A more lengthened account of his life and conflict shall one day see the light."—*Extract translated from the Hibernia Dominicana, pp.* 448-9.

[1] In the same year (1651) and in the same city, the R. A. P. Fr. Woulfe, Preacher General, a venerable old man, suffered death for our Saviour Christ—he had with great sanctity performed the duties of Prior in several priorates. Being long since become a confessor of Christ, during

condemned also, but having been born abroad, O'Neil claimed exemption; he and Barron were heard in their own defence. O'Neil, who had earned the wrath of Ireton for his magnificent defence of Clonmel, stated that the war had been long on foot when he came over; that he came on the invitation of his countrymen—that he had been always a fair enemy—that he had not encouraged resistance when there was no hope of their being able to hold out—and that therefore the articles did not apply to him when they condemned those who stated there should be no surrender. He declared that he faithfully delivered up the keys of the city, with all the arms, ammunition and provisions, without complaint, and his own person also to Ireton. All this did not appease the tyrant, but it moved the other members of the court so much, that they voted for his acquittal.

Again O'Neil was tried, and again sentence of death was passed upon him; but Ireton seeing the dissatisfaction of the officers more unequivocally expressed, he no longer adhered to his own opinion, and the matter being referred again to the consideration of the Court, they, by their third vote consented to save his life. Geoffrey Barron, having the same questions put to him, he stated that it was not just to exclude him from mercy, because he had been engaged in the same cause that Ireton pretended to fight for, which was for the liberty and religion of his country. Ireton replied that Ireland being a conquered country, England might with justice assert her rights of conquest—that they had been treated by the late government far beyond their merit or the rules of reason, notwithstanding which they had barbarously murdered all the English who fell into their hands, robbed them of their goods, which they had gained by their industry, and taken away the lands which they had purchased with their money—that touching the point of religion there was a wide difference also between them, they contending for their right without imposing their opinions on others—whereas Geoffry Barron's party were not, as Ireton fiercely alleged, content without compelling all others to submit to their impositions upon pain of death! The council of war, hearing these statements, adjudged death against Barron, and he was sentenced and died; Fennel also, and four and twenty better men were led to the scaffold.[1] Ireton's death was an acknowledged divine vengeance.[2]

Sir Hardress Waller was now made governor of the city of Limerick.

a tedious confinement, even to these last times of the persecutions he fulfilled the duties of his ministry, with indefatigable zeal, and stoutly opposed himself as a bulwark in defence of the authority of the Apostolic See. At length, being arrested at Limerick, about the very time of the oblation of the unbloody sacrifice, after some hours, having received sentence of death, he was brought into court, and having made a profession of the Catholic faith in the hearing of all, he exhorted the faithful to constancy in preserving the faith of their fathers. Placed on the upper step of a ladder, and presently about to be thrown off, he cheerfully exclaimed, "We have been made a show unto God, angels, and men—to God, may he himself grant, for glory—to angels, for joy—to men, for contempt"—after saying which, being immediately hung from the gibbet, he breathed his last.—*From O'Heyne's Chronological Epilogue.*

[1] Castlehaven says that no more than ordinary justice was done in this instance to Fennell; he adds, "Some say he was carried to Cork, and there pleaded for his defence, not only the service he did Ireton in betraying Limerick, but how he had betrayed Castlehaven before Youghal! However, (adds Castlehaven) his judges would not hear him on his merits, but bid him clear himself of the murders laid to his charge." No one can regret the fate of Fennell, terrible though it was.

[2] Ireton was called the "Scribe" from his skill in drawing up declarations, petitions and ordinances. His antagonists allow him to be an able, but not a virtuous statesman, indeed he appears to have been the most artful, designing and deliberate man of his party. He was buried in Henry VII's chapel Westminster, but his body, after the restoration, was exhumed, gibbeted and burnt at Tyburn.—*Noble's Memoirs of the Cromwell Family.*

While the storm raged in all its fury, there were twenty thousand communicants within the walls of Limerick. The whole city put on the garb of penitential sorrow in order to draw down the blessings of heaven on the suffering patriots who braved the bribe, the sword, famine and pestilence. Laws were established by the citizens against cursing and swearing; and crime of every kind was banished.[1] The plague daily felled its victims; among them was O'Dwyer, brother to the bishop, who exposed his life, going among the dying poor, with the Vincentian Fathers consoling and relieving them. Many, after the surrender, were cruelly massacred, merely for their faith.[2] Mr. Thomas Stritch, on terminating a spiritual retreat, had been elected mayor, and ever after proving himself a devoted friend to Ireland and her faith, on receiving the keys of the city he laid them at the feet of the Blessed Virgin's statue, praying her to receive the city under her protection, whilst at the same time, as an act of homage, all public guilds marched with banners flying to the church. Stritch addressed the assembly, calling on them to be faithful to God, to the church, and to the king, and stated his readiness to accept the martyr's crown, which he received soon afterwards, together with three others who had been his companions on the spiritual retreat.[3] Sir Patrick Purcell, who is called by Father Anthony Bruodin, in his *Descriptio Regini Hiberniæ*, "the most illustrious Vice-general of all Munster, a noble-hearted and most accomplished warrior, for in Germany, under Ferdinand, acquired an immortal renown, combating against Sweden and France." After his execution by the rope his head was cut off, and exposed on a stake over St. John's Gate. Geoffrey Barron, who was envoy to the king of France for the Confederate Catholics, was beheaded and quartered, after he was hanged. We have already spoken of Dominick Fanning. Daniel O'Higgin, M.D., "a wise and pious man," who also was led to the scaffold, and Father Laurence Walsh is spoken of as having likewise suffered.[4]

The disgraceful treaty on which the city was surrendered, is couched in these terms:—

Articles agreed on the 27th day of October, 1651, between Henry Ireton, the Deputy General; and Barth. Stackpoole, Recorder of Limerick; Alderman Dominick White; Nich. Haly, Esq.; Lieutenant-Colonel Pierce Lacy, Lieutenant-Colonel Donough O'Brien, and John Baggot, Esq., Commissioners on behalf of the Mayor and Inhabitants.

I. That the city and castle, and all places of strength, be delivered to the Deputy General on the 29th instant, by sunset, for the use of the Parliament and Commonwealth of England, for performance whereof, the said Dominick White, Pierce Lacy, Donough O'Brien, and Nicholas Haly shall remain as hostages.

[1] Abelly, p. 212.
[2] Abelly, p. 218.
[3] We perceive by the diary of Dr. Thomas Arthur, that he attended several respectable citizens, including some of his own name, who had been labouring under the plague. We find that he attended Colonel Henry Ingoldsby, who fared so well in consequence of these wars, for a scorbutic affection, and that he received a fee of £1 on the first occasion and £4 afterwards.
[4] "An eye witness to the unheard of cruelties to which the prisoners were subjected," by Morison in his Phrenodia Hiberna Catholica (Oenoponti 1659) corroborates Bruodin as to these facts, many more of which could be adduced; so many as to cause St. Vincent de Paul to cry out, "that the blood of these martyrs will not be forgotten before God, and sooner or later will produce an abundant harvest of Catholicity."*

* Abelly, p. 220.

II. In consideration of which, all persons now in the city shall have their lives and properties, except the following, who opposed and restrained the deluded people from accepting the conditions so often offered to them :—

Major-General Hugh O'Neil, Governor,
Major-General Purcell,
Sir Geoffrey Galway,
Lieut.-Colonel Lacy,
Captain George Woulfe,
Captain-Lieutenant Sexton,
Edmund O'Dwyer, Bishop of Limerick,
Terence O'Brien, Bishop of Emly,
John Quin, a Dominican Friar,
Captain Laurence Walsh, a Priest,
Francis Woulfe, a Friar,
Philip Dwyer, a Priest,
Alderman Dominick Fanning,
Alderman Thomas Stritch,
Alderman Jordan Roche,
Edmund Roche, Burgess,
Sir Richard Everard,
Dr. Higgin,
Maurice Baggot, Baggotstown,
and Geoffry Barron.

In addition were Evans, a Welsh soldier and another deserter.

III. All officers, soldiers and other persons in the city, shall have liberty to remove themselves, their families and property to any part of Ireland.

IV. All citizens and inhabitants shall have liberty to stay in the city, until they get warning to depart.

V. All persons now in the city, except those mentioned in the third article, who desire to live peaceably and submit to the Parliament of England, shall be protected in any part of the kingdom.

These indeed, were disgraceful articles to submit to, but where the blame lies, there let it be for ever branded in characters not to be erased!

1 Dr. Arthur mentions among those whom he professionally attended soon after the surrender :—

	£	s.	d.
Edward Pyersy, Quarter-Master General of the horse ...	00	10	0
Ditto, 30th November	00	10	0
Ditto, 7th December	00	10	0
Ditto, 1st January	00	10	0
William Skinner	00	10	0
——— Wallebey	00	10	00
The above Skinner on several separate occasions afterwards, for which he received the same fee each time of	00	10	00
Ensign Burnell	00	10	00
Colonel Henry Ingoldsby	01	0	00
The same again; as the cure being for scorbutic disease ...	04	0	0
Ensign Bendamo	00	10	0
Ensign Browne	00	10	0
Lieutenant-Colonel John Woodman, wife very ill	1	0	0
Lieutenant Robert Cooke		16	0
Lady Honora O'Brien, daughter of Henry Earl of Thomond	02	00	0
Ensign Henry Moorethon	00	10	0
Ensign Owington	00	10	0
Major May	01	2	0
Ensign Bently	00	10	0

The town of Galway fell soon after the surrender of Limerick. Before these latter events Ludlow proceeded on an expedition to Clare, with 2000 foot and 1500 horse, arriving at Inchegronan, within fifteen miles of Limerick. Clare castle and Carrigaholt fell. He returned to Limerick by Burren, "of which it is said" (says Ludlow[1]), "that it is a country where there is not water enough to drown a man, wood enough to hang one, or earth enough to bury him, which last is so scarce that the inhabitants steal it from one another, and yet their cattle is very fat, for the grass growing on the "turfts" of earth two or three feet square, that lie between the rocks, which are on limestone, is very sweet and nourishing."

On this occasion Ludlow visited Lemenagh castle,[2] and had an interview with Lady Honora O'Brien, daughter to the late Earl of Thomond—who, being accused of protecting the cattle of the neighbouring people, was upbraided by Ireton, who said, "as much a cynic as I am, the tears of this woman moved me."[3]

CHAPTER XXVIII.

CONFISCATION.—OPPRESSIVE TAXATION ON THE CITIZENS.—FEARFUL BURDENS.—FLEETWOOD.

We pass for a while from the city and its concerns, to a view of events elsewhere. The Parliament of England now began to concert measures for "the final settlement and administration of Ireland." Lambert was appointed successor to Ireton. Ultimately, however, Lambert resigned, and Fleetwood, who had married Ireton's widow, was appointed in his place. Two acts relative to Ireland were debated in Parliament—one for the confiscation of all the lands of 'the rebels;' another for adjusting the claims of adventurers, i.e. those Englishmen and others who had ventured money advances in the war. Among those specially excepted from life and estate, the Marquis of Ormond, who was unable to play the double game with the Parliamentarians, Lord Inchiquin, Bramhal, the Protestant Bishop of Derry, a man peculiarly obnoxious to the republicans, were distinctly named.

Early in the Spring of 1652, an edict was issued that the Catholic clergy should quit the kingdom under capital penalties. By this nefarious enactment it was decreed, "that every Romish Priest was deemed guilty of rebellion, and sentenced to be hanged until he was half dead; then to have

Lieutenant Mason	...	...	...	...	...	00	10	0
Major Whyttle	...	...	...	...	...	00	10	0
Lieutenant Barethrowne (quere Barrington)					...	00	8	6
Lieutenant Dingle	...	...	...	...	...	00	10	0

Several similar entries are made in the Diary of Dr. Arthur, respecting his attendance on the Parliamentary officers, &c., all of whom appear to have paid him very liberally and punctually, and many of whom suffered not only from scurvy, but from cholera morbus, wounds, pestilence, &c.

[1] Ludlow's Memoirs.

[2] To this day Lemenagh castle shows that it had been in the days when it was occupied by the O'Briens—a truly noble baronial residence.

[3] Ludlow's Memoirs.

his head cut off and his body divided in quarters; his bowels to be drawn out and burnt, and his head fixed upon a pole in some public place. The punishment of those who entertained a Priest was by the same enactment, confiscation of their goods and chattels, and the ignominious death of the gallows." The same fine was set upon the head of a priest as upon the head of a wolf, (five pounds.) Morrison here quoted, declares that "neither the Israelites were more cruelly persecuted by Pharaoh, nor the innocent infants by Herod, nor the Christians by Nero, or any of the other Pagan tyrants, than were the Roman Catholics at this fatal juncture." In Limerick this edict was promulgated by the local governors, who acted on behalf of the Commonwealth. So fierce an ukase had a direful effect as might be expected, on those Catholics who had remained in the city, and who hoped they could follow the profession of their faith without hindrance, as long as they did not interfere with the progress of the Puritans, who now filled every office. Bearing badly the tyrannical mandate, they requested Dr. Arthur, whose influence was extensive with those in power, that he would place their deplorable case before the authorities in Dublin. They felt sore at heart to think that they should be without the ministrations of their Pastors. Dr. Arthur states,[1] that he undertook the duty with zeal and earnestness—he does not acquaint us with the result, no doubt he was unsuccessful; he adds however, that he arrived in Dublin on the 6th of February, that he remained till the 15th of August, and that he received a sum of £82 15s. for professional services rendered while there.

The money levies on the citizens, for the exigencies of the Puritan army and the requirements of the new government after the surrender, were literally enormous. They would be incredible if they were not vouched for by indisputable data.[2] Under the new *regime* the citizens of Limerick had no reason indeed to congratulate themselves.

[1] Arthur MSS.

[2] Dr. Arthur's account of what he was called upon to pay, and for what purpose, is in his own hand-writing (Arthur MSS.), from which I extract the following particulars:—

Decembris,	1651, of the first cess levied after the surrender I payed ...	£7	10	0
Januarii,	1652, of the second levy I payed Thos. Fitzwm. Fanning ...	5	10	9
Martii,	1652, for fyer to the gardes delivered to Ptk. Fitzjames Whyte ...	0	02	9
For	1652, for fyer and candle light to the said gardes delivered to Thos. Fanning	0	06	0
22nd Martii,	1652, for lodging moneys to the guarrizon delivered to Thos. Fanning	1	06	1
0 Aprilis,	1652, for the Poore and losses of the bill to Thos. Fanning ...	0	10	8
Aprilis,	1652, for a leviye then made	5	17	6
May,	1652, ...	0	13	4
0 Junii,	1652, for a leviye then made	4	02	0
7 Junii,	1652, for some arrears due of the said former leivye	0	10	0
90 Julii,	1652, for a levy then made delivered to Thomas Woulfe ...	4	00	0
30 Julii,	1652, for a levy then made and for fyer and candlelight ...	2	13	4
30 Augustii,	1652, for fyer and candlelight	0	00	4
0 Augustii,	1652, for a levy then made and delivered to Thomas Woulfe ...	2	13	4
Septembris,	1652, for a levy then made, delivered to Thomas Woulfe ...	4	00	0
Septembris,	1652, for fyer and candlelight	4	00	0
Septembris,	1652, for skynnes recovered against the Corporation	3	00	0
Octobris,	1652, for a levy then made, delivered to Thomas Woulfe ...	3	06	8
Novembris,	1652, for stocks and skavengers	0	03	0
Decembris,	1652, for the new gate of St. John's	1	0	0
	for fyer and candlelight to Clement Stackpol	0	3	4
Januarii,	1653, for a levy then made and delivered to Wm. Meroney ...	1	3	8
Januarii,	1653, for fyer and candlelight to the citadells for 3 months ...	2	10	0
"	1653, for that moneth's contribution to Wm. C. Meroney ...	1	17	6
"	1653, for that moneth's contribution, payed to Wm. Meroney ...	2	02	6
"	1653, for that moneth's C. payed to Wm. Meroney	1	14	4½

To increase the extreme rigor and misery of these terrible times of suffering, corn and provisions of every description were scarce and high priced. The great market for corn in particular, was 'Nenagh in Ormond,' to which such of the citizens of Limerick as possessed the means, were accustomed to go or to send their messengers, to purchase supplies for their household and their workmen. At this time corn was about £2 a bushel[1] in Ormond. It may be observed that in these times and before them, it was usual not only to pay the artisan and the labourer in cash, not quite so much, indeed as they are now paid, but to bake bread, to brew malt, to lay in store barrels of herrings and quantities of butter for their consumption, a long account of which we find set forth in the MSS. of Dr. Arthur during the comparatively lengthened period he was building a great "stone howse in Mongret-street, in the south suburb of the city of Limerick," which stone house he began in 1620, but which he had scarcely finished when Ireton was thundering at the gates.[1] Previous to the surrender, the impositions, though not so heavy, were severe. The levies were monthly. In addition, horse and foot were quartered on such of the citizens as could or could not bear the burden.[2] There were levies and applotments also for the ditches, outworks and fortifications, previous to the siege and sur-

	Warding the gate whyles the new gate was a making at several nights to Owelane	0	12	6
1653,	payed for the savengers, town maior, & for fyre & candlelight	0	16	0
1653,	payed for that moneth's contribution to Wm. Meroney ...	2	03	9
	payed for fyre and candlelight to the citadels for the 3 months past	2	15	0
	payed for that moneth's contribution, p. L. R. Tickett ...	1	17	6
	payed for the next moneth's contribution to come payed to T. Arthur	1	12	1½
	To Thomas Gerrott Arthur, for Cess	1	12	0
	paid him for the citadell moneys	1	12	0
	paid him for the moneth's cess	1	12	0
	paid him for the moneth's cess	1	12	0
	lighting to the guards	0	03	2

On the opposite page Dr. Arthur enters :—

Cess Moneyes.

Octobris, 1653,	I payed to Thomas Arthur a head bill for cess	£35	5	0
18° Novembris,	I payed to Michael Stritch head bill for cess moneys ...	30	2	5
10° Decembris,	I payed him for cess moneys	30	0	0

[1] To shew the quantity and capacity of mere brewing materials in private houses in Limerick in these times I take the following from the Arthur MSS.—

"A note of what goods and household stuf Doctor Thomas Arthur Fitzwilliam left in the custodie of his wife in his mansion-house at Lymerick :—

1. Bras kitle, weighing four hundred weight, able to contein a whole hogsed of liquor, with his parents' names thereuppon, and cost him twenty pounds sterling, being bought from them.

2. Another bras kitle a little smaller than the former, both for brewing.

3, 4. Brass destelling pots, whereof one is bigger than the other, with their hurdles, pipes, and necessarie accommodations.

5. A deep large brass pan to boil meate in as a quarter of beeffe."

[The list enumerates several other vessels of somewhat smaller dimensions.]

"8 big brass candlesticks, weighing 27½ lbs. of Holland fashion, and cost me 45s. and 6d. ster.

A coper cauderon capable of a barrel !

Various 'Brass Mortars with iron pestills.'

1 ould baltrey (quere paltry?) kitle in paune of Phillis Creagh's rent."

The latter item, perhaps, might be omitted, but in hard times it is no wonder that rent was due.

[2] Dr. Arthur enters as follows:—

"From the 2nd day of June to the 2nd of November, 1651, I payed to such horse and foot as the head bill, Wm. Morony, quartered uppon me, and for several others.

More I payed to the said Wm. Moroney towards the English guarizon."

render; and for the money "lent to James Marquis of Ormond, Lieutenant General and General Governor of Ireland."[1] The pressure was intolerable.

The surrender of Limerick and Galway, the latter under terms better by far than Limerick,[2] put an end to what has been conventionally termed the great rebellion. The only Castle in Munster that held out was Ross, in the lake of Killarney, which was thought impregnable, but Ludlow caused a small ship to be made, and carried over the mountains—this he floated in the Lough; and the Irish were so astonished that they yielded up the fort on the 27th of June, 1652.

About the same time Lord Westmeath, Lord Muskerry, O'Connor Roe, Sir William Dungan, Sir Francis Talbot and others submitted upon conditions "that they should abide a trial for the murders committed in the beginning of the rebellion, and that those who assisted only in the war were to forfeit two-thirds of their estates and be banished.[3] Following out the fortunes of Inchiquin, who embarked for France from Galway with Lord Ormond, we find that being exempted from pardon by Cromwell, in 1652, he became a Lieutenant-General of the French army, and was appointed Viceroy of Catalonia by the king; serving afterwards in the Netherlands, and commanding the forces sent to assist the Portuguese, when they revolted from Spain, he was captured by a Sallee Rover or Algerine Corsair, with his family, and was obliged to pay a heavy ransom. He was created Earl of Inchiquin, and had a grant of £8000 from Charles II. as compensation for his losses. He lived a Catholic for fourteen years before his death, and died in Limerick; his body was interred in 1674 in the Cathedral of St. Mary's, the cannon firing during his interment.[4] Execrations cling to his memory.

CHAPTER XXIX.

THE HIGH COURT OF BUTCHERY—SAVAGE EXECUTIONS.—COURT OF ADVENTURERS.

THE first High Court of Justice to try those who were accused by the Cromwellians of "the barbarous murders committed in this rebellion," was held before Justice Donelan, President, Commissary General Reynolds and Justice Cooke, assistants, in Kilkenny on the 4th of October, and it sat in the house occupied by the Supreme Council of the confederates in 1642. Some, as we have already mentioned, were excluded from pardon altogether. The same Court at which Sir Phelim O'Neil was tried, condemned, and ordered to be hung, was held in Dublin, before Chief Justice Lowther. Sir Phelim confessed he had no commission from the late king Charles for the rebellion of 1641, that he took the seal from a patent he had found at Charlemont,

[1] For this purpose to H. Casy, Dr. Arthur paid £37 6 0
"Besides this share of moneies lent to Prince Rupert" 3 11 0
"And the double applotment of the weekly moneies for 6 weeks" 36 8 0
All these sums and several others were paid by Dr. Arthur, and he was but one among the many severely taxed.

[2] Cox Hib. Anglicana, Vol. II. p. 69.

[3] Ibid, p. 70.

[4] White's MSS.

and fixed it to a commission he caused to be written in the king's name, that Michael Harrisson, then present in court, and confessing the fact, was the person who stitched the cord or label of the seal with silk of the same colour. Lord Mayo was tried, and executed by being shot to death, for falling on the English, and killing among others the Protestant Bishop of Killala, and about eighty others, after the surrender of the Castle of Castlebar. Lord Maguire, notwithstanding his vehement protest, was tried and sentenced in England, and was not permitted the ministration of a catholic priest in his dying moments! Courts were held in Cork, Waterford, and other places, and about two hundred persons were sentenced to death at the hands of the common hangman.

I will not dwell on the wholesale robberies which were perpetrated at this crisis under the name of law. The forfeited lands in Ulster, Leinster and Munster, were parcelled out in separate proportions, a part of which was divided among the soldiers and the English adventurers. The Church lands too were not spared. What remained of the forfeitures was left to the disposal of the Parliament. A large tract of barren land in Connaught, which by plague and war, had been well nigh depopulated and rendered a desert, was set apart for the Irish, for whom the alternative was 'Connaught or hell.' To such a state had the country been reduced that a proclamation was issued by Cromwell offering a reward to those who killed wolves by which the country was now overrun; and by a lease which was made to Captain Edward Piers, on the 11th of March, 1652–'3, of all the forfeited lands and tithes, in the Barony of Dunboyne in the County of Meath, only five miles north of Dublin, he was obliged to keep three wolfdogs, two English mastiffs, a pack of hounds of sixteen couple, three of them to hunt the wolf only, a knowing huntsman, two men and a boy, and an orderly hunt to take place thrice a month at least.[1] If Leinster, within a short distance of Dublin, was so fearfully reduced, what must we think of Connaught, to which the Catholics were driven wholesale; and where many of them who had enjoyed large possessions in the most favored parts of Ireland before the war, had now no place whatever to receive them, though they were transferred to that province with an assurance that they would have sufficient. To show the general desolation of the country, even two years after these times, General Fleetwood writes to his friend Secretary Thurloe, on the 27th of June in that year from Dublin, "there hath scarce been a house left undemolished, fit for an Englishman to dwell in, out of walled towns in Ireland, nor any timber left, except in very few places, undestroyed."—*(Thurloe's State Papers, ii.* 404.)

The Mayoralty of Limerick continued vacant for four years from the date of the surrender, the government of the city being vested in a governor appointed by Ireton.

Some important occurences took place in this year:—writing under date May 7th, 1653, from Chester, he states that they shipped away in the Cardiff frigate £40,000 to Dublin, that Sir Hardress Waller is gone in the same ship; that they proceeded to sea, with a fair wind, the day before, and that it was hoped it would bring them to their desired port speedily.[2] A letter from Tralee on the 19th of April, states that there came from Limerick two vessels with near six weeks' provisions of bread 'for the forces within

[1] See Proceedings of Kilkenny Arch. Society, Vol. III. New Series, p. 77.
[2] State Papers, No. 2999.

this precinct, which is as reasonable a relief as we ever enjoyed. The Lord set it home upon our hearts, we find it not in vain to trust in him.'[1]

The Council of State from Whitehall, issued their orders respecting the satisfying of the claims of adventurers who had advanced considerable sums of money by way of adventure for lands forfeited in Ireland, authorising a commission to sit and enquire into all men's claims, by comparing their receipts and assignments with the original books, 'and directing that they shall cause an entry to be made in a book, fairly written and kept for that purpose, of all such sum and sums of money (in words not figures) as shall be by them allowed, as also the names of the first adventurers, as of the person or persons now claiming the same.' Further directions are given on this subject, and apportionments on the several Provinces and Counties, viz.:—

Co. Waterford ...	20,000	King's County ...	40,000
Co. Limerick ...	30,000	Queen's County ...	40,000
Co. Tipperary ...	60,000	Antrim	15,000
East Meath ...	55,000	Down	15,000
West Meath ...	65,000	Armagh	15,000

The acres to be English measurement, and the Committee to receive 1d. in the £1 of and for every adventurer, for so much land as he shall be entitled or lay claim to, towards defraying of all incidental charges, &c.

The condition of the citizens of Limerick was exceedingly miserable throughout this period. Dr. Arthur writes as follows:—"On the ides of December, 1653, the citizens of Limerick, about to be enrolled" [probably for enlistment purposes]" in the city, and having no settled dwelling place, requested me to plead their cause before the general of the army and the committee of the English Parliament [comitia] who were then at Dublin, that they would please to assign to them some certain place of habitation, on the northern side of the port of Limerick [in Clare] where they might dwell in security, lest, if they were straggling about, they might perish by exposure to insults and various perils of life and fortune; but having failed in the negociation, had them informed thereof by a messenger."[2] So unpopular was the Parliamentary service, that the natives who attempted to enlist were compelled to apply for protection which they failed to obtain! Among the minor notabilia we may mention that Charles Fleetwood, commander-in-chief of the Parliamentary army of England in Ireland, being subject to a painful disease by which he was periodically attacked, was attended by Dr. Arthur, who, at his request, wrote a treatise on the history, cause, progress and remedy of the distemper (He'miarani)[3]

[1] State Papers. [2] Arthur's MSS. [3] Arthur's MSS.

CHAPTER XXX.

DEPARTURE OF THE IRISH FOR FOREIGN LANDS.—CROMWELL'S PARLIAMENT —WHOLESALE CONFISCATIONS, &c.

So desperately oppressed were the Irish now that they petitioned to transport themselves into foreign service, which several of them were allowed to do. On the 5th of May, 1653, articles of agreement were drawn up between Colonel Theophilus Jones and Colonel Philip Reilly, on behalf of himself and gentry, by which they got liberty of transportation to Spain, leave to sell their goods, and enjoyment of personal estates, and satisfaction for their houses at reasonable rates; priests were compelled to quit the country within one month; prisoners of war were set at liberty within ten days, &c.[1] Colonel Fitzpatrick was allowed to go with his regiment into the service of the King of Spain. Colonel John O'Dwyer, commander-in-chief of the Irish in the counties of Waterford and Tipperary, followed the example. On his departure the celebrated song "John O'Dwyer of the Glen" was written,[2] and having entered into a treaty with Colonel Sankey, he obtained leave to possess his estates, and those who submitted with him, received the same privilege, all under the required qualification.[3] The sickness prevailed greatly in several parts of Ireland, and particularly about Dublin.[4] Dalrymple states[5] that Cromwell, in order to get free of his enemies, did not scruple to transport forty thousand Irish from their own country, to fill all the armies of Europe with complaints of his cruelty and admiration of their own valour! Colonel Prittie, who did good service for the Parliamentary cause in several places at this crisis, as well as Captain Jacob at Dundrum, Colonel Abbott and other officers "by whom the Irish were reduced to great extremities, were also rewarded." An act was passed by Cromwell's Parliament permitting the English adventurers, officers and soldiers to purchase the forfeited houses in Limerick, at six years' purchase, and that the city should have the same privileges, franchises and immunities with the city of Bristol in England, &c. The Parliament was summoned by the usurper out of England, Scotland and Ireland. Thirty members only were returned from Ireland, who under the pretext of avoiding the evils of election were 'selected' by commissioners appointed by the government. Sir Hardress Waller sat in this Parliament for the counties of Limerick, Kerry and Clare; and William Purefoy, Esq., for the city of Limerick and town of Kilmallock. The latter was succeeded in 1659 by Walter Waller, Esq.; these men, as may well be supposed, were the mere creatures of the government; and for the more effectual strengthening of his own power, Cromwell dismissed the Irish commissioners from their office, and constituted Fleetwood Deputy for three years. A short time afterwards he sent over his second son Henry, whom he

[1] State Papers, No. 3103.
[2] Hardiman's Minstrelsy.
[3] State Papers, No. 3091.
[4] On the 29th of June, 1653, it was stated that 1,800 Irish had transported themselves for Spain, over 5,000 more were ready to be transported, that many died, still more do die, both of the plague and famine.
[5] Memoirs of Great Britain, vol. 1.

vested with the authority of Lord Lieutenant, having removed Fleetwood. Martial law with savage ferocity some time prevailed in all the fortified towns and cities.

In the city of Limerick the government was military until 1656,[1] when by mandate from Cromwell the Puritan party elected twelve aldermen, who in the month of June in that year, elected Colonel Henry Ingoldsby Mayor.[2]

Large grants were made in the city and liberties of Limerick, and in particular in the North Liberties, to Sir William Petty,[3] surveyor-general, for the services performed in the celebrated Down Survey under which the

[1] The following is a list of the regiments established for the service in Ireland:—Eight regiments of horse—His Excellency General Cromwell's, General Fleetwood's, Lieutenant-General Ludlow's, Com.-General Reynolds', Sir Charles Coote, Colonel Henry Cromwell, Colonel Sankey; Two regiments of Dragoons—viz. Colonel Abbott's, Colonel Ingoldsby; Foot—twelve regiments, 1,200 each—General Cromwell's, General Fleetwood's, Major-General Waller's, Sir Charles Coote's, Colonel Hewestón's, Colonel Venalle's, Colonel Stubber's, Colonel Axtel's, Colonel Laurence's, Colonel Phair's, Colonel Sadler's, and Colonel Clark's.—*State Papers, No.* 3111,

[2] Sir Henry Ingoldsby, M.P. for Limerick, was son of Sir Richard Ingoldsby, knt. (by Elizabeth, daughter of Sir Oliver Cromwell, K.B.) and brother of Sir Richard Ingoldsby, K.B. an eminent general officer in the Parliamentary army. Sir Henry took a prominent, and, on many occasions, a very savage part in the Irish war, and was very instrumental in subjugating the South of Ireland to Cromwell's power; but, on the death of the Protector, Ingoldsby, who was a Presbyterian in politics and religious views, like Sir Hardress Waller, whose daughter Anne he had married, plotted to overthrow the independent party. He came over from Ireland, seized Windsor Castle, and held it for the party then led by Monk, who eventually restored Charles II. He had been created a Baronet by Cromwell in 1658; but Charles II. conferred the same title on him in 1660. It became extinct with his grandson in 1726, when part of the estates fell to the noble family of Massy.

The Ingoldsbys fared well in the war. Major George Ingoldsby's share of the spoil was large:—In the Parish of Ludden, or Luddenbeg he was granted Ballybricken, 404A. 2R. 16P. for £6 2s. 10½d. per an.—In North Ballyharden and Grange ... 20 2 12

In other places in the same parish, and in other baronies, viz.—Clanwilliam, Small County, &c ... ... 1241 2 2 (plant.)

or = 2611 0 0 (stat.)

For a total rent of £18 7s. 4¼

And in Tipperary he obtained ... ... 711A. 1R. 14P. (plant.)

or = 1152 1 0 (stat.

for a total rent of ... ... £10 16s. 0¼d.

The lands in Tipperary he sold to William Jesse, gent.—*Enrolled 12th August, 1666.*

[3] Sir William Petty by his employment in surveying the forfeited lands in Ireland after the rebellion of 1641, acquired an estate of £6000 a year, and could from Mangerton Mountain, in the Barony of Dunkerron, Co. Kerry, behold 50,000 acres of his own lands, which large acquisition brought such an odium on him that he published a book to show the unreasonableness thereof, entituled "reflections upon some persons and things in Ireland," wherein he demonstrates that he might have acquired as large a fortune, without ever meddling with surveys. "In the year 1649, (says he), I proceeded M.D., after the charge whereof, and my admission into the College of *London*, I had left about £60. From that time till about August, 1652, by my practice, fellowship at *Gresham* and at *Brazen Nose* College, and by my anatomy lectures at *Oxford*, I had made that £60 to be near £500; from August, 1652, when I went into Ireland, to December, 1654, when I began to survey, and other public engagements, with £100 advance money, and £365 a year of well paid salary, as physician-general to the army, as also by my practice among the chiefs, in a chief city of a nation, I made my said £500 above £1600; for a year in Ireland could not be less than £200, which with £550 for another year's salary and practice—viz. until the lands were set out in October, 1655, would have increased my stock to £2,750, with £2,000 whereof I could have bought £8,000 debentures, which could have then purchased me 15,000 acres of land, viz. as much as I am now accused to have; these 15,000 could not yield me less than 2s. per acre, £1,500 *per annum*, especially receiving the rents of May day preceding. This year's rent, with £550 for my salary and practice, &c., till December, 1656, would have bought me, even then (debentures growing dearer) £6,000 in debentures, whereof the 5-7ths then paid would have been about £4,000 neat, for which must have had about 8,000 acres more, being as much almost as I conceive is due to me. The rent for 15,000 acres and 8,000 acres, for three years, could not have been less than £7,000, which, with the same three years' salary, viz. £1,650, would have been near £9,000 estate in money, above the before mentioned £2,500 *per annum* in lands. The which, whether it be more or less than what I now have, I leave to all the world to examine and judge. This estate I must have got without

forfeited estates were parcelled out, which caused a blush to mantle his own cheek, and for which he endeavoured to apologise. The enormous

ever meddling with surveys, much less with the more fatal distribution of lands after they were surveyed, and without meddling with the Clerkship of the Council, or being Secretary to the L. L. [Henry Cromwell, Lord Lieutenant], all which, I had been so happy as to have declined, then I had preserved an universal favor and interest with all men, instead of the odium and persecution I now endure."—*Smith's History of Kerry, pp.* 90–91.

Sir William Petty, Knt. also got Farranshone, alias Castleblacke, 170a. (275a. 1r. 20p. stat.) £2 11s. 7½d.—Ballynantybegg, 48a. (77a. 3r. 1p. stat.) 14s. 7.d—Farrinagowane, 130a. (210a. 2r. 13p. stat.) £1 19s. 6d.—Killrush, 80a. (129a. 2r. 13p. stat.) £1 0s. 11½d.—Moolish. 46a. 3r. (75a. 2r. 13p. stat.) 14s. 2d½.—Shanabooly and Farranaconarra, 91a. 2r. (148a. 35p. stat. £1 1s. 5d.—Clonmackanbegg, 61a. 2r. (99a. 2r. 20p. stat.) 18s. 8d.—Ballygranane, 158a. (255a. 3r. 30p. stat.) £2 8s.—Cloncanane, 189a. 2r. (306a. 3r. 34p. stat.) £2 10s. 3¼d.—Conagh (part) or Clonagh, 58a. 3r. (95a. & 27p. stat.) 17 10¼.—North Liberties of the city of Limerick.—*Enrolled 10th of August*, 1666. Besides many other grants elsewhere.

The following are other grants at this period in the City and County of Limerick :—

Sir Richard Ingoldsby, Knt. of the Bath, and Sir Henry Ingoldsby, Bart., got St. Mary's Abbey in Limerick, &c. &c. &c.—*Enrolled do.*

Sir Randal Clayton—Large grants in Williamstowne and Rochestown (except Dr. Arthur's part in both) 216a. 2r. 29p. (350a. 3r, 39p. stat.) £3 5s. 9½.—Clanwilliam, Co. Limerick.—*Enrolled 29th August*, 1666.

Sir Ralph Wilson, Knt., In Rathhane, 159a. and several other grants in the South Liberties of Limerick. Total quantity, 513a. plant. (830a. 3r. 39p.—*Enrolled 28th December*, 1666.

Captain John Winckworthe—North Rathurd alias Rathure, 114a. &c. &c. &c. South Liberties of the County of the City of Limerick.—*Enrolled 7th August*, 1666.

Samuel Wade obtained grants, ditto.

Robert Pasly, ditto.

William Yarwell, Esq. obtained 505a. 1r. 26p. stat.—*Enrolled 21st May*, 1667.

Captain Thomas Wallcott, obtained grants in the County of the City of Limerick, total quantity, 1148a. & 7p. plant. (1801a. 1r. 12p. stat.) Total rent, £16 17s. 8¾d.—*Enrolled 27th April*, 1666.

Henry Abbott, John Fletcher, and John Garrett, ditto.

Mary, daughter and heir of Richard Francis—Part of Knockanantye and Ballyvollin, and the Commons thereto belonging, 110a. 3r. 10p. plant. (179a. 2r. stat.) £1 13s. 8d.—Liberties of the City of Limerick.—*Enrolled 4th February*, 1666.

Daniel Bowman, and Martha his wife, and Nathl. Westen, son and heir of Captain Richard Westen, obtained grants in St. John's Parish, St. Nicholas' Parish, in St. Lawrence's Parish, in St. Michael's Parish, and townlands in the South Liberties of Limerick. Total quantity, 317a. 2r. 4p. stat. Total rent, £2 19s. 6½d.

Wentworth, Earl of Roscommon, and Roger Earl of Orrery, obtained grants in St. Nicholas' Parish, and an immense quantity of other property; all in the City of Limerick. Note, by letters from Whitehall, date 2nd December, 1661, and 17th December, 1663, the King directed their arrears for service before the 5th of June, 1649, to be satisfied by a grant of several houses in Limerick, as they should chuse.—15e. 3d. p. d. r. 11.

Lieut.-Colonel Francis Rowlston—Grants in Liberties of the City of Limerick.—*Enrolled September 28th*, 1668.

David and Henry Bindon and Patrick Vantry—Cloughkeaton 185a., £2 16s. 2½d. to David.—Cloghcoky, 182a. part of, 67a. In part of, £2 15s. 3½d. to Henry.—South Liberties of the City of Limerick. In Islandoan and Corbally, 72a. 2r. 16p. £1 2s. 0¼. To Vantry—Liberties of same.—*Enrolled 18th July*, 1668.

Francis, Lord Bishop of Limerick—Several houses in the City of Limerick.

John Smith, A.M. Minister of St. Munchin's Parish—ditto.

John Sowden, A.M. Minister of St. John's Parish—ditto.

Nicholas Bourke, Esq.—Total quantity of grants, 2494a. plant. (4039a. 2r. 7p. stat.) total rent, £37 17s. 2¼d.—*Enrolled 18th February*, 1668.

Richard Waller, Esq.—Several grants in the Liberties of the City of Limerick.—*Enrolled January 11th*, 1669.

Sir Oliver St. George, in the Barony of Costlea—Total quantity, 3,112a. 3r. plant. (5042a. and 24p. stat.) Total rent, £47 5s. 5¾d.

Chidley Coote, the Elder, Esq., Ardovelane, 238a. £3 12s. 3½d. Bahernevottery, 42a. 12s. 9d. Milltowne, 121a. £1 16s. 9d. Flemingstowne, 106a. £1 12s. 2¼d. Ballingaddybegg, 54a. 16s. 4¾d. Ballingaddymore, 104a. £1 11s. 7d. Owlort, 104a. prof. 17a. 3r. 3p. unprof. £1 14s. 7½d. Aulanstowne, 190a. prof. 5a. unprof. £2 17s. 8¾d. Garrykettinea, 33a. 10s. ¼d. Carreagarruffe, 35a. 10s. 7¾d. Comes, 61a. prof. 3a. unprof. 18s. 6¼d. Ballinebord, 472a. prof. 8a. unprof. £6 9s. 7¼d. Ballingawsey, with the unprof. lands, 782a. 3r. prof. 148a. unprof. £11 17 8¾d. Killgnosey, or Killguosey, with the unprof. lands, 17a. 1r. 5s. 3d. Ballywodane, 173a. £2 12s. 6¼d. Graige, 10a. 3s. 0¼d. Garrifooke and Glandannon, 219a. £3 6s. 6¼d.

grants given to Sir William Petty, &c. are now held by his descendant, the Marquis of Lansdowne.

Jamestowne, with the unprof. lands, 181a. £2 14s. 11¾d. Clyshagh, 57a. 17s 3¾d. Ballincarruna, 112a. £1 14s. ½d. Rathnecritagh, 153a. £2 6s. 5¾d. Hyarrycuonas, 183a. £2 15s. 7d. Ballyreshauboy, with the unprof. lands, 317a. £4 16s. 3¼d. Ardpatrick, with the unprof. lands thereof, 71a. £1 1s. 6¾d. Bar. Costlea, Co. Limerick,

Sir Stephen White, Knt.—Total quantity, 1,333a. 1r. 13p. plant. (2,159a. 3r. 4p. stat.) Bar. Connelloe, Co. Limerick Date, 14th Nov. 19th year. Inrolled 5th December, 1667.

John Odell, Thomas Boone, and John Gardiner, gents.—Total quantity (including grants in Cork, 1679a. 3r. 12p. stat.) Date, 28th Nov. 19th year Inrolled 24th December, 1667.

Dame Anne, relict of Sir Nicholas Crispe, John and Thomas Crispe, their sons, several grants of land in the barony of Conneloe, Co. Limerick Inrolled 23th December, 1668.

Colonel Randall Clayton and Lady Jane Sterling got grants of various houses, tenements, &c. in the town of Kilmallock, Co. Limerick.

Thomas, Earl of Ossory, Richard, Earl of Arran, and Sir Arthur Gore, Knt. got grants in Kilmallock, and immense grants of houses, lands, &c., in Tipperary County, particularly in Fethard, and Clonmell, and in Clare. Total quantity, 3,169a. 1r. 20p. plant. (5,133a. 3r. 18p. stat.) Total rent, £48 2s. 7½d. Date, 17th December, 19th year. Inrolled 19th Dec. 1667.

Margaret, Anne, Mary, Susan, and Mabell, daughters of Richard Grice, deceased, of Fanstowne, obtained large grants Co. Limerick, in Kilmallock, &c.

Richard Lord Coloony, and Henry Temple, Esq., obtained large grants of houses, plotts of ground, &c., in Kilmallock, in the Barony of Clanwilliam.

Captain John Frend obtained a grant of 756a. 1r. stat. in the Barony of Clanwilliam.

Dr. Richard Boyle, Bishop of Fernes and Leighlin, his heirs and assignees, 356a. 5p. stat. c. £3 6s. 9½d. in same barony.

Captain Humphrey Hartwell, 877a. 3r. 32p. stat. £8 4d. 7½d. in ditto.

John Mathews and John Snow, 320a. and 11p. stat. £3.

Captain Ingram obtained a total of 990a 1r. 1p. stat. in same barony.

Sir Thomas Southwell, Bart. obtained grants of Killcullen, alias Kilconleene, 310a, in this barony, and in Cahreene, Bar. Coshma, 100. Total, 664a. and 21p. stat. rent £6 4s. 6¾d.

Sir William King, Knt. was granted the castle, town, and lands of Killpeakan and Kilmorrismore, 481a. 2r. 19p. stat. £9 4s. ¾d. (Bar. Small Co). The castle, town, and lands of East Caherelly, Boherduffe, Ballysallagh, and Knockcarragh, 696a. an island adjoining, 34a. The castle, town and lands of West Caherelly, 402, Ballyblacker, part of Ballybricken, 40a. (Bar. Clanwilliam). Total quantity 1898a. 1r. 39p. stat. Total rent, £17 15s. 11½d. In Kilfrush, 301a. 1r. 6p. stat. £2 16s. 6d. (Bar. Small County). South, North, and East Ballyhindon and Graige, 157a. 3r. 26p. Ballygymoe, and several other denominations, making a total of 1466a. and 34p. stat. Total rent, £13 4s. 11d. Park and Rebouge, 258a. 11p. In Carnarry 130a. South Liberties of Limerick. Total quantity, 808a. 1r. 8p. statute. Total rent, £7 11s. 6¾d.

Samuel Mollyneux, Esq., obtained several grants in Clanwilliam. Total 1085a. 12r. 25p. stat. Inrolled 5th of October, 1666.

John Maunsell, Esq., of Ballyvorneene, obtained grants in this barony. Total, 1205a. and 19p. Inrolled 7th of May, 1667.

Murrough, Earl of Inchiquin obtained grants in this barony, in Ballynegalhagh, 110a. and a malt-house, seven tenements and gardens called Peter's Cell, in the city of Limerick.

Ullysses Burgh obtained grants in Drombane, part of Castleurkine and Garryglasse. Total 174a. 3r. 13p.

Edmond Allen, son and heir of Edmond Allen, deceased, obtained a grant of 77a. in this barony.

Colonel Daniel Abbott, grants of Synode, 143a. plat. (231a. 2r 32p. stat.) £2 3s. 5½d.

Colonel Carey Dillon and Captain James Stopford, a moiety of Drumkeene, the ancient patrimony of the Burkes, 323a. 2r. 24p. stat. Inrolled 27th Sept. 1669.

Oliver Ormsby, Esq, great grants in the barony of Small County. Inrolled 10th July, 1666.

Captain Robert Morgan, ditto. £3 5s. 3¾d. Inrolled 14th December, 1666.

Captain Francis Follett, ditto. Inrolled 15th February, 1666.

John Bullingbrooke—In Kilfrush and Ballylaroney, 570a. 1r. 39p. prof. 90a. unprof. plant. (924a. and 17p. stat.) £8 13s. 3d. Inrolled, 2nd March, 1666.

Anthony Raymond, gent. Caherguillamore, 195a. 2r. 10p. £2 19s. 4¾d. Inrolled 24th June, 1667.

Captain Thomas Newburgh, Kilfrush (part), 100a. and 11a. (plant.) 162a. 11p. stat. £1 10s. 4½d. Inrolled 7th February, 1666.

Michael Boyle, Lord Archbishop of Dublin, and Lord Chancellor, obtained grants of the four ploughlands of Carrigogunell and Newtown, &c. &c. bar. Pobbel Brien. Inrolled 2nd July, 1666.

Sir Arthur Ingram, Knt. in same barony (of Pobbel Brien) a total quantity of 1790a. and 39p. stat.

Among the grants in Limerick, was a house purchased by act of Parliament, set out as annexed to this see for ever, for the Protestant bishop.[1]

After the general survey of the kingdom, the highest value given was only 4s. an acre, and for some acres only one penny. It was Lord Broughill who proposed that the whole kingdom might be surveyed, and the number of

Richard Sweete, gent. a total grant in same barony of 795a. 1r. 3p. stat. Inrolled 19th of April, 1667.

James, Duke of York, obtained grants of Castle Troy, 350a., Anghacotta, Newcastle, Kilbane, Kilmurry, Kerryship, Ballinglasseene, Ballynagh, Ballydoe, Knockingaule, Lislane, and Medinedally; Ballysamon, Tolton, Sheadfeackle, Scrylane, Lyslane, Bally-Kinucke, Killowtiane, and Garryglasse, 2150a. One parcele of Killkenan, called Seaven Stang, with five-eighth parts of the net fishing on the south side of the Shannon, from the Blackwater to the island point of Rebogue, with one whole and two half fishing weares upon the Shannon, and one upon the Muskerne (Mulkaire), Co. of the City of Limerick. Liscadowne, Boherloyde, Ballymacree, Labanamuck, Ardemonacamore, Ardmonicabegg, Lysmelanbegg, Caher-Joolly, and Lismakelly, Whittstowne Ballyagag, Carrigmasteene, Colereagh, 2117 acres, Bar. Clanwilliam; Bally-Coughlane and Ardlagh, with the fishing weares, &c. 653a. 2r. 32p. prof. 200a. unprof. The Castle and six ploughlands of Ballyglaghane, Clourkelly, Tyne-Kelly, Gartane, Dowgart, Ballygogh, Killeene, Shanballymore, Gortgloghan, the houses and lands of Curragh, Ballynemoney, Ballardicke, 1990a. prof. 84a. and 14p. unprof. Pallice, Castle Pallice, Shane Pallice, Knocklershane, 283a. 1r. 18p. Forrenstowne (part) 20a. The 600th part of the weares in the libertie and island of Oniseclene; Killenane, Clonkelly, and Ballyerahane, 409a. Ballynehane, part of Liscoclany, with Newcastle and Ballykunicke, the horse island in Limerick, part of Castletowne, called Island, 190a. part of Castletowne, Ballymartin, in Ballyclarone, 200a. same co.

The Duke of York's estate (the unfortunate James II.) was granted to Henry Guy, Robert Rochfort, and Mathew Hutton, Esqs., by letters patent dated 1st of June, 1693, and enrolled 24th following July (anno 5° Guil. III.

Captain Arthur Ormsby—Total quantity (including in Cork County easterly part of Mahowna, alias Bohowna, 1040a., in Lysbyalat, 13a. 2r. 4s. 1d.; bar. of East Carbury, Co. Cork) 8,746a. 2r. plant. (6068a. 2r. 39p. stat.)

George Evans—Total quantity (including grants in Owneybeg and Cosmasane, and in Owny and Arra, Co. Tip.), 1467a. and 13p. plant. (2,376a. 1r. 32p. stat.)

William White, of Lyme-Regis, merchant—Total quantity 197a. 3r. 23p. plant. (320a. 2r. 27p. stat.) Inrolled 22nd February, 1666.

Ahasuerius Regimort, Mary and Martha Fowler, same grants. Inrolled 17th March, 1666.

William Barker, Esq. In Meolicke and Ballyeightra, 215a. 2r. 16p. £3 5s. 6d. Craggane alias Cragane Farrenowney, Coolengore and Knockbracke, 146a. 2r. £2 4s. 7¼d. Corkaghanarron, alias Corkanarrow, part of Knockbracke, 40a. 1r. 8p. 12s. 2¼d. Inch-Dromard, alias Inish-Dromard, Barnard, Ballyfadny, alias Ballyfadine, Cahirnor and Ballybeg, 184a. 15s. 10½d.—more of the same, 14a. 4s. 2½d. Upper Meelicke, 64a. and 16p. 19s. 4¼d. Ballyneviue, 83a. 3r. 24p. £1 5s. 5½d. Leacorrowmore, 11a. and 16p. 3s. 4½d. Leacorrowbeg, 14a. 2r. 16p. 4s. 4¾d. Cragg-beg, 132a. and 16p. 2s. 3¼d. Killtemplaine, ¾ plow. 123a. and 11p. £1 17 4¼d. Liscoulta, 46a. 2r. 32p. 14s. 1¼d. Killcoulman, ½ plow. 50a. 1r. 8p. 15s. 3½d. Commons of Killcoullman, Killcoulta, and Broska-Briankeigh or bragh, 22a. 2r. 6s. 9¾d. Clounabegg, ¼ plow. 246a. 1r. £3 14s. 9d. Lissdoffee, 179a. 3r. 8p. £2 14s. 7½d. Lisnemore, alias Lisceleenmore, 73a. 3r. 8p. £1 2s. 4½d. Clounanana, or Clounana, (part) 54a. 1r. 8p. 16s. 5½d. Commons of the same, 36a. 2r. 8p. 11s. 1d. Ballycarrane, part of ye ½, plow. of Clounanetemple, 98a. and 32p. £1 9s. 9½d. Ballinroge, ailas Ballinemernoge (part), 34a. 3r. 14p. 10s. 7¼d. Cloughtackabegg, 21a. 3r. 24p. 6s. 7½d. Commons to ye Cloghterkas, 17a. 2r. 5s. 3½d. South Cloughterka, 50a. 1r. 24p. 15s. 3¼d. Glascloyne, alias Glasfoyne, part of Cloughterka, 30a. 9s. 1¼d. Cloughtecka, alias North Cloughtecka, 72a. and 32p. £1 1s. 10½d. bar. Poplebrien, Co. Limerick. Total quantity, 2,064a. 2r. 22p. plant. (3,344a. 1r. 14p. stat.) Total rent, £31 7s. ¼d. Date, 11th May, 19th year. Inrolled, 17th May, 1667.

This gentleman was ancestor to William Ponsonby Barker, Esq. D.L., of Kilcooly Abbey, Co. Tipperary, who holds these estates now.

[1] The house chosen by "John Lord Bishop of Limerick," in the City of Limerick, and set out to him for seven years, according to the Act of Settlement, together with that small waste plott of ground, and 4 ruinous tenements therein, which he rents at £20 per annum, lying on the back side of the said dwelling-house, equal with the part thereof, &c. &c. &c.—enacted to be annexed unto the See of Limerick for ever, and to be the mansion-house of the Bishop and his successors.—*Mcriton's Abridgment of the Act of Settlement*, c. xli.

acres taken, and the quality of them,[1] and then all the soldiers to bring in their arrears, and thus, to give every man, by lot, as many acres, as might answer the value of the arrears. The names of all that were in arrear were taken accordingly, and lots were drawn, as to what part of the kingdom their portion should be. In this manner, the whole kingdom was divided among the conquerors and the money adventurers. It was also agreed, that the Irish should be transplanted from the south to the north, and so to the contrary, "which did break and shatter that nation in such a manner, that they never could make head afterwards."[2] Orrery states that Broughill knew more about what he did than himself; but as his Lordship's papers were burned at the conflagration of Lord Orrery's house at Charleville, by the Irish, they never came to light.

At this crisis the well known body of Quakers, who had already settled in Limerick, did not escape the persecution of Cromwell, as the following letter manifests:—

To Colonel Ingoldsby.

Sir,—The Council being credibly informed that there are at present in the city of Limerick divers persons, commonly called Quakers, who have repaired thither out of England and other places, making it their practice to wander up and down, seducing divers honest people, neglecting and impoverishing their families, troubling the public peace of the nation, disturbing the congregations of sober Christians in the worship of God, and with railing accusations aspersing and discouraging divers of the godly ministers of the gospel in their faithful labours, and thereby bringing into contempt the ordinances of God, and encouraging evil-minded persons to looseness and pro-

[1] Quantity according to the Down Survey made under Sir William Petty of the severa Counties of Ireland:—

LEINSTER.	*Acres.*	ULSTER.	*Acres.*
1 Wicklow	252,410	1 Louth	111,180
2 Wexford	315,396	2 Down	344,558
3 Carlow	116,900	3 Antrim	170,620
4 Kilkenny	287,650	4 Armagh	170,640
5 Queen's County	238,415	5 Monaghan	170,090
6 King's County	257,510	6 Cavan	274,800
7 Kildare	228,590	7 Fermanagh	224,807
8 Dublin	123,784	8 Tyrone	387,157
9 Westmeath	249,943	9 Donegal	630,157
10 Meath	320,480	10 Londonderry	251,511
11 Longford	134,700		
Total in Leinster	2,526,778	Total in Ulster	2,735,517
MUNSTER.		CONNAUGHT.	
1 Cork	991,010	1 Sligo	241,550
2 Kerry	636,905	2 Mayo	524,640
3 Limerick.	875,320	3 Galway	775,527
4 Clare	428,187	4 Roscommon	324,370
5 Waterford	259,010	5 Leitrim	206,830
6 Tipperary	599,500		
Total in Munster	3,289,932	Total in Connaught	2,072,915
Total in Ireland exclusive of Bogs and Loughs			10,625,142
Lough Neagh as surveyed by P. Leahy, Esq. C.E. 1812*			60,051

[2] Orrery's State Letters, Vol. I. p. 39.

* This eminent Civil Engineer, who afterwards held the office of County Surveyor of Cork, East, while one of his sons held that of Cork, West, was father of the Most Rev. Patrick Leahy, D.D., Lord Archbishop of Cashel and Emly.

faneness:—Out of a due sense whereof, their Lordships have commanded me to signify unto you their dislike of such pernicious practices, and that they do (from good grounds) apprehend, that persons committing such misdemeanours do (under colour of such their wild carriage and proceedings) advance some designs which may be of dangerous consequence to the public good and safety, if not seasonably looked into and prevented; and do, therefore, desire you to inquire into the truth thereof, and to take speedy and effectual course that such persons as are come thither upon that account be excluded the garrison, and not permitted to return or reside there. And if any of the inhabitants profess themselves such, and shall at any time disturb the congregations when assembled for the service and worship of God, or otherwise break the public peace, you are then to secure such persons, and take care they be proceeded with according to due course of law in such cases provided, having due regard to preserve (by all good ways and means) the good government of that place, and timely to discountenance and suppress all disorders.

[THOMAS HERBERT, Clk. Council.]
Council Chamber, Dublin, 25th November, 1656.[1]

The Quakers suffered in consequence a very severe persecution in Limerick,[2] where several of them suffered imprisonment, and were scourged. Barbara Blagdon, a Quakeress, was banished by Colonel Henry Ingoldsby, Governor of Limerick. He was aided by Lieut.-Colonel Hurd and Major Ralph Wilson in his violence to the Quakers, who first settled in the city two years before the above letter was written, and who in 1671 built a meeting-house in Creagh Lane.

CHAPTER XXXI.

DEATH OF CROMWELL—ACCESSION OF CHARLES II.—DISAPPOINTMENT OF CATHOLICS.—REWARDS OF THE REGICIDES AND ADVENTURERS.—GRANTS.—TRADESMEN'S TOKENS.—GRANT OF FISHERIES TO SIR GEORGE PRESTON.—LORD ORRERY.—CORPORATION DOINGS, &c. &c.

"A HEAVY blow and a great discouragement" now awaited the Cromwellians in the death of their darling, who "was hurried to his woe" in 1657, bequeathing a title which did not long survive him, to his son Richard Cromwell, who wanted the sagacity, the talent, the unscrupulousness, and the daring of his father to support a position which demanded at this time more even of those qualities than the Protector could lay claim to, to retain his hold of power. With the exception of Ludlow and Sir Hardress Waller, there were few others who were either able or willing to sustain a tottering dominion. Broughill, Coote, Monk, Lambert, and others, who had raised themselves to fortune, if not to fame, on the Protectorate, now began to desert a cause which, in more prosperous seasons, had been dear to them.

[1] Entries of Letters, &c., A. 30, p. 212.
[2] See Fuller's Account of the persecutions of the Quakers, &c.

Limerick, Galway, Clonmel, Carlow, Athlone, and many other cities and towns, now in the possession of the Royalists, through the operations of Coote and Broughill, only awaited the sign, to pronounce openly in favor of Charles II., who was speedily proclaimed king, and presented, not only a loyal address, but a present of twenty thousand pounds, with four thousand to the Duke of York, and two thousand to the Duke of Gloucester. The Cromwellian confiscations, however, laid the foundation of many families in the city and county of Limerick, to whom immense grants of land and houses were given, which were afterwards confirmed to them by the monarch whose father some of them helped to bring to the scaffold, and who now, with a weakness and treachery unparalleled in history, betrayed and ruined those who fought and bled, and lost all because of their attachment to his cause.[1] It was thus that those were caressed who had enlisted under the banners of the usurper; whilst the Catholics, who expected to see justice done them, were compelled to mourn over disappointed hopes, and to bewail the folly of placing faith in princes. Whilst the rebellious regicides were confirmed in their broad lands, the ancient possessors were hunted to the fastnesses of Connaught, and forced to remain within the Mile End, that is, at the distance of a mile from the Shannon, to which they were confined by the Act of Settlement! Broughill was created Earl of Orrery, Coote, Earl of Mountrath; Sir Maurice Eustace, the old friend of the Marquis of Ormond, was made Lord High Chancellor; and Ormond himself who had surmounted all his difficulties and dangers, and now basked in the full effulgence of royal

[1] I have given in the preceding chapter a list of some of those who obtained grants at this period, which grants were subsequently confirmed by Act of Charles II. I annex a few others:—

William Pope obtained large grants in the Liberties of the City of Limerick, amounting in all to 900 acres.

Grant to Roger Boyle, Earl of Orrery, (enrolled under the Act of Settlement, Nov. 6th, 1666) comprised the lands of the manor of Tough, viz. Killaragh, Dromalty, Glauragh, and Tounteriffe (part), 788a. Dromsally, 180a. Moybegan, Portenard, Glassragh, and Ryceagh, 304a. Cregan and part Cregan, 120a. Cullinagh, and part of do., 725a. Annagh, 788a. Tobergariffe (part), 225a. Lohenbagh (part), 27a. Corastprecoone, or Carantirocoan, 301a. Caporenat Shenagh, or Capienahene, 310a. Tearaff and Cullenaghshiffe, or Terebiss and Cullenacliffe, 328a. Cloughloghin, 27a. Barony Outhneybeg, Co. Limerick, &c.

"Grants under the Commission of Grace." Printed folio.

1684. To Digby Foulkes of various lands in Limerick and Cork. Ps. 5 and 6.
—— Grant to John Crips, of estates in the Co. of Limerick, and within the liberties. Id. p. 6.
—— Do. to Thomas Maunsell in this County. Id. p. 6.
—— Do. to George and Simon Purdon of lands here and in Clare Co. Id. p. 7.
—— Do. to Joseph Stepney of lands in Co. Limerick. Id. p. 7.
—— Do. to Thady Quin of lands in Clare and Limerick, including weirs and fisheries. Id. p. 8.
—— Do. to Joseph Ormsby. Id. p. 8.
—— Do. to Thomas Power. Id. p 9.
—— Do. to Robert Nayley. Id. p. 9.
—— Do. to Edward Rice of lands in the Barony of Conello, Id. p. 12.
—— Do. to Henry Widdenham. Id. p. 17.
—— Do. to Brooke Briges. Id. 18.
—— Do. to Patrick Sarsfield. Id. 18.
1685. To Laurence Clayton, in Cork Co., and in Limerick Co. and City. Id. 34.
—— Do. in the City of Limerick to Doctor Jeremy Hall. Id. 36.
—— Do. to Samuel Burton. Id. 36.
—— Do. in Cork and Limerick, to Nicholas Lysaght. Id. 36.
—— Do. in the liberties of Limerick and Kilmallock. Id. 37.
—— Do. within the City of Limerick, very extensively, to Archbishop Michael Boyle. Id. p. 37-8
—— Do. to Dame Mabell Tynte and to Henry Tynte. Id. p. 41.
1686. Grant of a small portion of lands in this Co., with extensive possessions in Mayo and Sligo. Id. 46-7.
—— Do. to Daniel Webb. Id. 47.

sunshine, was raised to a Dukedom, and the Viceroyalty of Ireland, and given territories in eight counties.[1]

Thus the cup of hope which had been presented to the lips of the Irish Catholics, was rudely dashed from it by hands from which better treatment was

[1] Lands granted to the Duke of Ormonde by the Act of Settlement and Court of Claims.—*Carte's Ormond, Vol. II. p.* 132.

Counties.	Lands.	Old Proprietors.
Galway	Moate, &c.	Mr. Kelly
Kildare	Rathcoffy, &c.	Mr Nicholas Wogan
	Kilrush, &c.	Morris Fitzgerald
Meath	Dunboyne, &c.	Lord Dunboyne
Dublin	Balcony, &c.	George Blackney
	Kilnure, &c.	Patrick Walsh
Waterford	Carrigbeg, &c.	James Butler
Catherlogh	Milhill, &c.	Ulick Wall
	Kilcorle, &c.	Edm. Birne
	Balliceally, &c.	Gerald Nolan
Kilkenny	Balligowen, alias Smith's-town* and New-Church	Walter Walsh
	Rathana, &c.	Mr. Archer
	Rathardmore	Pierce Shortall
	Tubrid, &c.	Robert Shortall
Tipperary	Ballynoran	Pierce Butler
	Myler's-town	John White
	Hussey's-town	Edward Butler
	Fleming's-town	Edmond Prendergast
	Moore-town, &c.	David Walsh
	Borrinduffe, &c.	Nicholas Whyte
	Rothloose, &c.	Thomas Whyte
	Knocklosty, &c.	Theo. Butler
	Bathcastin	Tho. Butler
	James-town	Solomon Whyte
	Orchard's-town	Edmond Bray
	Loghlohery	Morris Keating
	Deregrath, &c.	Richard Keating
	Boytonrath	Edmond Butler
	Castle-Moyle, &c.	Walter Butler
	Shanbally Duffe	Pierce Butler
	Ballinree	Walter Butler
	Rathconne	Sir Richard Everard
	Brechindowne, &c.	Thomas Butler James Butler
	Miler's-town	Walter Hackett
	Ballihomucke	Richard Birmingham
	Tyllacaslane	Piers Butler
	Ballinadlea	William Butler
	Balliowen, &c.	Simon Salt
	Bulliknocke	Redmond Magrath
	Cloran	Robert Shee
	Miltown	Lord Dunboyne
	Tullaghmaine, &c.	Richard Comin
	Coolenagon	Edmond Hogan
	Toburbryen	Dan Ryan
	Lislin Franca	W. Burke
	Moinarde	Edm. Heyden
	Archer's-town	James Archer
	Cloghmartin	James Butler
	Tullomain James.	Lord Ikerryn
	Moynetemple	Edmond Heyden
	Boresoleigh	Richard Bourke
	Ballinneny	W. Kennedy Philip Glissan.

* Smith's-town contained 834 acres, and New-Church 116 acres, two roods and eight poles, and was granted by the Duke to Robert Walsh and his heirs male, for the rent of £5 a year.

expected. They were told, when they presented their claims in London, to desist from further applications, because one of their agents was Sir Nicholas Purcell, who was alleged to have subscribed a document by which the agents of the Supreme Council of the Confederates were empowered to make an offer of the sovereignty of Ireland to the Pope, or any Catholic prince, provided they received essential assistance in the recovery of their civil and religious privileges.

What must we think of him who, described by Sir Robert Southwell, is said to be "the true standard of his own office, regenerating therein those pillars of a Church that do at the same time adorn as well as support the Holy Fabric,"—whilst he (Ormond) in reference to his own anomalous position, observes, in writing of the Earl of Orrery's letters and despatches: "I know well and so does he, that I am born with some disadvantages as to the present juncture, besides my natural weakness and infirmities, and such as I can no more free myself from than they from me. My father and mother lived and died Papists, and bred all their children so, and I, by God's merciful Providence was educated in the true Protestant religion, from which I never swerved towards either extreme, not when it was most dangerous to profess it, and most advantageous to quit it. My brothers and sisters, though they were not many, were very fruitful and very obstinate (they call it constant) in their way; their fruitfulness has spread into a large alliance, and their obstinacy has made it altogether Popish. It would be no small comfort to me, had it pleased God it had been otherwise, that I might have enlarged my industry to do them good and serve them, more effectually to them, and more safely to myself; but as it is I am taught by nature, and also by instruction, that difference of opinion in matters of religion dissolves not the obligations of nature, and in conformity to this principle, I own not only what I have done, but that I will do my relations of that or any other persuasion all the good I can, but I confess at the same time, that if I find any of them who are nearest to me acting or conspiring rebellion, or against the government, and the religion established among us, I will endeavour to bring them to punishment sooner than the remotest stranger of my blood. I know professions of this nature are easily made, and therefore, sometimes little credited; but I claim some belief from my known practice, for I have been so unfortunate as to have had kinsmen in rebellion, and so fortunate as to see some of them fall when I commanded-in-chief: those that remain, have I hope, changed their principles as to rebellion; if they have not, I am sure they will find I have not changed mine."[1] Well indeed was he designated the unkind Deserter of loyal men and true friends!

At this period manufactures were so flourishing in the province of Munster, and particularly in Limerick, that Lord Orrery, writing on the 8th of December, 1661, to the Duke of Ormond, states "that he could get the Munster clothiers to clothe the soldiers there on the credit of the Subsidy Bill," and states "it was the least of his thoughts that others should be clothed and those in the province not."[2]

It must be admitted too, that the Duke of Ormond exerted himself with very great success to introduce manufactures, particularly of woollens, into Carrick-on-Suir and Kilkenny, where they flourished for a long period, and where, notwithstanding every impediment, they have not totally ceased to this day.

[1] Thorpe's Catalogue of the Southwell MSS.

[2] Orrery's State Letters.

In Cromwell's time and subsequently, up to 1679, trademen's tokens were issued in Limerick. At first they were permitted to circulate owing to the absence of sterling coin. In reference to these coins, I find that at a meeting of the Corporation, held in 1673,[1] it was ordered that the Corporation farthings, stamped in 1658, should pass current in the City and Liberties, at the rate of 20s. for 18s. There are not many of these coins now in existence.[2] On the 23rd of October, 1673, these farthings were called in by the Corporation and reissued at par.

So strong was the impression made in France, and throughout Europe generally, by the unspeakable injustices which were flagrantly perpetrated against the too confiding Catholics of Ireland, by Charles II., and his advisers Lord Clarendon and the Duke of Ormond, that His Most Christian Majesty, the King of France, addressed a remonstrance to Charles II. on the subject, in which he reminded him of the way in which he (the King of France) had treated the Huguenots, whom he himself had treated with perfect impartiality when their claims were brought before him, taking occasion at the same time to acquaint Charles with the feelings, which prevailed universally on the subject of the persecution of the Irish people on account of their religion.[3]

In this year, during the Mayoralty of Henry Bindon, Sir George Preston got a patent for the great Lax weir and fishery of the Shannon[4] from its

[1] The Corporation Book containing the entry is in the British Museum.

[2] I am indebted to Aquilla Smith, Esq. M.D. of Baggot-street, Dublin, for a full list of the Tradesmen's Tokens, &c., issued in Limerick between the years 1658 and 1679 :—

1. Obv. "Limerick" in the centre.—A Castle. Rev "Clare."—Three towers.
2. Obv. "Citty of Limerick"—A Castle. Rev. "Change and Charity"—1658.
3. Obv. "Limerick Butchers"—A paschal lamb. Rev. "Halfpenny, 1679"—The Butchers' Arms.
4. Obv. "Anthony Bartlett, 1671"—Arms—three fishes fretted in triangle. Rev. "Of Lymrick Merchant"—Three Castles, ID.
5. Another similar, but smaller and without ID.
6. Obv. "John Bell, Mercht." Rev. "In Limrick."
7. Obv. "John Bennet, Merc." Rev. "Lymrick Penny"—1668.
8. Obv. "Edward Clarke"—E.C. ID. Rev. "Of Lymerick, 1670"—A cock.
9. Obv. "Edward Clarke"—A cock. Rev. "Of Lymerick, 1670"—E. C. ½.
10. Obv. "Rowland Creagh." Rev. "Lymrick, Mercht."
11. Obv. "Of Limerick"—B. C. Rev. "Near Key Lane"—1688.
12. Obv. "Tho. Linch of Limrick"—Crest of the Butchers' Company, a winged bull. Rev. "His Halfpeny Token, 1679"—A harp.
13. Obv. "Thomas Marten, 1669"—Three castles, two and one. Rev. "Merchant in Lymrick"—T. M.
14. Obv. "Richard Pearce of"—A mortar and pestle. Rev. "Limrick, Apothecar"—R.M.P. 1668.
15. Obv. "William Rimpland"—A man dipping candles. Rev. "In Limbricke His half"—"Peny, 1679."
16. Obv. "Ed. Wight of Limbrik"—Three castles. Rev. "His Half Peny, 1677"—A ship.
17. Another similar but of rude workmanship.

A variety of No. 2 has "City" instead of "Citty" in Ferrar's plate, fig. 3.

Dr. Smith has also a small variety of No. 14, and three varieties of No. 1, none of them are in good preservation.

In Dr. Smith's Cabinet :—

No. 1. Three varieties—two of them engraved in Ferrar's Limerick.
2
3
4
5
12
13
14
15
16

I have some of the above coins ; but my collection is not by any means so perfect as that of Dr. Smith, who stands deservedly high as an authority on all matters relating to Irish coins.

[3] This letter appears in the "Recit Exact et Fidele, &c.," published in Paris, 1696.

[4] The Letters Patent to him bear date 27th July, 13° Chas. II. ; in these letters it is set forth that "divers fishings of salmon and pike and other fish, and also eels and eel weirs, and divers

CLARE AND LIMERICK COPPER COINS.

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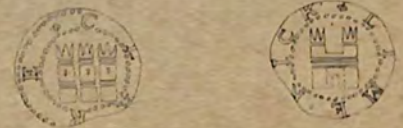

M. LENIHAN'S HISTORY OF LIMERICK.

source to the sea. After very lengthened disputes and litigation, a compromise was effected in 1677, when the Corporation gave a sum of £1,500 to Sir John Preston, who surrendered his patent in consequence.

The litigation in reference to Sir George Preston's patent was, as I have said, carried on for a long period; and matters came to light, which if now thoroughly known, might cause some changes for the benefit of the public in connection with this great fishery. In the British Museum, there is a minute book of the Corporation of Limerick, from the year 1672 to 1685,

mills in and upon the River Shannon, as well belonging to Corporations as other Proprietors, &c. &c. &c., are devolved and fallen to us by the delinquency, forfeiture, attainder, or rebellion, of the several proprietor and proprietors of the said mills and fishings * * * * and whereas we retain a gracious sense of the many services performed to us by our trusty and well-beloved subject, Sir George Preston, Knight, and also of his great sufferings in our service," &c. * * The grant is then formally given and set forth of the fishing of pike and salmon in the great salmon weir, called the Lax weir, and all other fishings in the River Shannon.

The fisheries of Limerick have been for many ages invested with an extraordinary amount of interest, which has not ceased in the slightest degree up to the present moment. We have seen (p. 48), that on the 12th of January, 1200, King John granted to William De Braosa the honor of Limerick, &c., retaining among other things, in waters and mills, in fish-ponds, and fisheries and ponds, in ways and pathways, and in all other places and things to that honor partaining, &c. We have seen (page 54) the grant was made to Edmund Bishop of Limerick; and (pp. 56-61 and 62) the commission to Geoffrey de Genvylle, and extracts from the Pipe Rolls rendering several accounts in relation thereto—down to the year 1344.

I will now summarise the several other important grants, charters, inquisitions, &c., which constitute the title to the Fishery of Limerick. A letter of which the following is an extract was addressed, 6th Edward the 1st, to the Chancellor, by Robert Saint Edmund:—

"Be it known to Sir Robert Burnel, by the Grace of God, Bishop of (————) Chancellor of our Lord the King of England, his serjeant, Robert *de Seynt Emun*, who has been dwelling in the service of our Lord the King in Ireland for sixteen years, as has been witnesssd by the Justiciaries and by the people who have been of the Council of our Lord the King, and still are, that is to say, from the time Sir James de Hardeleye, who passed into Ireland with the Justiciary, and brought the aforesaid Robert with him, and retained him in the service of our Lord the King, for one *Hundred pence* by the year and two Robes,—of which the aforesaid Robert received in the time of Sir James the two Robes, and nothing of the one Hundred pence."

The letter goes on to state that having shewn the King at Dover the services he rendered, he prayed that he might have the weirs and the fisheries in the water of Limerick, for so much rent by the year as they could be valued at. That the King complied, and that the Justiciary having received the Royal Command, the Treasurer delivered the weirs to Robert, without having Inquest taken or extent made. That said Robert paid 20 marks yearly, for that an Inquest had been made when that was ascertained to be the value, but that he was charged £25 by the year, and therefore, that the difference may be remitted.

13th Edward 1st., 20th June.—The King issued a mandate, that said Edmund should be exonerated from any sum over 20 marks.

Other grants were made by Edward the 1st, 2nd, and 3rd, to different parties for short terms, subject to certain rents.

1st Henry 5th, 1414, January.—On this day the King regranted what had been granted by Kings John and Edward, and among other emoluments the profit of a certain fishery, which is called Lex weir, with its appurtenances, to the mayor and commonalty and their successors, for ever.

2nd Henry 6th, 1423, 12th December.—By charter of this date, Henry 6th conferred the foregoing charter.

1576, 2nd March, 19th Elizabeth.—The Queen granted a grant for a lease to Edmond Molyneux, gentleman, of the weirs commonly called the Fisher's Stent, near the City of Limerick, which do lie from the Lax weir, or common weir in the east part, until the river nigh Castle Donel in the west part, with all the customs, duties, profits, commodities, and emoluments to them, and every of them pertaining and belonging, &c., parcel of *her Majesty's* inheritance *and of long time concealed*

To hold for 21 years, at 53s. and 4d Irish Currency.

1582, 19th March, 25th Elizabeth.—On this day the Queen granted an extensive charter to the citizens of Limerick, and the fisheries as follows:—"Moreover, we of our special Grace, "certain knowledge, and mere motion, do for us, our heirs and successors, give and grant to the "said mayor, bailiff, and citizens of the said city, and their successors for ever, all those weirs "and pools in the waters of Shannon within the liberties of said city, "called the Lex weirs and "Fisher's Stent, with all and singular, their profits, members, rights and appurtenances, and to "have, hold and enjoy all and singular the said franchises, jurisdictions, privileges, perambulations,

from which, among other items of important intelligence, I learn, that on the 2nd of October, 1675, Sir George Preston presented a petition to the Common Council, when it was declared that "from time immemorial there has been a passage for boats and cots through the Lax weir." This is now a startling fact; and goes to show at all events, that when in years afterwards, this same Corporation well nigh stopped up the usual gap altogether, and when afterwards, they were compelled to open it—they invented and employed every possible expedient, to render the gap inoperative for its proper purposes, and thus perpetrated an outrage of flagrant injustice, robbing the fishermen, in the assumption of a power to which it could lay no claim.

In the following year were seen too blazing stars—the plague soon came—then fire and bloody wars, as White quaintly expresses it.[1] About this time a branch of the Brown family settled in the parish of Kilpeacon, within a short distant of the city, on a marriage with a daughter of the Knight of Glen. Of this historic race the genealogy will be found in the note.[2]

"grounds and waste pieces of land, called the new Stent, or new extent, called Lex weirs and "Gurgites, Fisher's Stent, &c.," yielding yearly to us, our heirs, and successors, for and out of the said weirs on the said water of Shannon, called Fisher's Stent aforesaid, 6s. 8d.

1600, 3rd March, 6th James 1st.—By this charter previous patents were confirmed, granting also admiralty Jurisdiction and Royal fish.

1615, 18th March, 12th James 1st.—An inquisition was taken at Limerick, whereby it was ascertained that half a plough land lay in Castle Donel, alias Cratellaghmore. It was by this inquisition the western boundary of the Fisher's Stent was ascertained, on the trial of Gabbett a. Clancy and Dwyer, at Summer assizes 1841, and Spring assizes 1842, at Limerick, and again in the case of Malcomson a. O'Dea, in the Queen's Bench in 1858, when there was a verdict for the petitioner, which was affirmed by the House of Lords in 1863.

(I give this important inquisition at pp. 138, 139, 140.)

1662, 27th July, 13th Charles 2nd.—The King granted unto Sir George Preston, knight, the fishing of pike and salmon, &c., in the great salmon weir called Lax weir, for ever, at £5 a-year.

During the Commonwealth the citizens were obliged to assume a rent of £165 for the fishery, for which they were returned in arrear, but as appears by an enrolment of the Communia Roll, (1665) they presented their case to the Equity side of the Court of Exchequer, setting forth their different charters, and Sir William Domville, the Attorney General appearing on behalf of the Crown and admitting the facts, by an order of the date on margin, the arrears were discharged.—Trinity Term, 1665.

1669, 29th May, 21st Charles 2nd.—By letters patent of this date, after reciting of the 13th Charles II. the King regrants to Sir George Preston all the aforesaid weir, called Lex weir, &c. A great deal of litigation took place between Sir George Preston and the Corporation in the Court of Chancery, in which his right was disputed.

29th. The King in order to give Sir George a better claim, gave him another patent of the date 1677, 9th February, Charles 2nd.

A compromise was subsequently entered into between the litigants, by which, in consideration of £1500 paid Sir George, the Corporation acquired such interest as he possessed.

[1] White's MSS.

[2] In a MS. of the O'Lynnin's, Lynegar or Linacre, quoted in Hardiman's History of Galway, (p. 10,) the following account of the Brown family is given:—"The genealogies of the Brownes of Ely or Ballyalcain, in the County of Wexford, and partly of the Browns of Galway, Limerick and Waterford,"—Christopher and Richard Browne were the sons of Sir Mathew Browne of Ballyawcane, by his first wife Anne, the daughter of Sir John Redmond, who lived near Bag and Bun, in the County of Wexford. By his second wife Cordula, daughter of Sir John Hoare, of Shenakill, near Dungarvan, in the County of Waterford, he had issue six sons—1st, Christopher.—2nd, John, who went for Connaught and settled himself at the Neale where he married Mor ny Maille, daughter and heiress of Donal O'Maille, Lord of Um Maille, in the County of Mayo—whose issue still remain, and one called Bounach na heille.—3rd, Walter, who went to the County of Limerick, and settled in Kilpeacon, near Limerick; he married Catherine, daughter and heiress of Sir John Fitzgerald, Knight of the Glen.—4th, Edward Browne, who settled at Kilmeadan near Waterford, and married Anne Power, daughter and heiress of John Power.—5th, Sir John Browne, settled near Galway, and married Bevawn ny Flahertie, daughter of Murrough O'Flahertie of West Connaught, from whom is descended Sir Dominick Browne, whose issue now inherit a considerable estate in and about Galway, and in the County of Mayo. The Browne family of Aney are a different family. Queen Elizabeth granted the Hospital of Aney to Sir Valentine Browne, who built a noble Castle at Hospital, which Castle is now in ruins. Sir Valentine's son, Sir Thomas, married Mary eldest daughter and co-heiress of William Apsley

In 1664, Roger Boyle was made Governor of Limerick, and constable of the Castle of Limerick. Richard Earl of Cork, created Lord Baron of Broghill, the 28th of February, in the 2nd year of Charles I. and Earl of Orrery the 25th of March in the 12th of Charles II. was famous for his literary acquirements, and the author of *Mustapha*, said to have been one of the best plays written in the 17th century: was President of Munster in 1660. In 1663 he obtained a patent for markets and fairs, to be held for ever in his two villages of Rothgogran and Ballymartra—and afterwards procured the two places to be raised into boroughs which returned four Members to the Parliament of Ireland, with the nomination of Recorders, Town Clerks, Clerks of the Markets and other officers, to him and his heirs for ever.[1] Soon after the re-appointment of the Duke of Ormonde to the Lord Lieutenancy, Lord Orrery was enabled to supply him with information of a conspiracy which had been discovered amongst the military, to seize the Castle of Dublin, in consequence of which order the Magistrates of Limerick, as well as of other cities of Munster, were commanded to clear these localities of "fanatics" and of suspected, or as they were styled "needless papists;" when Lord Orrery, following up the cautious policy of securing the strongholds, addressed a particular correspondence to the Lord Lieutenant on the condition and requirements of the city and garrison of Limerick.[2]

It appears intelligence was received from that Holland, General Ludlow was expected to take the command, and Limerick was to be seized by one Captain Walcott, who by a bribe of £300 had secured the co-operation of one of the serjeants in the castle. In consequence of these troubles, Lord Ormond made an expedition to Munster to examine the coast defences, which were expected to be soon required to resist an invasion of the French, and the militia were called out. The Duke of Ormond in his progress visited Limerick, which he praised as a most important place; and here he was received with unusual pomp and splendour—the Mayor, Sir William King, to whom he had assigned such immense grants of land, being very ostentatious in his display of good will to his benefactor and the Earl of Barrymore carrying the sword of state before him. Soon after this juncture Lord Orrery, in 1666, wrote to the duke, setting forth that as governor of his majesty's castle and City of Limerick, the pay was £10 by the year, but there was a perquisite belonging

of Limerick, by his wife Annabella Browne, eldest daughter of John Browne, Master of Aney, and Catherine O'Ryan, his wife. Joan, the sister of Mary, was the first wife of Richard Boyle, the first Earl of Cork. The walls of the Ancient Church yet remain, and in a niche on the north side of the high altar, is a rudely shaped statue of a Knight in alto relievo, in sword and buckler, which is said to be that of the founder. Kenmare Castle is near the village.

[1] Aaron Crossly's Peerage of Ireland, p. 57.

[2] In one of his letters he states, that his majesty's "store house" and magazine in the castle of Limerick is capable of retaining all requisite arms, with a small train fit for a little army, although represented by his Lordship, as "so hugely out of repair," that if not speedily repaired, it was apprehended that it might fall and do much mischief. The two towers which made the gate house of his majesty's castle, and which had been floored and roofed by "the usurpers," are described by him, as having at that time fallen very much to decay, and the guard-house which had been made by the same usurpers, was so much out of order, that the soldiers within were wetted by every shower. Two houses in the castle, one for officers' quarters, and the other intended to accommodate thirty soldiers, which were built by the same usurpers, are also specified as being much out of repair. Fourteen pounds his Lordship deems sufficient to repair the side walls, forming the avenue to the castle gate, and to construct at their extremity a small ravelin of sawed palisadoes, which he states would be a great security to the place which had no protection, and was consequently liable to be surprised, both on the side of Thomond gate and that of the city. He states that "St. John's citadel is in pretty good condition, and the new bulwark in the king's castle which is filled up with earth, and which is next to the city, three pounds will repair; of forty guns, great and small, which are at Limerick, there are but three mounted as they should be, two of which are small brass guns."

to the constable of the castle which is the profit of the king's part of the island. He states that the city stands upon the west part of the island; the east part is kept for the grazing of the town cattle, and a little spot of it enclosed and made a bowling green. He alleges that he gives the perquisites to his own deputy governor, and lets the green for £10 a-year, and the grazing one year with another amounts to £28.[1] His lordship proceeds—"If by your Grace's favor his majesty would give me a lease of his share of the island for ninety-nine years, I would build on it, which would be an enlargement, beautify and strengthen the city, and after some years an advantage to me and my son,—but that whosoever succeeds in the government may be no loser by my grant, I shall willingly submit to pay to the crown, or to the constable for the time being, during my lease of ninety-nine years £38 a-year after my decease, which is as much as unbuilt it now yields. The crown will be no loser for ninety-nine years. The crown will for ever have the benefit of my building. The city also will thereby be much enlarged, beautified, and strengthened."

Ireland at this time was in a miserable condition,[2] being deprived of the usual trade with England, by prohibitory duties, and disabled from carrying on any abroad, not only on account of want of shipping, but of the war with France and Holland. Limerick suffered terribly. A bill for prohibiting Irish cattle, which was opposed by the Protestant Bishop of Limerick, Dr. W. Fuller, by the Honourable Mr. Robert Boyle, by Sir W. Petty, Sir Robert Southwell, who attended the committee, but who were refused a copy or notes of the bill, passed the House of Commons with indecent haste, by a majority of thirteen, though the king was opposed to it; but as his majesty was greatly in want of money he dared not disoblige his faithful Commons. The Lords, however, were not in such a hurry to pass it; the Duke of York and the Lord Chancellor spoke against it, and the king declared publicly more than once, that his conscience would not allow him to give that bill the royal assent.[3]

The result was, that the report of the committee appointed to consider the act was delayed until the parliament was prorogued. In the meantime, such was the dangerous condition of the kingdom that Ormonde believed it imperative on him to use every means to counteract their operations. For this purpose he spared no expense to procure proper intelligence to assist him to provide for the defence of the kingdom, and with this view he sent Captain Arthur and Captain James Archer to France and the Low Countries, to get intelligence of the negociations carried on with those powers by the disaffected. From these agents he learned that there was no disposition on the part of the King of France or his ministers to hearken to the solicitations of the persecuted Irish, who had endeavored to induce them to make a descent upon Ireland—which it appears was exactly the view that Orrery took of it, though he did think it likely that the French would send a small force with a good supply of arms and ammunition, to secure some position near the sea, from which the Irish could be supplied with munitions of war. It was Orrery's own intention, directly he had heard of the French landing, to seize and burn all the boats from Limerick to Loop Head, in order to cut off communication between the Irish of Clare and Connaught with the rest. In a letter addressed to Ormond,[1] May 28, 1666, after describing the prin-

[1] Orrery's State Letters, 1 p., 276 [2] Carte's Ormond, 2 vol., 2 p., 323.
[3] Carte, vol. 2, 322.

cipal military positions between Cork and Limerick, he states his intention to place strong parties in Mallow and Limerick, a precaution on which, added to the arrest of the chiefs of "the fanatics and western Irish," he relied for the prevention of the enemies' designs.

In the June of the same year, he announces to the Duke that Myles Reilly, with seven or eight hundred Irish, had run into rebellion, which he says he does not suppose he would have been so mad as to do if he were not sure of succours from abroad or from home.[2] In consequence of this intelligence, he ordered the mayors and governors of Limerick and Cork, as the two chief fortresses of the province, to seize on all the arms in the hands of Catholics within these garrisons, and to adopt the same course towards "the fanatics." He also issued orders to expel such persons from both cities, crowds of whom, he says, had come into them, to the endangering of the fortresses, taking advantage of the license granted to such of the Irish as traded by sea, or were otherwise "needful or civil men."[3]

At this time Orrery received a seasonable and welcome assurance from Colonel Daniel O'Bryan of Clare, that he was ready to suppress any rising of the Irish that might take place in that County, in which the Colonel informed him there were many ill inclined Irish.[4] It was in the same year, 1666, that a plot was disclosed to the Duke of Ormonde by Captain Oliver, a gentleman of the County Limerick, the alleged object of which was the removal of the King and Lords, the restoration of the Long Parliament, several of whose members were said to be implicated, and the substitution of a "sober ministry for bishops." The conspirators, it was added, expected assistance.[5] They were of course Cromwellians.

I have already referred to Ormond's exertions to introduce the woollen manufacture into Ireland, in which he was successful, as also the manufacture of linen:[6] this was in 1667, a year rendered still further remarkable by the occurrence of a most violent storm and a spring tide, which did not ebb for fourteen hours, and which, according to White's MSS. rose to the Court-house in Quay Lane, forced up one of the arches of Ball's Bridge, overflowing the shops and houses thereon, carrying away entire houses and quantities of corn, levelling the banks of the river and wrecking several vessels.

The sequel of these events has been thus chronicled in the homely doggrel of Davis's MSS.—

"A drought excessive came, it was so great,
The Shannon from the city did retreat;
The Mayor and many more upon dry ground,
Outside the walls on foot did walk around."

[1] Orrery's Letters. [2] Ibid.

[3] In a letter addressed to the same from Charleville, and dated June 6th, 1666, Lord Orrery announces the receipt of important intelligence from the Bishop of Meath, confirming information which he had previously received from some of the natives. The intelligence refers to a great meeting of the Irish Clergy on the arrival of the Jesuit Father Harris, stated to have been sent by the Catholic Primate Reilly from France, and to considerable meetings, which it was alleged were to be held in that month, to hear the Jesuit's message and advice, and to be assured by him of the speedy arrival of forces, arms, and ammunition, with money in the west, as well as several other things of a similar character. The meeting place appointed for Munster he says was Macroimpe (Macroom), where he intended to have one of his people present; and to show the strenuous efforts made by the clergy to raise money for insurrectionary purposes, he says that under the cloak of pious uses, many great sums had been raised by them, especially in the west of Munster, "insomuch that poor servants had been compelled to pay their shillings and six-pences." The object of these contributions, namely, the raising of a rebellion, he surmises were deemed "pious uses."

[4] Orrery's State Letters, Vol. II. pp. 7 & 8. [5] Orrery's State Letters, Vol. I. p. 131-2.

[6] Carte's Ormond, Vol. II. p. 343.

A similar occurrence, we may add, happened in the Shannon at Athlone some years ago, when the waters were driven back from their channel, and the bottom exposed, on which occasion many curious antiquarian remains were found; and more recently still, in the summer of 1864, the bed of the Shannon at Killaloe became quite dry for the length of the day during a high gale of wind, when trout and salmon were taken in abundance as they lay without water.

Throughout this unfortunate reign, the discontent and dissatisfaction of the people throughout Ireland, and particularly in Limerick, were extreme: as we proceed, it will be seen that terrible persecution was suffered by those who expected freedom of conscience at least from the government, but who were trampled upon in the most outrageous manner, by those who deceived, betrayed and persecuted them with unrelenting vengeance.

The proceedings of the Corporation at this period (1670), show how ill at ease that body was. An application was made to King Charles II. for a renewal of the Charter of James, and for a further extension of the privileges which were thereby conferred on the citizens. A reference was made to the Irish Master of the Rolls to report to the king on the matter; the report was made to the Lord Lieutenant; and in it the contents of the Charter of James were set forth, and the attention of the Viceroy was directed to the "New Rules and Orders for the Regulation of Corporations in Ireland," then recently introduced. The report further prayed the Lord Lieutenant's directions as to which of said "New Rules and Directions," were to be inserted in the proposed new Charter to Limerick—"such as might best consist with His Majesty's service and the good of the said Corporation." This report, which is dated the 13th February, 1671, was immediately followed by a proclamation of the New Rules for the government of the Corporation. By the first of these rules, the approbation of the Lord Lieutenant and Council was made necessary to the appointment of the corporate officers of Mayor, Sheriffs, Recorder and Town Clerk, within ten days after their election. By the second, the oath of supremacy was required from all such corporate officers. By the third, the election of all corporate officers was taken away from the body of freemen and vested in the common council, and nothing was permitted to be discussed in the general assembly of freemen, or court of D'Oyer Hundred, which had not previously passed the common council; and this under pain of disfranchisement. By the fourth, the admission of Protestant settlers in the city of Limerick to the freedom of the Corporation was provided for, as in the other corporate towns in Ireland.

Another attempt was made in 1674, to obtain a new Charter, for which a sum of money was subscribed by those interested. Agents too were employed, but the attempt failed. In 1671, it should be stated, a proclamation for restoring all banished merchants to their ancient freedoms in all corporations in Ireland, was made in Limerick; and in the following year, a custom which is rarely observed now a days is noticed, viz. that of John Bourin, the Mayor of Limerick, having gathered all the boys of the city, and brought them two days with him to show them the city bounds, and point out the extent of the county of the city. In this year also, John Halpin having been chosen Sheriff, he continued in office 27 days; but because he would not take the oath of supremacy he was deposed. He disputed the point in Dublin, before the Lord Lieutenant, but to no purpose, for he was obliged to yield and lay down his office.[1] James Arthur, born at Limerick, who had

[1] White's MSS.

become a Dominican at Salamanca, where he studied, and was subsequently professor of Divinity in Coimbra, died this year in Lisbon; he wrote "Commentaria in Totam fére Sti Thomæ Summam," published in two vols., folio, in 1665. He was preparing ten vols. more for the press when he died. Another James Arthur, also a Dominican, died in 1689.[1]

As showing how the Corporation got on at this period, the following items are of interest:[2]—2 October, 1672, Maurice Wall, shoe-maker, admitted free on payment of 2s. 6d. fine. The beadles were allowed £3 each for previous year, and £4 each for present year in which also it was

"Resolved and ordered, upon the petition of Edmund Pery, Esq., to be admitted a member of this Council of this city, in like manner as his predecessors, in right of St. Mary's House, enjoyed such privilege as a mayor's peere; that it be referred to the Recorder to consider of his demand, right, and report. The mayor was authorised to nominate the comptroller for the year.

14 October, 1672—The petty customs of In Gate and Out Gate at St. John's Gate let for one year, for £100 10s.. These customs are set forth:—

A Pack of Wool	...	...	...	...	3d.
Bag of Hops	...	...	...	...	3d.
Pack of Cloth	...	...	...	...	3d.
Firkin of Butter	...	...	...	...	1d.
	&c.,	&c.			
Hogg ...	...	...	...	...	½d.
Sheepe ...	...	...	...	...	¼d.
Aquavitæ-Pot	...	...	...	...	3d.
	&c.,	&c.			

Same customs at Key Gate, let for £20.

At Thomond Gate, £70 10s.

The net fishing let for one year, from March 1, 1673, for £60 10s., over and above all duties payable to mayor.

A (foreign?) Protestant stranger made free on payment of 20s.

Aliens, Denizens, and Freemen paid different rates of customs—thus, for a hogshead of salmon they paid respectively 8d., 6d., 4d.

The mayor having in 1671 made persons free, the Corporation declared 4 December, 1672, that "such act is destructive of the power of this Corporation," and voted such freemen to be no freemen.

Edmund Pery was elected common councillor 30 June, 1673, but with no reference to his previous claim.

1673— The gallows ordered to be removed to the accustomed place on Farrandcroghy.

Salaries—Sword-bearer ...	...	... £15	
Serjeant-at-arms	...	... 3	
Beadles	...	... 3	
Sexton of Church { for Clock / Bill }	...	3	(was this to little Ben Barrington?)
Keep of 2 Clock	...	... 8	
Water Bailiff ...	...	... 2	

In 1673 this year, William York, a Dutchman, and ancestor of the Stamers of Carnelly, County Clare, being mayor, began to build the Exchange; and York being again chosen mayor, it is said that he finished it

[1] White's MSS. [2] From Corporation Book in British Museum.

at his own cost and bestowed it on the city; and that he greatly contributed towards remaking the ring of bells in St. Mary's Cathedral, which were this year recast, and that he likewise set up the chimes.[1] On the 14th March, 1673, peace being proclaimed in Limerick between the English and Dutch, the new bells of the cathedral first rang on the occasion, while the Mayor and Corporation in their robes rode through the city, the militia marched under arms, and great rejoicings ensued. The Earl of Essex had previousiy sent down the "New Rules" for the regulation of the Corporation, and it was under these that William York was elected Mayor for the second time as above referred to.

Thomond Bridge and Ball's Bridge had been so much decayed, that the Corporation, by the advice of the Mayor, determined that freemen should be deprived for one year of their exemption from toll, so as to aid in the cost of the repairs;[2] and hence the commemoration of the event in the couplet quoted below.

The Market, which ever since the surrender of the city to Ireton had been held outside John's Gate, was this year removed into the city. This market was at the Eastern extremity of Mungret-street, and was taken down in October, 1801.[3]

So many proclamations were issued out in 1678 against the Catholics, and so many priests and friars were transported to France and Spain, that any thing like it was never known before. It was this year that the Rev. Jaspar White, Parish Priest of St. John's, was taken at the altar by a lieutenant of foot, in his vestments, whilst saying mass, and was in that posture brought through the streets to the guard-house, where he was kept two hours, until he was released by the Governor, Sir William King. To increase the feeling against the Catholics,[5] they reported that King Charles was "poisoned by the papists." The continued persecutions of the Catholics in England and Ireland made many of them fly the kingdom, and seek shelter in France and Spain, and many fled to Maryland.[4]

Edward Pery, Esq., at the Common Council, held 25th June, 1677, claimed in right of St. Mary's house to vote next to the mayor, and to have two voices. It was decided that the Protestant Bishop (who was present) should, as a peer, vote before him. But his other claims were agreed to. So he voted before Sir H. Ingoldsby, Bart., Sir Wm. King, Knt., and Sir George Ingoldsby, Knt.[5]

13th October, 1677. The customs of St. John's, and the other southern gates, let for a year at £172.

[1] The weight of these six bells, says White (MSS.) are as follows:—

	cwt.	qrs.	lbs.		cwt.	qrs.	lbs.
First bell weighs ...	7	1	14	Fourth bell weighs	14	1	0
Second bell „	9	1	0	Fifth bell „	21	3	9
Third bell „	10	2	4	Sixth bell „	7	3	7

[2] He (York), had the following inscription cut on a stone and placed over Thomond Gate, which was a castellated solid stone building at the Thomond side of the Bridge, and the drawbridge was placed between it and the stone or ancient bridge, as appears by a map of the city taken in 1641:—

The Freeman's Libertys, without tax or rate,
Repaired this Place—the Thomond Bridge and Gate.
ALDERMAN YORK, Mayor.

[3] White's MSS. and Dr. Young's note. [4] Ibid.

[5] 17th May, 1675, Robert Johnston appointed Mayor's Cook, on the accustomed stipend of £10 per annum, and a linen cloak yearly. The judge's lodgings this assizes cost £18. The usual assizes only £6.

After long disputes with Sir G. Preston, the Lax-weir being finally made over to the Corporation, they let the fishings, 29th Jan., 1679, for £284 5s. a-year, "all members of this council to have a salmon or more to eat in the weir-house castle at any time for nothing." All freemen were to have as many salmon as they could eat in the castle, at 9d. each.[1]

William Yorke, dying in office, a new election was made, 2nd April, 1679, when Mr. Pery gave a double vote, which the Judges of Assize decided to be illegal, and Sir Samuel Foxon voted for himself. The votes were equal; but by striking off Sir Samuel's, and one of Mr. Pery's, (given to him) Sir William King was declared elected.

Trade was kept very much in the hands of the freemen. A Waterford merchant bought a cargo of wheat in Sligo—it was driven to Limerick by stress of weather, and sold to one who was not a freeman—so the mayor seized it as "foreign bought and foreign sold;" and it was only restored on the purchaser agreeing to sell one Limerick barrel to every one who would buy it, at the price at which he had bought it wholesale.[3]

There being a great vacancy of resident aldermen and burgesses in this year, William Gribble and Anthony Bartlett were elected aldermen by the Council on the 6th of October.

Standish Hartstonge, Recorder, being made Baron of the Exchequer in 1680, Henry Turner, Esq., nephew to the Lord Chancellor, was elected, on his recommendation, in his place on the 13th March, 1680. Hartstonge had held the office since the Restoration.[4]

Bigotry and fanatical hatred of Catholicity were now raging throughout the city. On the 29th of June, 1679, being Ascension day, the Pope's picture was dragged up and down the river Shannon in a boat, and afterwards, with great shoutings was publicly burned in Limerick. This was during the mayoralty of Sir William King, who was the first mayor who quartered all the soldiers on the Catholics without putting any on the Protestants, and that out of prejudice, because the Catholics disputed in law for their freedom.[5]

On the 3rd of November, 1683, the greatest frost that had ever been previously known in Ireland began, and it continued until the 9th of February; the frost was seven or eight feet thick on the river Shannon; all the lakes and rivers of Ireland were in like manner frozen; men, women, cattle and carriages went over the rivers on the ice; people frequently walked on it from the King's Island to Parteen. In the following year William Gribble being mayor, he went to Scattery Island, to exercise his jurisdiction among the herring boats for the city duties, which were 1000 herrings and 1000 oysters out of each boat (a most exorbitant tax). This he reduced to 500 a piece.[6]

The death of King Charles II. occurred in London on the 6th of February, 1684; he was a prince who in his exile acknowledged great obligations to the Irish; on his accession to the throne the Irish reasonably expected to be restored to their estates, which they forfeited for fighting for him and his father, but he followed the pernicious advices of Clarendon, viz. to make friends of his enemies by gratifying them, and that he could always make sure of his old friends. Adopting this advice he left the Cromwellians in

[1] Corporation Minute Book in the British Museum. [2] Ibid. [3] Ibid. Mem.—That freemen of Bristol pay no inward or outward tolls in Limerick. 3rd April, 1680.

[4] Standish Hartstonge Esq., of Bruff, one of the Barons of the Court of Exchequer, was created a Baronet in 1681. The Baronetcy eventually descended to Sir Henry, who, dying without issue, the Bruff estate devolved on (the daughter of his sister) Mary Ormsby, wife of the first Earl of Limerick.

[5] White's MSS. [6] Ibid.

possession of the estates, and the betrayed Irish who were fools to part with an inch of ground for him or one of his family. Though he was a Catholic in his heart and died one, yet he countenanced the most violent persecutions against those of that profession, and his whole reign was a scene of plots, persecutions, and executions of the poorer Catholics, as well of holy prelates, priests, and friars, and of Catholic gentlemen, &c. &c. He had great wit and penetration, but his debauched life did not permit him to utilise either. It was justly said of him that he never said a foolish thing, nor ever did a wise thing.[1] In his reign the glorious martyr Archbishop Plunkett of Armagh suffered a most cruel and ignominious death.

On the day King Charles II. died, his brother James Duke of York and Albany was proclaimed king in London. On the 11th he was proclaimed in Dublin; on the 13th being Sunday he was proclaimed king in Limerick. The Mayor, Richard Smith, the Sheriffs, the Governor, Sir William King, the Protestant Bishop and Clergy in their surplices and robes, and all the Corporation in their robes were all on horseback. The trades and militia walked with their colours, and great rejoicings were shown on the occasion. This king publicly professed the Catholic faith.[2]

Robert Smith being Mayor in 1685, he flagged the City Court-house, made the jury-room at the east end of it, and framed in the place of judicature; he newly built the King's Island gate and tower, and with his own hands he cut on the stone fixed over the gate at the island side these words, "Reedificata 1° Jacobi 2di Roberto Smith Pretore, sumptibus civium." He also, at his own cost, set up in the Exchange, a brass table standing on a short pillar, and himself engraved this inscription on it: "Ex dono Roberti Smith majoris Limericencibus civibus." It was afterwards placed in the new Exchange, and was called "The Nail," being intended for a public place for paying down money on, though not applied to that use.[3]

On the 1st of August, same year, Lieut.-Colonel Anthony Hamilton[4] came to Limerick as Governor, in place of Sir William King, who was deposed. Hamilton was the first Governor who for 35 years before publicly went to Mass. On the 21st of September Lord Clarendon, who was Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, arrived in Limerick; for an entire month before ten troops of horse were quartered on the inhabitants; they were the first army who, for forty years before went publicly to Mass. Mass was publicly said in the yard of the King's Castle, and in the citadel near St. John's gate for the army who every Sunday went to hear it, marching thither in order with their drums and hautboys. The Lord Lieutenant remained in Limerick but two nights and one day.[5]

[1] White's MSS. [2] Ibid.

[3] White's MSS. This nail or brass table is now in the Town Hall of Limerick.

[4] Anthony Hamilton, Esq., was appointed Governor of Limerick after Sir William King—he is set down among the general officers of King James's army—his brother, John, was killed at Aughrim. Richard behaved with great spirit at the battle of the Boyne. One of his sisters was married to Sir Donough O'Brien, ancestor of Lord Inchiquin. The Duchess of Berwick, one of whose sisters, Charlotte, was married to Lord Clare, ancestor of the Marquis of Thomond, which Lord Clare was killed at the battle of Ramelies, was his particular friend. His mother was daughter of Lord Thurles, sister of James Duke of Ormond. Anthony Hamilton was born at Roscrea, Co. Tipperary, about 1646, or three or four years earlier. In that year Owen O'Neile took Roscrea, and put every soul to death, as Carte says, except Sir Geo. Hamilton's lady, sister to the Marquis of Ormond, and some few gentlemen whom he kept prisoners. Lady Hamilton died in August, 1680, as appears from an interesting and affecting letter of her brother, the Duke of Ormond, dated Carrick, August 25th. He had lost his noble son, Lord Ossory, three weeks before. Sir George Hamilton was a Catholic.

[5] White's MSS. The citadel was afterwards converted into an hospital and is now the Fever Hospital of St. John's.

The 12th of February, 1686, John Talbot, Earl of Tyrconnell, was sworn Lord Deputy of Ireland. He was the first Lord Deputy who went publicly to Mass since Queen Mary's time, and all over Ireland there were the greatest rejoicings among the Irish on that account; but he was hated by the Protestants.[1] On the 18th of March twelve of the Roman Catholic merchants of Limerick were made free of the Common Council; and on the 2nd of the same month William Turner, Recorder of Limerick, became a Roman Catholic, and as he was exasperated with the Corporation, he procured from the Lord Lieutenant, Tyrconnell, that the Protestant Mayor, Geo. Roche and his Sheriffs should be deposed; and in their places he got named for the rest of the year Mr. Robert Hannon, a Catholic, as Mayor, and Thomas Harold, a Catholic, as Sheriff, with Peter Monsell, a Protestant. The Corporation would not accept of Hannon as Mayor, or the others as Sheriffs until the Assizes, when the Lord Chief Baron Stephen Rice refused holding the Assizes until Hannon was admitted. The Common Council thereupon elected Hannon Mayor, and Harold and Monsell Sheriffs, and on the 8th of April, 1687, the rod, sword and mace were delivered up to Mr. Hannon. Sir John Fitzgerald was at this time Governor of Limerick, so that the Governor, Mayor, Recorder, and one of the Sheriffs went publicly to Mass, the first occurrence of the kind for forty years.[2]

On the 4th of October, 1687, being St. Francis's day, the Franciscan friars possessed themselves of their own Church in the Abbey; it was consecrated by the Right Rev. John Moloney, Catholic Bishop of Limerick, who had the administration of Killaloe, there being no Catholic Bishop of Killaloe. The Bishop said first Mass in it, and the Rev. Jasper White said the second Mass. The friars now rented this Church from the Englishman who held it, viz. John Pery, Lieutenant of a Foot Company. He was ancestor to the Lords Pery and Glentworth.[3]

In the next year was finished the Church which the Capuchins built in the Irish-town, afterwards called the Infirmary in Palmerstown. The first who said Mass therein was one Father Maurice White, a Capuchin friar from Clonmel. It is said that Father Jasper White was security for the money, which he was afterwards obliged to pay.[4]

On 10th of June the same year, Charles Ignatius James, Prince of Wales, was born; his godfathers were the Pope's Nuncio and the Queen's brother; the godmothers were the Queen-Dowager of King Charles II. and the Duchess of Pembroke. He was the first Prince in England who had been baptized by a priest for two hundred years. Upon this account Robert Hannon, Mayor of Limerick, made great rejoicings, and "let three hogsheads of wine run" among the populace.[5]

In the following year Sir Thomas Southwell and three hundred other Protestants, who fought under King James, were taken prisoners in the County of Galway; and on the 3rd of October Richard White, Robert Woulfe, Pierce Moroney, Doctor Wale, and James England, were made free of the Council of Limerick, Thomas Harold being Mayor.

The country was now rapidly hastening towards those great conflicts and changes which develop their proportions as we procced.

[1] White's MSS. [2] Ibid. [3] Ibid.

[4] White's MSS. This Church was taken down in the month of March, 1797, so that in a short time the site of it was forgotten. It lay about the middle of the street on the western side of it.—*Dr. Young's note.*

[5] White's MSS.

CHAPTER XXXII.

IMPORTANT EVENTS—SCHONBERG LANDS AT CARRICKFERGUS—KING JAMES ARRIVES IN KINSALE, AND PROCEEDS TO DUBLIN—LANDING OF KING WILLIAM—THE BATTLE OF THE BOYNE—FLIGHT OF JAMES TO FRANCE—THE MARCH OF WILLIAM TO LIMERICK.

I HAVE briefly sketched in the foregoing chapter the rapid progress of events which preceded the grand crisis at which we have arrived, and which was to decide for ages the fate of a country that had trembled so long in the balance. From whatever cause arising, King James did not afford to his supporters that confidence which he might have inspired among men who had bled for their principles, and who had hoped, when he came to the throne, that their rights and liberties would receive a becoming recognition. On the other hand, the Protestant party, which for so long a period had enjoyed immunity and protection for their most revolting excesses, which had obtained the possessions of the Irish proprietors, who had been driven forth with unheard-of cruelty, from their lands, were now resolved to hold what they had obtained, and to resist opposition from whatever quarter it might arrive. William had already an immense following in England; and strengthened by a powerful party, he resolved to measure weapons with his father-in-law, King James, and to make Ireland the battle-ground on which the mighty issue was to be decided. On the 12th of March, 1689, James landed at Kinsale from France, having about 1800 men with him. He proceeded immediately from Cork to Dublin, where Lord Tyrconnell, whom he had constituted Lord Lieutenant, and the entire Catholic people, received him with open arms as the friend and deliverer, in whom they hoped to find a king equal to the tremendous emergency that had arisen.[1] He entered Dublin on Palm Sunday the 24th, amid the most extraordinary display of joy—the streets were lined with soldiers, and the windows were hung with tapestry—the King on horseback. Whilst active, energetic, and powerful preparations were making on this side of the Channel, to sustain the legitimate king, and vindicate the rights of a nation which had so long and so grievously suffered, eighteen regiments of foot and four or five of horse were raised in England for the service of the Prince of Orange in Ireland. The levies were made with very great speed; for in five or six weeks the regiments were completed. In the Tower of London, however, there were not sufficient arms, which had to be sent for to Holland to supply the soldiery that were destined for this country.[2] The army thus raised, after marching to Chester, and encamping at Neston, embarked on the 8th of August, under the command of the Duke Schonberg, General of all the forces of William and Mary; Count Solmes, General of the Foot, and several great officers more, with ten thousand foot and horse: they set sail at High Lake, and landed on Tuesday, the 13th, in the afternoon about three o'clock, within a mile and a-half of Carrickfergus. It is a strange circumstance that

[1] The Duke of Berwick states that the people showed an extraordinary enthusiasm for him.
[2] Storey's Impartial History.

in giving a detail of the voyage, the first object which Storey states struck his vision was the Mourne mountains, in Down, on which he remarks a famous monastery was placed on the top of one of the very highest of them in times of old; and that, throughout his History, he appears to dwell with a pleasureable interest on the antiquities of a country to which he and his friends came to exterminate the ancient race which had fostered and protected monasteries and churches, until the oppressor and devastator arrived with sword and fire. Schonberg garrisoned Carrickfergus, burned the suburbs, marched to Belfast, again to Carrickfergus, where the garrison surrendered, back to Belfast, where he returned unopened a letter sent to him by the Duke of Berwick, because it was not directed to the "Duke" Schonberg. Newry was next burned, —the people ran in terror from their homes, which they left a prey in the hands of the spoiler.[1] They then marched to Dundalk, where they encamped, and where, wandering abroad, some of them met their death at the hands of certain Rapparees, who were numerous in the neighbourhood.[2] King James's army, 20,000 strong, lay in Drogheda at this time, where they were within a short distance of their enemy, and where they supplied themselves with a sufficiency of forage and corn. The army (James's) subsequently encamped at the bridge of Slane, whilst William's began their entrenchments, and Major-General Kirk's fierce battalion greatly misnomered, "Lambs," was ordered to march on Monday, the 16th, into the trenches.

William's army now amounted to thirty thousand men; and in addition to these, early in March, 1690, four hundred Danes arrived at Belfast, anxious to take part in any warfare against those to whom they had ever shown themselves rapacious enemies—the Irish. On the fourteenth of that month, five thousand French Infantry landed at Kinsale, with General Count Lauzun and the Marquis de Lery; King James having sent back Major-General Macarthy and as many Irish. Indeed it was observed with pain that James was hastening his own ruin, and disgusting his Irish officers by an unjust preference of Frenchmen in the promotions he daily made. On the 4th of June a French Regiment marched into Limerick to garrison it for King James, against the forces of William, which at this juncture were hourly expecting the arrival from England of their darling, an event which took place at Carrickfergus on the 14th of the same month, when he came with an enormous force, in addition to that which had been previously at his service in Ireland. William was congratulated by the Protestant clergy of the country, who were then in Ulster. At Belfast he stated that he had come to Ireland not to let the grass grow under his feet, and he made good his words, for the whole army got immediate orders to march into the field. He and Prince George, the Duke of Ormonde, and all the principal officers, went to the camp at Loughbrickland, and instead of allowing the soldiers to pass him in review, he at once went amongst them, examined each regiment critically, and gave such directions as he thought needful under the circumstances—he at once, by this means, won the confidence of the men.

He carried with him for his own use and the use of Prince George, moving

[1] "I went abroad, where I found all the houses deserted for several miles; most of them that I observed had crosses on the inside, above the doors, upon the thatch, some made of wood and others of straw or rushes, finely wrought; some houses had more and some less."—*Storey's Impartial History.*

[2] Rapparee signifies a half stick or broken beam, like a half pike; and for the last three or four years the priests would not allow an Irishman to come to Mass, unless he brought his rapparee along with him.—Ibid.

houses made of wood, so convenient that they could be set up in an hour's time, and he never while in Ireland lay out in camp.[1] The battle of the Boyne, in which King James's army was defeated, and the Duke of Schonberg, William's general was killed, was fought on the 1st of July. James had previously gone to Derry, in order to protect his Protestant subjects from the vengeance of the Catholics of the North; but he was fired at for his pains from the walls of Derry—in fact the conduct of King James was already arraigned as that of a Catholic in religion, and a Protestant in politics.[2] There was no blame that did not already attach to James; among others he was accused of having spent the campaign of 1689 without advantage—he was aspersed because energetic measures were not taken by the Duke of Tyrconnell and his other ministers to prevent the Castle of Charlemont, the only fortress in Ulster, falling into the hands of Schonberg.[3] James, however, has been vindicated by Mac Pherson and other writers, from the serious charges which have been preferred against him on these heads; but nevertheless, his proceedings throughout manifested a desire to conciliate a foe which had thoroughly contemned his advances.

On his arrival in Dublin, after the defeat of the Boyne, he made a speech which speaks badly for his sentiments towards his Irish subjects;[4] and had he reserved what he had to say till after he had witnessed all that Irish chivalry and honour had done for him in Limerick and elsewhere, it is certain he would have done more justice to those who poured out their blood like water for him on many an eventful field:—

"Gentlemen, I had a very good army in England, and when I had the greatest occasion for them, they deserted me, and went to the enemy; and finding a total defection against me there, I retired and went to France, where I was kindly received by that King, and had all the assurances imaginable from him to re-establish me on my Throne. In some time after I came to this kingdom, and found my Roman Catholic subjects here as well equiped and prepared to defend my cause as their abilities could bear; and though I have often been told, that when it came to the touch they would never bear the brunt of a battle, I never could credit the same; till now; when having a good army and all preparations fit to engage any foreign invader, I found the total truth, of which I have been so often cautioned. And though the army did not desert me here as they did in England, yet when it came to a tryal, they basely fled the field, and left the spoil to my enemies; nor could they be prevailed upon to rally, though the loss in the whole defeat was but inconsiderable: So that henceforward I never more determine to head an Irish army, and do now resolve to shift for myself, and so, gentlemen, must you. It has been often debated, in case such a revolution should happen, whether upon deserting the city of Dublin, the same ought to be fired? I therefore charge you, on your allegiance, that you neither rifle the city by plunder, nor destroy it by fire, which in all kingdoms will be judged very barbarous, and must be believed to be done by my orders; and if done there will be but little mercy expected from an enemy thus enraged. He told them, though he quitted Dublin, he did not quit his interest in it. He told his menial servants that he should now have no farther occasion to keep such a court, as he had done; and that therefore

[1] Storey. [2] Leslie's Answer to King.
[3] See notes to O'Callaghan's Macariæ Excidium, p. 331.
[4] Dr. Molleneux's Three Months' Royal Campaign in Ireland.

they were at liberty to dispose of themselves; and so with two or three in company, he went to Bray, and along by the sea to Waterford; having appointed his carriages to meet him another way. 'Tis said he did not sleep till he got on ship-board; the vessel was the Lausun, a Malouin of 28 guns, which lay at Duncannon, from which he sailed to Kinsale where he remained a short time and then sailed for France."[1]

When Athlone was summoned to surrender by Douglas, the fiery Governor, Colonel Grace, the younger son of Robert Grace, Baron of Courtstown, county Kilkenny, the descendant of the great Raymond le Gros, fired

[1] The following is a list of King James' Army taken April 9th, 1690:—

Regiments of Horse.

Duke of Tyrconnell	9 troops in a regiment, 58 men in a troop.
Lord Galmoy	
Colonel Sarsfield	
Col. Sutherland	
Lord Abercorn	Six troops in a regiment, 53 men each.
Col. Henry Luttrell	
Col. John Parker	
Col. Nicholas Purcell	

Horse Guards.

Lord Dover's Troop	200 each troop.
Duke of Berwick's Troop	

Troop of Grenadiers.

Col. Butler's—60

Dragoons.

Lord Dungan	Eight troops in a regiment, 60 men each.
Sir Neal O'Neal	
Col. Simon Lutterel	

Regiments.

Col. Robert Clifford	Six troops in a regiment, 60 men each.
Sir James Cotton	
Col. Thos. Maxwell	
Lord Clare	

Regiments of Foot.

Royal Regiment, 22 Companies—90 men each.
Earl of Clancarty
Col. Henry Fitzjames
Colonel John Hambleton
Earl of Clanrickard
Earl of Antrim
Earl of Tyrone
Lord Germanstown
Lord Slane
Lord Galloway
Lord Dulcek
Lord Kilmallock
Lord Kenmare
Sir John Fitzgerald
Sir Maurice Eustace
Colonel Nugent
Colonel Henry Dillon
Colonel John Grace
Colonel Edward Butler
Colonel Thomas Butler
Lord Popham
Colonel Charles Moore
Colonel Cormac O'Neil
Colonel Arthur MacMahon
Earl of Westmeath
Colonel Cavanagh
Colonel Usborough
Colonel MacCarthy More
Colonel Gordon O'Neil
Colonel John Barrett
Colonel Charles O'Bryan
Colonel Donovan
Colonel Nicholas Browne
Colonel O'Gara
Sir Michael Creagh*
Colonel Dom. Browne*
Col. Bagnal
Colonel MacEligott
Lord Inniskillen
Colonel Hugh MacMahon
Colonel Walter Bourke
Colonel Felix O'Neil
Lord Iveagh
Colonel O'Keyly.

Regiments from France.

The Red Regiment
The Blue Regiment
Two White Regiments, each divided into several battalions, being in all 5000 men.

Regiments that were sent to France in Exchange.

Lord Mountcashel's
Colonel Richard Butler's
Colonel Daniel O'Bryan's
Colonel Richard Fielding's
Colonel Arthur Dillon's.

Regiments that were raised and never taken into pay, but were disbanded.

Lord Castleconnel
Colonel Roger O'Connor
Colonel Charles Geoghegan
Colonel John Brown
Colonel James Butler.
Colonel Manus O'Donnell
Colonel O'Cahan
Colonel Edward Nugent
Colonel Charles Kelly
Colonel Brien Mac Dermot
Colonel James Talbot.

Storey states that these last-mentioned "were meer *Irish*, and good for little, so no wonder they were broke." James had other forces in garrison throughout the country. Twenty-seven thousand men fought for him at the Boyne.

* Limerick men.

a pistol at the drummer who was sent to him to surrender the fortress. "These are *my* terms," exclaimed Grace; "these only will I give or receive; and when my provisions are consumed I will defend it till I eat my boots," hoisting a bloody flag at the moment, and beating back a detachment of 3,000 horse and foot that attempted to cross the Shannon, killing Douglas's best gunner, and compelling the enemy to retreat more rapidly than they had advanced. After this defeat before Athlone, Douglas, with the remnant of his forces made an effort to join King William at Limerick. In doing so he was hourly afraid of falling into the hands of Sarsfield, who, he was aware would make short work of his troops if but the opportunity was thrown in his way. Instead, therefore, of taking the direct route to Limerick, he pursued the road by Ballymore and Ballyboy, avoiding Banagher, where he had heard that Sarsfield awaited him; and, passing through Roscrea, he proceeded by Thurles which he sacked and burned, and Holycross, till he reached the camp at Cullen, where he did not arrive before the 8th of August. When he passed Roscrea, he encamped on the north side of the hill of Rathnavaigue, near Dunkerrin, where the army spent a few days at rest. At the Devil's Bit mountain a message was received by Douglas from William, to hasten his march, the rapparees every where giving him more than enough to think of. The country people brought quantities of poultry and other provisions to the camp, all of which were paid for; and here an incident occurred which I have heard from the great grandson of the individual who then lived at Kyleanna, near Clonakenny, in the neighbourhood. This gentleman rode to the camp with several others, having been attracted thither by curiosity. He saw that the grenadiers wore four bells on their waist belts for the purpose of frightening away cavalry; and it was here the following melancholy occurrence took place:—A soldier who had strayed across the hill to look at the country, sat down to rest, and soon afterwards fell asleep, probably from fatigue; some labourers were working near the spot digging a ditch, and their children who were with them, gathered around the sleeping soldier, and commenced playing with the bells; the noise awoke him suddenly, when he ran off to where his firelock lay, a short distance; the labourers thinking that he took the musket to fire at the children, one of them (the workmen) threw a stone at the soldier, which hit him on the head and knocked him senseless—the others dispatched him with their spades, and buried him on the spot where the occurrence took place. This was not known to the army, which passed on without making inquiries after the missing man. A foraging party of the same army was sent down from the camp towards Emmil, where they fell in with a large body of the followers of O'Carroll—long Anthony O'Carroll who had held the Castle of Nenagh—a conflict ensued—not one of the foraging party, about twelve in number escaped—and to this day the place where this occurred is called the "Bloody Togher"—it lies between Moneygall and Emmil—all in the King's County.

The advice which it is alleged that King James gave his Colonels when he was taking leave of them—namely, that they should make the best terms for themselves and desert their duty, appears to be a calumny on his memory, because, according to the Memoirs of the Duke of Berwick, when he was proceeding from Kinsale for France, he wrote to Lord Tyrconnel that having left for that country on the recommendation of Lausun and others of his friends, he hoped to send them considerable succours, and gave them in the mean time fifty-thousand pistoles which was all the money he had. While

Duke of York, by land and by sea, the unfortunate James showed wonderful courage; but there can be no doubt when at the Boyne, he cried "Oh! spare my English subjects;" and when after his rapid flight from Dublin, he made the speech already quoted, and forthwith ran for France, he did not bequeath to his supporters a reputation on which they can ever take occasion to congratulate themselves, whilst his enemies even at the moment he was sparing them, were using every exertion to prove the contempt and hatred they entertained for him and the Irish. Lord Wharton boasted that he sung King James out of Ireland by a song, which became so popular with the Williamites that it was heard every where throughout the land that they had a footing.[1]

Of this doggrel and the use made of it at the Boyne and afterwards at Limerick, it is quite unnecessary to write; but in Limerick it had no other effect than that of nerving the arm of the defenders to fight for native hearths and native altars and to conquer.

Boisseleau was now the Governor of Limerick. Lausun and other French

[1] It is said that the Philippics of Demosthenes and Cicero had not a greater effect in Greece and Rome as those verses had in producing among the Protestants the revolt against James II. As many of my readers have never seen those verses, I shall here give them for their edification, as a demonstration of the utter recklessness of the anti-national and anti-Catholic party, and of their vindictive spirit towards the Irish and their faith. I have to apologise for giving the ballad in its integrity, as it contains a certain quantity of blasphemy and profanity, in which the army of William and the Orangemen generally indulged to their hearts' content The reader of Tristram Shandy will remember how uncle Toby (the type of Sterne's father, who served before Limerick), is described as whistling this air :—

LILIBURLERO BULLEN-A-LA.*

SUNG TO THE MODERN AIR—"*Protestant Boys.*"

Ho! broder Teague, dost hear de decree?
Lilli burlero, bullen a-la.
Dat we shall have a new deputie,
Lilli burlero, bullen a-la.
Lero lero, lilli burlero, lero lero, bullen a-la,
Lero lero, lilli burlero, lero lero, bullen a-la.

Ho! by shaint Tyburn, it is de Talbote; Lilli, &c.
And he will cut de Englishmen's troate; Lilli, &c.

Dough by my shoul de English do praat, Lilli, &c.
De law's on dare side, and —— knows what, Lilli, &c.

But if dispence do come from de Pope; Lilli, &c.
We'll hang Magna Charta, and dem in a rope; Lilli, &c.

For de good Talbot is made a lord; Lilli, &c.
And with brave lads is coming aboard; Lilli, &c.

Who all in France have taken a sware; Lilli, &c.
Dat dey will have no Protestant heir; Lilli, &c.

Ara! but why does he stay behind? Lilli, &c.
Ho! by my shoul 'tis a Protestant wind, Lilli, &c.

But see de Tyrconnel is now come ashore, Lilli, &c.
And we shall have commissions gillore; Lilli, &c.

And he dat will nót go to de mass, Lilli, &c.
Shall be turned out, and look like an ass, Lilli, &c.

Now, now de hereticks all go down, Lilli, &c.
By C—t and Shaint Patrick, de nation's our own; Lilli, &c.

* *Bullen-a-la*, is a corruption of the Irish phrase "*Builin a laimh*," i.e. "*a loaf in the hand.*"

Generals were in the city, but some of them speedily evacuated it;[1] they had no desire to fight for Ireland; when Lausun saw Limerick first he pronounced that it could not be defended;[2] he who had been at Valenciennes

> Dare was an old prophecy found in a bog; Lilli, &c.
> "Ireland shall be rul'd by an ass and a dog;" Lilli, &c.
>
> And now dis prophecy is come to pass, Lilli, &c.
> For Talbot's de dog, and James is de ass, Lilli, &c.
>
> *Percy's Reliques of Ancient Poetry.*

Lillibullero was written, or at least republished, on the eve of Tyrconnell's going a second time to Ireland in October, 1688. Perhaps it is unnecessary to mention, that General Richard Talbot, newly created earl of Tyrconnell, had been nominated by King James II. to the lieutenancy of Ireland in 1686, on account of his being a decided Catholic, who had recommended himself to his master by his treatment of the Protestants in the preceding year, when only lieutenant-general, and whose subsequent conduct fully justified the King's expectations, and, we shall not add, their fears, because, after all, Tyrconnell was not strictly true to the old cause.

[1] I am indebted to Mr. Patrick Lynch, a very intelligent Head Constable of Police, for the following unpublished Irish Poem, written soon after the departure of King James from France, and the disastrous events which in the subsequent year followed, which Mr. Lynch has also translated:—

1 Do ṫaiṇic Rīġ Sêamuṡ ċúġaiṇṇ ʒo h-Éiṛe,
Re ṇa bṛóʒ Ġallda 'ṡ ṛe ṇa bṛóʒ Ġaolaċ;
Tóiṇ aṇ aḋaiṇ bujḋe da leiġeaḋ maṛ pay ḋúiṇṇ,
Bjoċ a têiṫ ṗṛaiṡ aʒ Ġallaiḃ ṇa h-Éiṛiṇṇ,
'S óċ! oċóṇ!

2 La ṡpaṛṇṇ Tuaṫṁuiṇ ba tṛuaġ aṇ ṡʒêal ê,
'S aṛ ṇa ṇdaoiṇe uaiṡle a ʒ-cuaṇ a d-tṛaoċta,
'Nuaiṛ ṫaiṇic aṇuaṡ oṛṛa ṡʒuaiṇ aṇ bêaṛla,
Do ċuiṛ aṇ ṛuaiʒ aiṛ ċuallaċt Shêamuiṡ,
'S óċ! oċóṇ!

3 Iṡ iomḋa daoiṇe uaiṡle ṡaoi ċlócuiḋe deaṛʒa,
Ṡaoi ċlócuiḋe uaiṫṇe 'ṡ clocuiḋe ʒoṛṇa,
Aʒuṡ ṡaiġdiuiṛ ṡiṇʒil ṡa ġuṇa aiṛ a ġualaiṇṇ,
Do ċuaiḋ ʒo cóiʒe Ulaḋ 'ṡ ṇaṛ ṡill ṇa a ċuaiṛiṡʒ,
'S óċ! oċóṇ!

4 D'iṁṫiġ aṇ ṡṁal aiṛ h-alluiġe luiṁṇeaċ,
'S aiṛ aṇ ṇ-buiḋiṇ ṁaṇla bjoċ ṇaṛ ʒ-cuiḋeaċta,
Siṇ ê Ruḋṛaiġe óṡ ciṇṇ ʒaċ loiṇʒe aco,
'S Doṇṇċaḋ aṇ ċúil buiḋe taṛ êiṡ a ṇoċtaiġṫe,
'S óċ! oċóṇ!

5 D'iṁṫiḋ aṇ ṡṁal aiṛ ḃaḋ aṇ ċalaiṫ,
'S ta Ceaṇṇ t-Saile laṇ do ḃaṛcaiḃ,
Ġaḃaiʒ leaṡ-tall ċúiʒ ḋúiṫċe aṇ bhaṛṛaiʒ,
Taiḋ ṇa pôiṛt ṛaoḃṫa iṡ Éiṛe aʒ Ġallaiḃ,
'S óċ! oċóṇ!

6 Ġaḃ mê ṡiaṛ aṇ ṡliaḃ ṡo aṁ aoṇaṛ,
'S ʒeaḃaḋ me ṇiaṛ a ṛiṡ maṡ ṡêidiṛ,
D'aiṁḋeoiṇ a ṇ-abṛaiḋ boḋaiʒ aṇ bêaṛla,
Beiḋ ṇa tṛí ṛíġeaċt ṡo 'ṛíṡ aʒ Sêamuṡ,
'S óċ! oċóṇ!

7 Naċ aiṫ aṇ aiṫ 'ṇaṛ ṡaʒḃaḋ a ṛaoiṛ ṡíṇṇ,
Aiṛ ḃṛuaċ ṇa tṛaġa ʒaṇ ṡṇaiṫe doṇ êaḋaċ,
Ta ṇa loiṇʒiṡ aʒ ṡṇaṁ 'ṡ aṛ ṁṇa aʒ ʒêaṛ-ġol,
S' mo ċúiʒ cêaḋ ṡlaṇ ʒo bṛaṫ leaṫṡa Éiṛe,
'S óċ! oċóṇ!

8 Iṡ iomḋa ṡaṛṛuiṛe ṡaḋa ṡioṇṇ ʒlêiʒiol,
Do ċuaiḋ taṛ ṡaile a ṇ-aṛṁ Rīġ Sêamuṡ,
Do ṫaḃṛaḋ a ṡtaṫ aiṛ ċaiṛtiṇ ʒêaṛ dīġe,
No aiṛ ḋeoċ ṡaiṛiṇʒ d'uiṡʒe ṇa h-Éiṛioṇṇ,
'S óċ! oċóṇ!

[2] M'Geoghegan's History of Ireland, p. 594.

and Phillipsburgh laughed when he saw those grey old walls, which he fancied would crumble to dust beneath the first shot, and exclaimed with an oath: "It is unnecessary for the English to bring cannon against such a place as this. What you call ramparts might be battered down with roasted apples." He declared that "at all events he was determined not to throw away in a hopeless resistance the lives of the brave men who had been entrusted to his care by his master."[1] This may not have been his real opinion

LITERAL TRANSLATION.

1 King James came over to Ireland,
Wearing an English shoe and an Irish brogue,
And to coin into money for our pay,
The bottoms of the brass cauldrons used by the English.

2 The day of the conflict at Thomond [Bridge] was a woeful one,
When our brave men were doomed to destruction,
Being overpowered by the English-speaking hordes,
Who routed the forces of James.

3 Many nobles who wore scarlet cloaks,
Blue cloaks and green ones;
And private soldiers with their guns on their shoulders,
Marched into Ulster, and have not returned.

4 The halls of Limerick are rendered desolate,
And the fair ladies who kept us company;
Rody is now in command of the fleet,
And Donocha* of the yellow hair is stripped of his territories.

5 The Passage ferry-boat is distressed,
And Kinsale harbour is full of shipping;
You had better march round by Barry's country,
The fortresses are taken, and Ireland is in the hands of the enemy.

6 I travelled alone this mountain westwards,
And I shall if possible again return;
And despite of what those English-speaking churls boast of,
King James shall yet reign over these three kingdoms.

7 What wretched quarters were last night allowed us,
On the sea-shore, without any clothing to cover us;
The ships are going to sail, and our wives most bitterly weeping,
And my five hundred farewells for ever be with you, Erin.

8 Many tall fair-haired comely men,
Who crossed the seas in King James' army,
Who would give their estates for a pot of sour beer,
Or for a drink of Erin's water.

No. 1. refers to King James' pro-English sympathy as expressed on Donore hill and elsewhere; also to his Brass Money.

No. 2. refers to the disaster on Thomond Bridge immediately upon the Capitulation.

No. 3. refers to the defeat of Lord Mountcashel at Newtown Butler in 1689.

No. 4. I know nothing of Rody, but Donocha was the last Earl of the MacCarthys of Blarney Castle.

No. 6. probably refers to the intention of the soldiers of the Irish Brigade to return and regain what they had lost at the Boyne and Aughrim.

No. 7. refers to the ill-treatment experienced by King James' Army previous to their sailing for France. I have heard that some of the soldiers' wives waded into the water as far as the boats, and that the English soldiers in charge of the transport vessels cut off their fingers with their swords when they clung to the sides of the boats to enter.

No. 8. most feelingly refers to the longing for home of the members of the Irish Brigade.

[1] Colonel O'Kelly's Macariæ Excidium; M'Geoghegan's History of Ireland. Life of James II., 420, &c.

* O'Sullivan Beare, in his *Historiæ Catholicæ*, speaks of a learned and hospitable man named Donogh M'Grath, or *Donogh an t-Sneachta*; so called from his white locks of hair, who was treacherously hanged in Cork by the English to which he had been favorable.

of the strength of Limerick. Lord Macaulay says[1] "The truth is that the judgment of the brilliant and adventurous Frenchman was biassed by his inclinations. He and his companions were sick of Ireland. They were ready to face death with courage, nay with gaiety on a field of battle." Macaulay proceeds to regard the case from the Anglo-Saxon point of view; and says: "But the dull, squalid, barbarous life which they (the French) had been now leading during several months was more than they could bear. They were as much out of the civilized world as if they had been banished to Dahomey or Spitzbergen. The climate affected their health and spirits. In that unhappy country, wasted by years of predatory warfare, hospitality could offer little more than a couch of straw, a trencher of meat half raw, half burned, and a draught of sour milk.[2] A crust of bread, a pint of wine could hardly be purchased for money. A year of such hardship seemed a century to men, who had been always accustomed to carry with them to the camp the luxuries of Paris, soft bedding, rich tapestry, sideboards of plate, hampers of Champagne, opera dancers, cooks and musicians. Better to be a prisoner in the Bastille, better to be a recluse at La Trappe, than to be generalissimo of the half-naked savages who burrowed in the dreary swamps of Munster. Any plea was welcome which would serve as an excuse for returning from that miserable exile to the land of corn fields and vineyards, of gilded coaches and laced cravats."[3] A vile plea for men who called themselves soldiers!

Tyrconnell had already sent away his wife (Frances Jennings, elder sister of the famous Sarah, Duchess of Marlborough) to France, and his own wealth as well as the King's treasure. Among those who shared the fortune of James, was the Right Rev. Dr. John Moloney (of the Kiltanon family, in the County of Clare) Bishop of Limerick and administrator of Killaloe. He was in Paris at this period (1690), an envoy to the Court of Louis, to negociate assistance for Ireland. His remains were interred in the College of the Lombards, where his tomb bears the following inscription:—

> Illustris et Reverendissimus Ecclesiæ presul, JOHANNES O'MALONY,
> Ex antiquissima familia inter Hibernos ortus, Parisi ab adolescentia educatus,
> et Sacræ facultatis Parisi Doctor, ex Canonico Rothomagensi, factus primum
> Episcopus Laonensis, sui nominis et familiæ tertius; deinde Episcopus Limericensis et Administrator Laonensis, Catholicæ religionis et patriæ ardens
> Zelator, propterea ab Hereticis sepe ad necem Quæsitus, Tandem Parisi
> redux exul et collegio in usum Sacerdotum Hibernorum trecentas libellas,
> Tuorensis anui reditus donavit, preter mille ducentas libellas in construct-
> ionem hujus Sacelli semel donatas obiit die tertia Septembris anno suæ
> ætatis 78, et in anno Domini 1702.[4]

[1] Lord Macaulay's History of England, vol. 3, p. 664.

[2] This was not the case at a more distant period, because we find by the inquisition in the reign of Henry VIII., and held in Limerick in the thirty-third year of that reign, that wine was imported in immense quantities, and that merchants complained of the fraudulent impositions to which their property was subjected by the old chieftains between Carrigaholt and Carrigogunnell, who boarded the ships and took booty by way of tax from them. The inquisition has been given in a preceding chapter.

[3] The impatience of Lauzun and his countrymen to get away from Ireland is mentioned in a letter of Oct. 21, 1690, quoted in the Memoirs of James II. 420.

[4] The Right Rev. John O'Moloney descended from one of the most ancient families in Ireland, studied in Paris from his youth, where he acquired the degree of Doctor of Divinity, and after accomplishing his studies he returned to his native country, and was made Bishop of Killaloe, the third of his name and family, as Bishop in that diocese. In the course of some time afterwards he was appointed Bishop of the diocese of Limerick and Administrator of Killaloe. He remained in Paris after the fall of James, where he contributed to the erection of the Irish College, and built the chapel attached to it at his own expense.—Besides, he established three

Tyrconnell had but little hope. No doubt our country had been "brayed in a mortar" during the wars of Elizabeth, and subsequently during the great rebellion, &c. Sir William Petty, in his Political Anatomy of Ireland (Tracts, p. 313.), says that between October 23, 1641, and the same day, 1652, "If Ireland had continued in peace for the said eleven years, then the 1,466,000 (population in 1641) had increased by generation in that time to 73,000 more, making in all 1,539,000, which were by the said wars brought, anno 1652, to 850,000, so that there were lost 689,000 souls, for whose blood somebody should answer both to God and the King." And forty years after Sir William Petty wrote this the Irish were in a more terrible position than when he wrote; yet they made a stand within Limerick for all they cherished as most dear! As to the civilization of the Irish, even before this period, I will quote again from Sir William Petty: "The diet, and housing, and clothes is much the same as in England; nor is the French elegance unknown to many of them, nor the French and Latin tongues. The latter amongst the poorest Irish, and chiefly in Kerry, most remote from Dublin, where it is very freely spoken."—Political Anatomy of Ireland (Tracts, p. 351). What an answer to Lord Macaulay.

Gloomy indeed is the picture of Limerick at this period; not certainly congenial to the luxurious refinement of the French. It is by no means encouraging as regards our notions of their self-abnegation, and that respect which they ought to cherish for a nation which had placed unbounded con-

Burses for the use and benefit of the O'Molony family to the exclusion of strangers, on which many members of his family studied, namely, the Very Rev. Matthew Molony, V.G. and P.P. of Tomevara, his brother, Rev. Miles Molony, P.P. of Borrisokane, and also the Very Rev. Daniel Molony Murphy, formerly PP. of Nenagh, who was the last of the family who enjoyed these Burses, with the exception of the Rev. Patrick Molony Ryan, P.P. of Cappamore in the Archdiocese of Cashel, who has been proved, he states, before three magistrates to be the legal claimant to this ecclesiastical hereditary property, and his claim has been confirmed by the Minister of Interior, in Paris, and the Public Tribunals.

A tombstone in Kilquane bears the following inscription:—

Broken off

Here lieth ye Body
of Doctor MATHEW
MOLONY who was
Vicar General of E
ye DIECESS of Limerick
and Killalowe for
32 years Parish

Broken off

Close to the tomb of Doctor Mathew Molony there is another tombstone of nearly the same dimensions, with the following inscription, which I give here:—

This tomb was erected
by ye Parishnrs. of Kilquane
and Munchins in memory
of ye Rev. Father Francis
Nolan in the Parish
of for
departed this life
ye 4th day of
January, 1768
aged 64 years.

In Kilquane there had been several ancient tombstones with inscriptions in the Irish character; there are few if any traces of them now. Some of them were shattered several years ago by soldiery from the garrison of Limerick.

fidence in the good faith they professed to right the wrongs that had reduced Ireland to the unhappy condition in which she was at this period—torn on all sides—a victim above all to her blind devotion to a King, who quitted her shores in the moment of danger.

It is certain that William, who had set out on his march to Limerick on the 9th of July, made several delays, and spoke of returning to England, in the hope that he might be able to induce Tyrconnell to enter into a satisfactory negociation. In his progress he was accompanied by the Duke of Ormonde, with whom he dined at his castle of Kilkenny, where, no doubt, he admired the magnificent gallery of paintings, which included portraits of the unfortunate Earl of Strafford in his younger days and towards the close of his puzzling career.[1] From Kilkenny, on Sunday the 20th, they marched six miles farther, to Mr. Read's, of Rossenara, where they encamped; on the following day, they reached Carrick-on-Suir, where also they encamped, and viewed the residence of the Duke of Ormonde, whose ancestor, Edward Boteler, or Butler, in the reign of Edward II. obtained the honor of Earl of Carrick, which the Duke now enjoyed. While in camp near Carrick-on-Suir, I believe at a place called Deer Park, a few miles on the Clonmel road, William, who had heard that Thomas Otway, Protestant Bishop of Ossory, refused to pray for him, directed his secretary, Sir William Southwell, to write to the Bishop, suspending him till further orders. William now summoned Waterford, which surrendered; and here again he spoke of going to England, but did not do so, and joined the army on the 2nd of August at Golden Bridge.

While William was at Golden Bridge, he was waited on by the Mayor and Corporation of Cashel, who presented him with a petition on the subject of their displacement by James, and he gave them a letter restoring them to their ancient rights and privileges, and naming Mayor, Aldermen, and Officers of the Corporation.[2]

On the 6th he reached Sallywood, having sent a party of horse the day before towards Limerick. In the army of William were several refugee Protestant clergymen, who accompanied him on his march, and among them was Ulysses Burgh, Dean of Emly. On the 8th of August William entered the county of Limerick, marching to Caherconlish, within a short distance of Dromkeen, the ancient patrimony and residence of the Burghs of Dromkeen.[3] Burgh visited his house, which he found standing,

[1] The epitaph on Strafford's tomb shows what was thought of him :—

" Here his wise and valiant dust
Huddled up 'twixt fit and just:
Strafford who was hurried hence,
'Twixt treason and convenience.
He spent his time here in a mist,
A Papist, yet a Calvinist;
His Prince's nearest joy and grief
He had, yet wanted, all relief:
The proposed ruin of the State,
The People's violent love and hate,
Are in extremes loved and abhorred.
Riddles lie here, and in a word,
Here lies ———, and let it be
Speechless still and never crie—*Bushwell's Knights of the Garter.*

[2] Report of the Commissioners on Municipal Corporations in Ireland. James II. granted a Charter to Cashel, dated 20th October, 5th of his reign, by which he made a seizure of the Franchises of the city into the King's hands by a judgment of his Exchequer.

[3] *Burgh of Dromkeen.* Lodge tells us that John, eldest son of Walter Bourke (who was Mc William Oughter and chief of his Sept, and died in 1440), assisted James, Earl of Ormonde against the O'Briens, but eventually marrying their sister, obtained with her the greater part of

but "rifled to extremity." The Dean's local knowledge, and his influence in procuring provisions from the country people, proved of great service to William, who promised him preferment on the success of his arms. But so many others had received similar promises, that William found it difficult

the Barony of Coshma, which he exchanged with the Bourkes of Castle Connell, for the third part of that of Clanwilliam; and that he was governor of Dromkeen the year he died. His eldest son, William Duffe, was father of Meyler Bourke of Dromkeen, whose descendants were styled "Sloght Meyler," to distinguish them from the Castle Connell family. His grandson, Richard Oge Burke, was found by Inquisition taken at Kilmallock, 18 October, 1522, to have died in 1596, seized of Dromkeen, Drumrask, Rathkipp, Pallasbeg and other lands. This Richard Oge was father of Meyler, grand-father of Ulick, and great grand-father of Richard, who becoming the male heir of the family, inherited Dromkeen and the other entailed estates in 1640. He was in Holy Orders of the Protestant Church, and anglicised his name into Burgh, a common practice in those days with those who adhered to the English interest. For the same fashionable reason at that time, he called his eldest son Ulysses instead of Ulick—Ulick was an Irish corruption of William, or William Oge, and was first given to Sir William Bourke, ancestor of the Marquesses of Clanrickarde; but had no more real connection with Ulysses than the classic Cornelius had with the Celtic Connor, for which it has been substituted.

This Ulysses Burgh of Dromkeen, was, like his father, a Protestant clergyman. He improved his interest by marrying a lady of illustrious descent, Mary Kingsmill, daughter of William Kingsmill, M.P. for Mallow, and grand-daughter of Sir Warham St. Leger, by Ursula, daughter of George Lord Abergavenny, and grand-daughter of the ill-fated Edward Stafford, Duke of Buckingham. She was consequently very nearly related to the house of Plantagenet. Ulysses Burgh obtained his first preferment in the district where the estates of his family gave him considerable influence, and in 1672 we find him Rector of Kilteely and of Grean. In 1685 he obtained the Deanery of Emly, with a house and some preferment in the City of Cashel. But in three years more Ireland became the scene of civil war. The Dean of Emly was obliged to fly—and we next find him in London. He accompanied William III. to Ireland. However, in 1692, Dean Burgh was named Bishop of Ardagh; and as this see was a very poor see, and before and since has only been held with another Bishopric, the King promised Dr. Burgh speedy promotion, and gave the Deanery of Emly, which he was vacating, to his son-in-law, Dr. Thomas Smyth,* afterwards Bishop of Limerick. The new Bishop of Ardagh, however, never received the promised advancement, for he died in less than six months after obtaining the mitre. He was ancestor of that gallant soldier—Sir Ulysses Burgh, Lord Downes, G.C.B., general in the army, and aid-de-camp to the Duke of Wellington in the Peninsular War; and also of that eminent lawyer and statesman—Chief Baron Hussey Burgh; whose grand-son now holds part of the Dromkeen estate.

* The family of SMYTH is the largest in the British isles, and exists in the highest as well as the humblest ranks. The name is written in many forms, of which SMITH is the earliest. About the time of Henry VIII. it was frequently written SMYTH, by adding the mute *e* then commonly used, or SMIJTH, by making two dots over the *y* in the simpler form. SMITHSON appears to be only a modification of this name, though the Dukes of Northumberland, who belong to this family, derive the name from the lands of SMETHTON.

Of these different modes of spelling, the first was adopted by the extinct Lords Carrington, and by the family, in no way related to them, of the present Lord Carrington; though he himself, like Lord Lyveden and some other noble members of the Smith family, has exchanged that for a less common name. Lord Strangford's family, an ancient and eminent one, spells the name Smythe, whilst an Essex Boronet adheres to the strange orthography of Smijth.

The Smyths who, for some generations, took so leading a part in Limerick, were originally seated at Rossdale, in Yorkshire, but they settled in the reign of Queen Elizabeth at Dundrum, in Downshire, and afterwards in Lisburn, in Antrim. At an early date, they became connected with the Protestant episcopate, by the marriage of one of their family, Mary Smyth of Dundrum, with Henry Ussher, Archbishop of Armagh. This prelate, who died 1613, had, when Archdeacon of Dublin, taken the chief part in persuading Elizabeth to grant its charter to the University of Dublin, of which he was the first Fellow; and several members of his wife's family, adopting a University life, discovered in the College which he had helped to found, a road to the episcopal bench.

Thomas Smyth, Bishop of Limerick, born at Dundrum in 1654, was connected with many of the old Irish families through his mother, one of the Dowdalls of Glasspistel, in Louth, a family then of great eminence in the Pale, but subsequently ruined by Cromwell's forfeitures. He was brought up at the University of Dublin, where his nephew, Edward Smyth, and his cousin, William Smyth, also received their education. All three obtained Fellowships there; and all three held Irish Bishopricks in the same year, 1699.

William, Bishop of Killala, and afterwards of Kilmore, was ancestor of the families of Gaybrook and Drumcree, and of the Smythes, of Barbavilla, Co. Westmeath. Edward was Dean of St. Patrick's, and afterwards Bishop of Down and Connor. He died in 1720, leaving two

to keep them. Burgh, however, was fortunate enough to obtain the Bishopric of Ardagh; and his son-in-law Thomas Smith, afterwards Bishop of Limerick, the Deanery of Emly. Among other places visited on his march to the city, was Cahernorry, where William is said to have slept, and which was then, as it had been up to a recent period, in possession of the Cripps family.[1] The Rev. Mr. Cripps obtained the grant of Cahernorry, not

sons, of whom the elder was ancestor of the Smyths of Mount Henry, in the Queen's County, and the younger was father of the Right Honourable Sir Skeffington Smyth, M.P., created a Baronet in 1776, whose heir married the first Lord Dunsandale.

Thomas Smyth, with whom we are chiefly concerned, was elected a Fellow of Trinity College in 1677; and for twelve years he enjoyed the studious calmness of a University life. But civil war breaking out, he fled to England in 1689, thus forfeiting his fellowship; and then became curate of St. Martin's in the Fields, an important parish in London, under the celebrated Doctor Tennison, afterwards Archbishop of Canterbury. Here he married Dorothea, daughter of Ulysses Burgh of Dromkeen, Dean of Emly, and like him a refugee from Ireland, both being partizans of the Prince of Orange.* When the Dean of Emly was made Bishop of Ardagh in 1692, he obtained the King's permission for his son-in-law, Dr. Smyth, to succeed him in his Deanery: and on the see of Limerick becoming vacant three years later, Queen Mary, on the special recommendation of his old friend, Archbishop Tennison, obtained it for him; and Dr. Smyth was accordingly consecrated in Trinity College, 8 December, 1695.

He was a man of great learning, and indefatigable in the performance of his duties; but his cold and haughty manners were ill-suited to preserve his favor at Court, after Queen Mary's death; so that in an age when translations were the rule, he was never removed to a wealthier preferment, the Vice Chancellorship of the University of Dublin being only an honorary appointment. He died on the 4th May, 1725, and was buried at St. Munchin's, leaving £600 to the poor of Limerick, and settling the landed property on his two sons in succession. He had besides three daughters, of whom one died young. The eldest married twice. Her first husband was Sir Nicholas Osborne, of Knockmoane, the fifth Baronet of that ancient family, by whom she had a daughter and eventual heir, who married Mr. Vereker, of Roxborough.* Lady Osborne married secondly Colonel Ramsay, and had another daughter Mary, who married Mr. Rochfort, brother of Lord Belvidere. Dorothea, the youngest daughter of the Bishop, marrying Mr. Tucker, of Cavan, was grand-mother of the late gallant sailor, Admiral Sir Edward Tucker, G.C.B., who died in 1864.

Of the Bishop's numerous sons, William was Dean of Ardfert; John, Chancellor of Connor; Henry, Archdeacon of Glendalough; and George, M.P. and a Baron of the Exchequer. Arthur, the eighth son, after being made Dean of Derry in 1744, became successively Bishop of Clonfert, Down, Meath, and Archbishop of Dublin, the latter in 1766. Dying in 1772, he was buried in St. Patrick's Cathedral, where the beautiful monument erected to his memory, has been lately restored, with the rest of that venerable pile, by the liberal taste of Mr. Guinness, who is connected with the family of the Archbishop through the Lees.

Edward, ninth son of the Bishop of Limerick, was an eminent physician, and a considerable benefactor to the poor of Limerick and Dublin; whilst James, the youngest of this numerous family, was Collector of Limerick, Sheriff of the City in 1741, and Mayor in 1751. He was grand-father of the late Chief Baron O'Grady; and also of Carew Smyth, the last Recorder of Limerick.

Charles Smyth, for so many years M.P. for the city, was the Bishop's second son.—But he outlived all his brothers, and saw five Bishops succeed his father. His public career sufficiently appears in the course of this history. Called to the Irish Bar in 1725, he married, three years later, Elizabeth Prendergast, Lady Hamon, a young widow of considerable fortune, which was eventually largly increased. For her brother, the Right Honourable Sir Thomas Prendergast, the last Baronet of that family, for many years M.P. for Clonmell, in the Irish Parliament, and for Chichester in that of England, died whilst a patent was preparing to create him Viscount Clonmell, and left no issue; and her eldest sister, the Countess of Meath also dying childless, all the

[1] This family is now represented by John Gleeson, Esq., Solicitor, Limerick, who married Miss Cripps, daughter of the late Alderman John Cripps, the last male representative of the name.

* The family of Vereker first settled near Limerick in the reign of Queen Anne, when Connel Vereker of Douglas and Grange, in the County of Cork, (a gentleman paternally of Dutch descent, but whose mother was heir to a branch of the Celtic O'Connells), purchased the estate of Roxborough from the Hollow-Sword-Blade Company, and erected a mansion, which still exists, in a park laid out with canals, terraces, and hedges, in the stiff Dutch fashion, all long since removed. He served as High Sheriff for the County of Limerick in 1729, and died in 1733. Henry, his

from William, but from King Charles II., to whose interest he was attached; but he showed hospitality to William, and as a token of his Majesty's good

Prendergast estates devolved on John, the youngest son of Charles Smyth and lady Hamon, who thereupon took the name of Prendergast only.

Charles Smyth died in 1784, leaving a daughter, who married her cousin Thomas Vereker, of Roxborough, and two surviving sons, Thomas and John. For his second son, Charles Lennon, Colonel of the celebrated Irish Regiment, the Green Horse, (which was raised in 1685, and after a glorious career as the 2nd Horse, has been styled the 5th Dragoon Guards since 1788), had died unmarried, two years previously, when on his passage to Bordeaux, and within sight of that city, which was then popular as a sanatorium, but which was soon to prove equally fatal to his elder brother Thomas.

This estimable gentleman served as High Sheriff of the County in 1770; as Mayor of Limerick in 1765 and 1776; and as M.P. from the latter year to his death. He was an ardent lover of his native city—introduced many improvements in the management of the corporate income—was a warm friend of the Volunteer movement, and Colonel of the Limerick Regiment—and in fine, took the greatest interest in the prosperity of Limerick. Being compelled by ill health to sail for Lisbon, he was driven into Bordeaux by stress of weather, and died there, having specially desired his body to be brought back to Limerick, where he was interred at St. Munchin's with solemnity, on the 7th April, 1785.

By his death, the family influence in the Corporation and City devolved on his brother, John Prendergast, Esq., of Gort, then M.P. for Carlow. He had served in the Royal Irish Dragoons, and was then Lieutenant-Colonel of the Limerick Independents, and afterwards Colonel of the Limerick City Militia. On inheriting the Smyth estates he took that name after Prendergast, and was eventually created Viscount Gort, with remainder to his nephew, the Right Honourable Charles Vereker, who succeeded him; and was father of John Prendergast, present and third Viscount; who, like his predecessors in the title, has served as M.P. for Limerick, and as Colonel of the City Regiment of Militia, the Smyth and Vereker families having occupied the former post for 87 consecutive years; and the latter since the first enrolment of the Regiment, 14 April, 1793 —now (1864) 71 years.

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eldest son, married Anne, daughter and heir of Sir Nicholas Osborne, the fifth Baronet, of Knockmoane, in Waterford, was father of Thomas; Sheriff of Limerick in 1762, and Mayor in 1767; who, marrying his cousin, Juliana Smyth, died 16 November, 1801.

He was succeeded in the Roxborough estate by his eldest surviving son, Charles, afterwards Viscount Gort. He was born in 1768, the year of his father's mayoralty, when that civic office had been distinguished by unusual hospitality and splendour. Charles Vereker entered the navy in 1781, and served in her H.M.S. Alexander at the spirited relief of Gibraltar in the following year. But the preliminaries of peace being signed within two months after the return of the Fleet to England, he then left the navy, and obtained in 1785, a commission in the 1st Royals. He served with them until his marriage in 1789, with Mrs. Stamer, daughter of Mr. Westropp, of Attyflin; a lady whose premature death in 1798 was much regretted, and deservedly so, if we can trust the contemporary journals; for the *Limerick Chronicle* in April, 1782, when recording her first marriage, describes her as "the very amiable Miss Westropp, daughter of Ralph Westropp, Esq., of Attyflin, with an immense fortune;" and again on reporting her second marriage, calls her "a young lady possessed of every amiable qualification to render the married state happy."

The year after his marriage Mr. Vereker was elected M.P. for Limerick; and became Lieutenant-Colonel of the City Militia in 1793, commanding that Regiment on its first march to Birr, on the 19th July in that month. At its head he fought the battle of Coloony, which shall be referred to hereafter, which, occuring immediately after the notorious "Races of Castlebar," was important in its effects. These are well described in the patent by which George III. granted him supporters to his arms, for "the great ability and courage manifested by him, the said Charles Vereker, when, with a detachment of 300 of our said militia he engaged the whole of the French and Rebel forces at Coloony, in Ireland, on the 5th day of September, 1798, by which bold and gallant exertion the enemy were prevented from taking possession of the town of Sligo, and were so effectually embarrassed and delayed, that our forces were enabled to come up with, and to entirely defeat them."

Colonel Vereker continued to serve with his Regiment until it was disembodied after the Battle of Waterloo. For many years M.P. for Limerick, a Privy Councillor, Lord of the Irish Treasury, Governor of the City of Limerick, and the last to hold the ancient feudal office of Constable of its Castle, he eventually succeeded his uncle as Viscount Gort, and became an Irish representative Peer; but his political life is too recent and well known to render further details necessary.

John Vereker, Sheriff of Limerick in 1763, and Mayor in 1769, was the third son of Connel Vereker, of Roxborough

Amos Vereker, who was Sheriff of Limerick in 1778, was the second son of the above John, and father of Dr. Vereker of Limerick.

will, he bestowed upon the Rev. gentleman a gold ring, with a beautifully executed miniature portrait of the King—a perfect masterpiece of art—set in crystal.[1]

At one in the morning of the eighth, King William sent out nine hundred horse and two hundred foot, detached out of the Regiments of Oxon, Trelawney, Cuts, Lanier, Loyd, and Danes, under the command of Herr Bentinck, Earl of Portland, and Brigadier Stewart, &c., who advanced within cannon-shot of the city, notwithstanding the opposition made by three regiments of the Irish foot, one of horse, and another of dragoons, who stood but one volley, though they had the cover of the hedges through which they fired. About four hours after, the detachment returned to the camp, and gave William an account of the position of the Irish. About seven o'clock, P.M., William himself proceeded with a fresh party of 200 select horse, being accompanied by Prince George, Major-General Ginkle, the Herr Overkirke, and other great officers, and approached within two miles of the city.[2]

CHAPTER XXXIII.

THE SIEGE OF 1690—MAGNIFICENT ACHIEVEMENT OF BRIGADIER SARSFIELD, &C.—THE BLACK BATTERY—HEROIC DEVOTION AND BRAVERY OF THE WOMEN OF LIMERICK—OVERTHROW OF WILLIAM.

FORTY days after the battle of the Boyne, William appeared before Limerick, not indeed without a trembling apprehension of the consequences—because, though he had been made aware of the existence of divided councils within, and though a large portion of the French army had already gone to Galway to take shipping for France, the advice of Sarsfield and the majority of the Irish officers had prevailed to defend the city to the last. Boisseleau had been left in command of twenty thousand Irish soldiers, not one half of whom had been armed.[3] Three thousand five hundred horsemen were encamped, in addition, within five miles of Limerick, beyond the river Shannon, and kept up a free communication with the city.

Limerick, at this period, was not the Limerick of to-day. Within the time, no city in Ireland or England has undergone so extensive a change, and such wonderful improvement. The city was then confined within the walls of the Englishtown and the Irishtown, but both were distinct; whilst forty or fifty years before, as we learn from Dr. Thomas Arthur's MSS., portions of the Irishtown were a suburb—the south suburb of the city. The chief houses of business, the dwellings of the gentry and nobility, the Cathedral, the churches, the gaol, and the Courthouse, were in the Englishtown. It was here that the Lord of Brittas, the Earl of Thomond, &c. &c., had their residences. The bright river washed the walls which ran in a line with King John's Castle, where the Castle Barracks now are, and with the ground on which the City Gaol and the City and County Court House now stand, down by

[1] This heir-loom has been preserved with a tender care for over 170 years in the Cripps family. The ring is for the little finger, but massive and of the finest gold—and the setting is as fresh and as faultless as if it had come from the hands of the goldsmith. We know nothing more interesting as a token of regard from a Royal hand to one who had done him a service.

[2] The enemy were come so near, with some of their outguards, that Molleneux says they could hear them "*talk with their damn'd Irish brogue on their tongues*, but they were separated from us," he adds, "by a bog, which was very deep, and so situated that we could not possibly attack them."

[3] Memoirs of King James, quoted in O'Callaghan's Macariæ Excidium.

Merchant's Quay, George's Quay, &c., till they met at Ball's Bridge. The wall then went round by the Island and the Abbey, meeting at St. Munchin's Church, and joining Thomond Bridge, where also there was a gate. The old maps and plans of the city show that, though it was confined within comparatively narrow limits at this time, it was handsome and regular, particularly when viewed from the river, to which it showed a noble frontage westward, old St. Mary's Cathedral, with its towers, then, as now, a prominent object in the foreground. The New Town, now the finest portion of the city, and the great centre of its trade, was not built for seventy years afterwards. Meadows and corcasses then occupied the grounds down to the water's edge. Captain Creagh, an old and highly respectable gentleman, who died some years ago in Cashel, informed me in 1851, that he remembered shooting snipe in Patrick-street, on the ground on which the houses of which the office of the *Reporter and Vindicator*, is one, are built!—that the ground in question was a marsh which the tide covered, and that it was deemed unfit for building on when he was a boy. The walls in the Irishtown were of recent construction as compared with the Englishtown—that is, they were built at intervals of time, commencing in the fourteenth century; they were occasionally repaired, and they were not extended throughout until the early part of the seventeenth century.

The streets in the Englishtown, at this time, were "the Great Street," now Mary-street and Nicholas-street, which bisected the town, and from which ran Fish-lane, Prison-lane, Change-lane, Stag-lane, Bishop's-lane, Merritt's-lane, Whitehouse-lane, Red Lion-lane, Flag-lane, Broad-lane which joined St. Munchin's Church; and lower down on the same side was Meetinghouse-lane; at the other side, where the Cathedral stands, were Creagh,[1] first called Crevaagh-lane, Quay-lane, Bow-lane, (perhaps originally Bough-lane or Creagh-lane;) Newgate-lane, near the Castle, with Castle-street leading to Thomond Bridge. The small lane which divides the large house said to have been Sir Geoffrey Gallway's Castle, from the Exchange, was called afterwards, Churchyard-lane, and then Gridiron-lane. The English Town was surrounded by a wall, which had Fish Gate, Prison Gate, Abbey Gate, Little Island Gate, Barrack Gate, Island Gate, and a bastion near St. Munchin's. At the other, or river side, there were Creagh Gate and the Castle Gate. The streets in the Irishtown were, Mungret-street, Palmerstown-street, and the various intersecting lanes, with Broad-street and John-street, to John's Church. A wall ran around the entire of the Irishtown; and the gates were East and West Water Gate, Mungret Gate, and John's Gate. An imaginative writer describes the city at this period as very like a spider, whose narrow waist might be said to be Ball's Bridge, which, in our memory, had houses on each side of it, and was so narrow that even two cars could not pass at the same time. Subsequently, the houses on the east side were thrown down.[2]

[1] Creagh, (or Crevaagh) the Irish for bough. The name of an ancient and respectable family in Limerick descended from the O'Neils, who wore green boughs in their caps during a victory over the Danes.

[2] A plan of Limerick in the British Museum gives a description of the city soon after this time; it shows that the English Town stands upon the highest ground in the Island on which the city is built; the Great Street runs along the summit, and it falls gradually upon each side, but rather more considerably on the West. From the Castle to Ball's Bridge descends every way, so as not at first to be perceived. From Ball's Bridge to John's Gate the ascent is next to a flat, but it grows greater out of the Gate, and continues so for 340 yards from the Wall. The ascent from the Bridge to Mungret Gate is rather more, and without sides as far as the outworks extends, is more considerable than anywhere else; but farms on it seem to be on a flat. The

It was now resolved at a Council of war, at which William presided in person, to march towards the city in order of battle, for they were aware that the country being very close, the Irish soldiers lined the hedges, and had determined to fight it out with undiminished valor. As they moved from the height of Park through the boggy ground towards the citadel, two great guns, which were mounted on the Abbey of the Canons Regular of St. Augustin near Ball's Bridge,[1] did much mischief to them. Between six and seven in the evening William ordered a trumpeter to be sent with a summons to the city, as a deserter had previously informed them, a great part of the garrison, with some of the officers, were for capitulating; but Monsieur Boisseleau, the Governor, the Duke of Berwick, and Colonel Sarsfield, &c. resolutely opposed it, telling the garrison of the great divisions that were in England; upon which 50,000 French had made a descent they said; and the Prince of Orange would be obliged to draw off his army in a few days, to defend the kingdom of England, and thereupon prevailed upon them to stand to their arms. The trumpeter was sent back with this answer from Monsieur Boisseleau, the Governor, that as King James had entrusted him with the garrison, he would recommend himself to the Prince of Orange by a vigorous defence. About eight at night William went to his camp a short mile from the city, having been on horseback from four in the morning, giving the necessary orders, and exposing himself amidst dangers, in which the Prince of Denmark everywhere accompanied him. The cannon ceased not all the time to play from the city, several of the shot coming over William's tent and falling near it.[2] The same evening a party of the Royal

ground between the Shannon and the Road to the Lime Kiln is no higher than that which Irish Town stands upon: and between Dublin Road and the River to the East, chiefly a Morass. The country being between those roads round the town, is somewhat higher than that which the works are built upon. The country that lies west of the city, on the Thomond side, commands the town more than anywhere else, except that which lies east of the English Town, but the breadth of the Shannon in the first, and the branch of the River at the Morass in the second, pretty well secure both from any attempt. There are near forty yards of the Wall in a very bad state below Ball's Bridge. The Wall round the English Town is chiefly in a very bad condition, but that round the Irish Town is much better. Where the houses join the Wall, or are built upon it, they are coloured with a faint red in the map. The Ramparts were continued formerly farther towards west Water Gate. There are mills and breweries, a fort in ruins, outworks in ruins.

[1] White's MSS.

[2] This tent was situated in Singland, where the "pillar standard," on which William raised his flag, may yet be seen.

In this parish of Singland, or St. Patrick's, there are some remarkable relics of the siege; one is "this Standard Pillar" of King William (so called), and is pointed out by the inhabitants as the pillar on which the Royal Ensign of William was raised during the siege of 1690. It is on the high road which leads to Singland House, and is sometimes called "the Pillar" simply by the people; but every one in the parish, or at least in that portion of it, in which the pillar may be seen, tells it was there the King had his standard, as it was in the same spot, most likely, he had his tent, and was encompassed by his staff. It is built of "ashlar" masonry, thirteen feet high and about three feet in diameter; the stones are rather large, and in most instances they are roughly chissled; it is situated on a rise in the road, about 100 yards from Singland House. A short wall or butress is built up against it to the N.W., and appears to be contemporaneous in structure with the pillar itself; a few cabins to the S.E. are just close up by the pillar on that side, and even the children there say that the pillar had something to do with "the war." About a thousand yards distance to the N., in a direct line, is New Castle House, in which it is asserted King William spent some of his time during the siege. The other object here of interest connected with the siege is "King William's Well," which is about 100 yards from the pillar, and in a field about 50 yards from the high road, and nearly opposite Singland House, on the other side of the road. A stream of pure water runs to the road from the well, and joins another stream from the well of Shesharee, which is some distance off, on another road. King William's well is deep, but covered with a thick coating of leaves and greenish, weedy, deposit, which conceal its waters from the view—at least so it was on the beautiful evening I visited the locality. Tradition says that a large flag or standard lies buried in a field near the well. There are other evidences hereabouts, that it was the site of a camp; and the well is said to have supplied

Regiment, and other dragoons, were sent to view the ford of Annaghbeg,[1] of which William was informed, and which he proceeded to visit himself, a place about two miles above the city, where six of King James's regiments, three of horse, and two of dragoons commanded by Berwick and Lutterell, were posted at the other side of the river, with a breast-work to cover them; these all fired upon the soldiers of William, but apparently with little effect, as few were killed or wounded. It was expected by the Williamites that they would meet with great difficulties and dangers in the passage of the river—first, because the troops of the besieged were so advantageously placed—and secondly, because the river at this season of the year was particularly swollen and rapid; but they did not. Tradition states that the ford or pass, through which the hostile army passed over to the Clare side of the river, was betrayed by one MacAdam, who is said to have lived by fishing on the Shannon, and that his knowledge of the fords of the river was consequently very good. He is said to have conveyed private information as to the place where the army of William might pass with safety; and in order, if possible, to escape the odium of having been supposed voluntarily to sell the pass, he feigned sickness on the approach of the besieging army, whilst all the other fishermen ran off to the woods of Cratloe and the Clare mountains, as well to avoid being present as in fear of their lives from the cruelty of William's soldiers. As the army approached, a block and hatchet and a keg of gold were placed outside the door of the betrayer, who was accompanied by a boy of the neighbourhood, who had rowed a boat. The rich lands adjoining were pointed out to him. He was asked which he selected—the gold and the lands, or the hatchet and death. The tradition goes on to say that as he had already determined, he at once proceeded to point out to the enquirers the only place in that portion of the river which they could pass in the manner they desired. A rock was near the river bank, some few perches above the old churchyard of Kilquane, and to this rock, ever since called Carrig-a-Clouragh, or Chain-rock, were attached chains, which are said to have crossed the river from Corbally, nearly opposite Corbally House on the Limerick side. A bridge of boats, or a pontoon bridge, was thus constructed by the engineers. The rock appears to have been cut umbrella-like, or of mushroom shape, in order the more securely to hold the chains. For many years it was an object of singular curiosity: men of science, archæologists, historians, enquirers, and patriots from all parts of Europe were in the habit of visiting it in the course of their tours to Limerick.—There were shallow holes in the top of Carrig-a-Clouragh, and when rain fell, the holes, thus filled with water, appeared as if saturated with blood, the stone being of a reddish colour. About twenty years ago Captain Hamilton Jackson, the then proprietor of this land, the portion of which in question has since, and within the last few years, been purchased by a prosperous land holder of the neighbourhood,[2] ordered a servant, named Connell, to blast the rock; but

William's troops with water during both sieges. I have never in any place met people more ready than they are in this particular locality, at the traditions connected with the siege, and in showing where the well, the standard pillar, &c., are placed. They say too that it is here the great war for the deliverance of Ireland, which is looked forward to with so longing a desire by the people, is to begin and end—a circumstance referred to by O'Donovan in one of his notes to the Annals of the Four Masters.

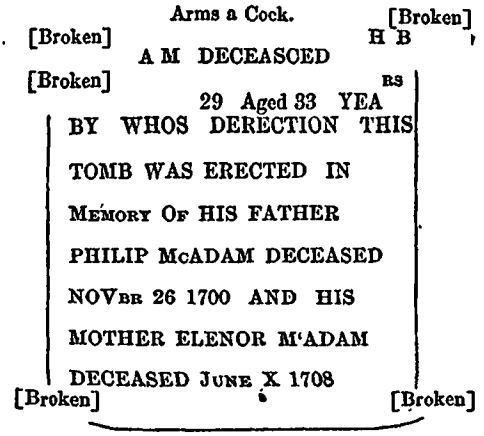
[1] Samuel Foxon, a Dutch merchant, who had been mayor of Limerick in 1666, and at one time a tenant of the fisheries, owned the lands of Annaghbeg at this time, on which he built a large brick house, the ruins of which were visible in 1785. He was knighted by William for certain services.

[2] Mr. Robert Holmes of Athlunkard.

the act was but partly accomplished, and Carrig-a-Clouragh yet remains to fix the spot where William made his successful passage. Townsfolk for a long period, and up to the last few years, were in the habit of going out to Kilquane on Sundays, and heaping every indignity on the grave of the alleged traitor. A couplet was also cut on the tombstone, and, as a specimen of the spirit of the poet and of the times, it deserves to be recorded:—

"Here lies the body of Philip the traitor,
Lived a fisherman and died a deceiver."

Several portions of the tombstone, which lies within the old churchyard of Kilquane, and of the present appearance, of which the following is an exact sketch, have been broken in fragments:—



The stone lies flat on the ground, the head close up to the wall of the old church. The letters are rudely cut on a plain slab, and in the orthography there are some errors, whilst the quaint method of joining letters, or making one letter a portion of another, is observable in more than one instance.[1]

Simon Digby, Protestant Bishop of Limerick, in an autograph letter to Sir Robert Southwell, at the Camp, dated Dublin, July 22nd, 1690, now stated that "he has already had one house plundered by the Irish. The Lord Tyrconnell had taken up his quarters in the Bishop's house at Limerick, in which were all the books and papers belonging to the diocese, fearing the house, on the entering of the English forces, would be plundered on Tyrconnell's account, and therefore entreats some officer may be entrusted with the order to save it."[2]

And now the great achievement of the siege was being developed. A terrific hand to hand struggle was to be made to test the prowess of the Irish and the Williamites. The roar and thunder of the guns were now heard in every direction, when a French deserter from William's camp having made his way into the city, gave information of the state of the Williamite artillery, which

[1] It is but justice to state that the highly respectable family of MacAdam, of Blackwater House, near the scene of the pass, utterly deny the truth of this tradition, which, as an impartial historian, I am bound to give. Major Thomas Stannard MacAdam, J.P., of Blackwater House, has shown the Author documents, which go to establish the fact that his ancestors were in possession of the lands which they now have, some years before the events here detailed; that they rented them from the Earl of Thomond, and that they did not obtain them by any act of treachery.

[2] *Thorpe's Catalogue* of the Southwell MSS. Digby had a taste for painting—there are some of his miniatures at Sherbourne Castle. See Walpole's Anecdotes of Painting, Vol. III., p. 356.

had not as yet come up in full force, but which was on its way from Waterford; while at the same time Manus O'Brien, a country gentleman, proceeded to William's camp and told that Sarsfield had passed the river with a body of horse, and that he designed something extraordinary. Simaltaneously a cornet of the Irish army had gone over to William, and reported that a great number in the city were resolved to surrender, but were prevented by Sarsfield and Boisseleau. It is quite true that this French deserter visited William's camp, and reported that William in despair of taking the city, which Count Lauzun, when first he beheld it, declared might be taken with roasted apples, had sent for a more powerful battering train, a vast quantity of ammunition, tin boats, and abundant war materials for a vigorous siege. The deserter said, that the artillery, &c., were on their way under an escort of a few troops of Villiers's horse. And no doubt they were on the road from Cashel. And now having called together his faithful staff, Sarsfield made every preparation to prevent the advance of the approaching train. In the first instance he selected five or six hundred horse and dragoons, whose swords were sharp to execute vengeance, and whose souls were nerved for the occasion. He was thoroughly aware of the advantages to be obtained by the presence, in the expedition, of "Galloping" Hogan, a well educated, popular man, and a brave raparee. Hogan knew every pass and defile—was familiar with every track and roadway—with every ford and bog—and in a critical juncture like the present, was the best man that could be obtained to give effectual assistance to the grand exploit of the dashing, dauntless Irish general.

Sarsfield, thus equipped and accompanied, left Limerick on the night of Sunday, the 10th of August, for Killaloe. His route lay through Harold's Cross, near Blackwater; a sweet and romantic spot, which to this day is invested with picturesque charms which are universally admired. A fine harvest moon lent light to the landscape. He could not venture over O'Brien's Bridge; for that old pass between Clare and Tipperary, of which so much has been said in the time of the Eighth Henry, was jealously guarded by the soldiers of William, prepared to meet any attack that might be made upon them. The cavalcade passed through Bridgetown and Ballycorney, the Shannon being all the time on their right. At Ballycorney Bridge a family whose name was Cecil resided—a Protestant family.[1] The party called on a young man, a son of Cecil's, requiring that he should go with them. Refusal was vain; and he at once prepared to accompany the squadron, which went on till they had reached Killaloe; and here, passing down by Law's Fields, at the back of the town, they dashed on with gallant, yet cautious resolution; and before suspicion could be aroused, the entire party had passed and were at the Tipperary side of the river; having gone up beyond the bridge, they crossed the ford between the Pier Head and Ballyvalley. This was one of the only two fords which were on the Shannon, about Killaloe at this period—the other ford was at Clarisford.[2] An old road ran to the Keeper mountains through the village of Ballina. The bridge was occupied by Williamite troops who guarded the pass, but never witnessed the masterly movement of Sarsfield, who, it is certain, was well able to force the passage; but this was not his aim. It was his object not to create alarm or awaken suspicion. The party then proceeded across the country between Ballina and Boher,

[1] Those statements are given from popular tradition.

[2] Within the last thirty years some changes have been made in the fall river by the Commissioners of the Shannon Navigation, and the ford at Ballyvalley is somewhat altered.

coming out on the Boher road, near Labadhy Bridge. When at this bridge, the party, who were conducted by Galloping Hogan, were startled by a curious incident. Sarsfield discovered, near Labadhy Bridge, a number of men on his left, whose presence excited alarm. He ordered the horse to halt, apprehensive that he had been betrayed by Hogan. But the delusion was dispelled in a instant; the men whose presence caused so much alarm were a body of Raparees who had a den or hiding place here, in which they were accustomed to conceal whatever provisions they had taken in their predatory excursions throughout the district. The party passed on through Morrisey's Bogs.[1], and continued on their route through Killoskully, until they reached Keeper Hill, where in the fastnesses of the mountain, they encamped for the night, and where, among many others, Sarsfield it is said was visited by one of the old O'Ryans of that country, who offered him hospitality. On the following morning videttes were sent to watch the advance of the expected artillery train of William, and to report progress. In a short time it was intimated to Sarsfield that the guns and ammunition were on their way to Limerick, and that the English forces were to encamp for the night near the hill of Ballyneety, a remarkable conical eminence which may be seen from a great distance, somewhat near Derk.[2] Sarsfield went next night and arriving near the hill, he halted. And here lay a principal difficulty, namely, how to discover the watchword of the Williamites. An accident obtained the desired information. One of Sarsfield's troopers, whose horse got lame, fell into the rere of his party: he met the wife of one of William's soldiers who had remained behind the Williamites on their march, and taking compassion on her, he enabled her to proceed on her journey. By this means the trooper obtained the watchword of the English. The word was "Sarsfield." Proceeding on, he joined Sarsfield who was in the greatest anxiety for the watchword, but the difficulty was speedily dissipated. Now everything was in readiness to make the grand stroke on which Sarsfield had set his heart, and which was to decide the fate of the campaign, as he had anticipated it would, and as the result, in the judgment of all military men, proved it really did. The convoy lay asleep under their guns, their horses were at rest; the encampment was still as death; no danger appeared; all were in imaginary security, free from the slightest suspicion of the blows that were about coming thick and heavy upon them.

It was moonlight, with occasionally flitting clouds. No time was lost in making everything ready. When the clouds gathered heavily for a few moments, Sarsfield, at the head of his men, accompanied by Galloping Hogan, with Cecil near him, cautiously proceeded down the hill. As the first sentinel was approached, the challenge was given, and was replied to by the watchword "Sarsfield." Inspired with vengeance and determination, Sarsfield's men who had resolved to revenge the wrongs inflicted on their country, on those whom they had within their grasp, entered within the encampment, when a second sentinel gave the challenge—and "Sarsfield" again was the reply, adding, "Sarsfield is the watchword—Sarsfield is the man"—at the same moment shooting down the sentinel, which was the signal to the cavalcade to execute the work which they had so bravely volunteered to perform. In a

[1] This was about three hundred yards of Ballina Cottage, the late residence of the Rev. Thomas P. Maher, some time ago the respected P.P. of that parish, now of Loughmoe, Co. Tipperary. "Labadhy" signifies "the bed of the Rogues."

[2] Ballyneety or White's town is about 14 miles from Limerick. Oola is the next railway station.

moment the Irish soldiers fell on the astonished and half sleeping Williamites, who knew not where they were, or what was the cause of the terrible calamity they so suddenly and unexpectedly witnessed.[1]

Scarcely any resistance was offered. The men were sabred and shot to death where they lay. Then Sarsfield had their cannon loaded to the muzzle, sunk in the earth and discharged, with an explosion which was heard even in the city itself.

The principal occupation of these foreign troops was hanging all unfortunate Irishmen who came in their way, under pretence that they were raparees, really because they were true to the cause of country and creed. It is no wonder that the Irish should have revenged such horrors.

One of the principal guns which Sarsfield had in Limerick was called Sheela Buoy, or Yellow Sheela; which is erroneously said to have been taken on this occasion, when all the guns were destroyed. After this magnificent achievement he returned to the camp at Limerick by another route—not, as Dr. Mulleneux says, by Athlone[3]—and lost not a moment in gathering together the tired men who had accompanied him in the expedition, and knowing that William would adopt every stratagem to prevent his return to the besieged city, he went back to Limerick by Banagher, where he crossed the bridge, one of the arches of which he blew up, in order to stop the pursuit of the English horse, which were close upon him. Nothing could equal the intense joy and satisfaction with which the garrison within the walls heard of this signal advantage. According to King James's memoirs "the garrison was hugely encouraged"—and when Sarsfield safely returned with his brave band of faithful raparees and Dragoons, the rejoicings that ensued chased away every apprehension, and every one felt confident of success in the issue of the siege. William, however, was not to be overthrown by this discomfiture—he always threw heart and soul into the cause he espoused. His constant saying not only at Limerick, but throughout the campaign was, "this is a country worth fighting for," a saying which Cromwell before him is said to have often used. Had James been actuated by a proper spirit at the Boyne, the battle would not have been lost, nor need the unfortunate monarch have made a precipitate flight from Ireland, where the desertion and irregularities of the French under Lauzun, at

[1] Captain Robert Parker says (Memoirs, p. 23): "The enemy" (the Irish) "having had a particular account of their route, detached Sarsfield with a good body of Horse and Dragoons to intercept it; and he passed the Shannon at Killaloe, came up with the train in the night between the 11th and 12th of August, as they lay encamped at Cullen (near Ballyneety) about eleven miles from our camp; and falling suddenly on them when all were asleep, they burned and destroyed everything that could be of any use to us. They burst the cannon by overloading them, and putting their muzzles in ground, then setting fire to them, they went off without the loss of a man. "This was a well conducted affair," (adds Captain Parker) "and much to Sarsfield's honour"—but he remarks, "had there not been so much cruelty in the execution of it; for they put man, woman and child to the sword, though there was not much opposition made. However," exclaims Captain Parker, "we cannot suppose that so gallant a man as Sarsfield CERTAINLY was, could be guilty of giving such orders; it is rather to be presumed that in such a juncture he could not restrain the natural barbarity of his men."

[2] The Duke of Berwick, in his memoirs, says that it was this coup that defeated the projectors of the siege. "Limerick was weak of itself and ill fortified—and besieged by the army of the Prince of *Orange*. Limerick being open on several quarters, bore many assaults; but Count Sarsfield, with a body of six hundred horse and dragoons, having taken and blown up the enemy's artillery, as it was on the road from Kilkenny to their camp before *Limerick*, the Prince of *Orange* was forced to raise the siege of that place, after having suffered a considerable loss."—*Life of the Duke of Berwick*, pp. 39, 40.

[3] Molleneux and Storey fully sustain this account of the magnificent achievement of Sarsfield, and indeed all the writers of the time and since agree in declaring that there never was a nobler or a bolder instance of successful strategy at any period, or under any combination of circumstances.

a moment when their aid was most essential, had been producing their fatal results on the army, and on the councils of all the generals with two exceptions—viz. Sarsfield and Boisseleau. This achievement at Ballyneety was infinitely servicable, only Major James Fitzgerald and fifteen others were killed by Sir Albert Cunningham's Dragoons, in their pursuit of the returning Irish.

And here we find a character introduced on the stage who had not made his appearance previously—no less a personage than the celebrated Baldearg O'Donnell, who had made his escape from Spain, contrary to the will of Austria, then in league with England. He having come by a circuitous route by which he was enabled to visit Turkey, and arriving at Kinsale just as James had quitted Ireland for France, thousands of the Irish soldiery thronged around him; Bishops and Priests hailed his advent with ten thousand welcomes; he made a pompous entrance into Limerick, where his appearance created a tremendous sensation in favor of the cause among the defenders of the city. There were many prophecies afloat that an "O'Donnell with a red mark was to be the Liberator of his country—that he was to gain a battle under the walls of Limerick." Here then was Baldearg O'Donnell face to face with the enemy.[1]

On the remarkable day when the disastrous news reached William's camp, an expedition was sent against Castleconnell, that famous old fortress of the powerful De Burgos, which had sustained the national cause through many vicissitudes. The besieged submitted, and to the number of 126 were brought prisoners to William's camp. Castleconnell was retained in the hands of William till the siege was raised, and then it was blown up.[2]

From the moment when the earth shook beneath the volcano at Ballineety, William well knew that the game was up—that the day was lost. Five days had elapsed before William or his Generals could make a manœuvre to repair the injuries which this stunning blow had inflicted.

The extent of the battery train destroyed by Sarsfield consisted of six 24 and two 18 pounders, with five mortars, 155 waggons of artillery ammunition, 12 carts of biscuit, 18 tin pontoons, 400 draught horses, 100 fully accoutred horses. In the midst of his disasters, William thoughtfully issued a proclamation ordering tithes to be paid to the Protestant clergy, in the north of Ireland.[3]

[1] Lord Mellfort, King James's Ambassador at Rome, writing to his correspondent, Mr. Nelson, Sept. 9th, 1690, says, "There is new life come amongst the Irishmen upon the arrivall of the old heir of the family of Tyrconnell, O'Donald, of whom they pretend or prophecy that he is to obtain a victory of the English near Limerick. So far the people are led by this fancy, that the very fryars, and some of the Bishops, have taken arms to follow him, but I am affrayed that they will forget all when the danger draws near."—*Macariæ Excidium* (O'Callaghan's, p. 430.)

Storey says, "It's incredible how fast the vulgar Irish flocked to him at his first coming, so that he had got in a small time seven or eight thousand *Rapparees*, and such like people, together, and begun to make a figure; but after a while the business cooled, and they were weary of one another: and he is now only a Colonel in Limerick. They have another prophecy also, that he should come to the field above Cromwell's Fort, where stands an old church, where, on a stone hard by, we should pitch our utmost colours, and afterwards be undone, with a thousand such like fopperies not worth naming." He was called Bealdarrig Rhoe O'Donnell, and was born and educated in Spain.

[2] Dean Storey got a grant of £200 for powder to blow up Castleconnell—a large sum in those times for such a purpose; and no small portion of which was expended in the work of devastation, as the ruins of that proud and magnificent castle show even at this day—lying as they do in enormous confused masses strewed about, and covered as they are with the kitchen, through which the national shamrock struggles into growth in perennial beauty, as if vindicating the soil from the pollution with which it was covered by the ruthless savagery of the followers of the Prince of Orange in 1690.

[3] Storey.

It was on the 17th—six days after the glorious achievement at Ballyneety—that the Williamites began to recover from the crushing blow given by the strong arm of Sarsfield. William was determined to proceed with the siege. He sent to Waterford for another train of artillery, and on the 17th opened the trenches before the city. The high towers were soon levelled to the ground by his great guns—the besiegers who fired into the trenches, took two redoubts and a strong fort, but not without loss, because the garrison disputed every inch of ground with all the valour and resolution imaginable. On the 20th the besieged army made a vigorous sally, which retarded the enemy's works, and were not repulsed until after they had made a regular slaughter of the besiegers, who never ceased all the time throwing red-hot bullets and bombs into the city, a species of missile with which the citizens had been unacquainted, but which did not dishearten them. They had generously resolved to co-operate with the troops, to suffer and die rather than fall into the hands of the cruel and remorseless enemy which approached them. It was now that the troops of William manifested their insatiable hatred. They put nearly every Irishman that came in their way to the sword—others they subjected to torture. William was everywhere. As he was proceeding towards Cromwell's fort, he suddenly stopped his horse to speak to an officer, when a twenty-four pound ball grazed the side of the gap where he was going to enter, which certainly must have dashed him to pieces, "had not," says the historian of the campaign, "the commanding God of Heaven prevented it, who still reserves him for greater matters."[1] If William had been killed at this spot, as fate was so near having it, the political consequences would have been momentous, both in England and Ireland, and the dynasty of the Stuarts might have had a more protracted tenure.

Vigorous was the work, energetic and determined the efforts on both sides at this crisis. The Devil's Tower, which ran at right angles from St. John's Gate, and which was mounted with three guns, was put into a state of complete defence by Sarsfield; from this a galling fire was constantly directed against the enemy; and every attempt on it was met with such tremendous resistance, that there were no means of approaching it. This tower was very near where the lane to Garryowen now runs by the magnificent Catholic Cathedral of St. John—not far from the Black Battery. Every other portion of the defences was put in order with equal energy and skill. The Citadel, which was close by the same spot within the walls, on which St. John's Fever Hospital has been since built, and nearly facing Pennywell, was placed in the best condition to resist the besiegers. Hour by hour the sappers and miners of William were pushing their trenches nearer the wall; but not a moment was lost within the walls in preparations to give such a reception to those without, as the indignation and hatred of citizens suggested and supplied. Let the reader imagine the city as it was at that moment—and as we have already described it—limited in circumference—the principal streets, the Great street of St. Mary's parish—now Nicholas street and Mary street—the streets in John's Parish—Thom Corr Castle which was yet standing, which had been built over two hundred years before, not by Thomas Kildare as Ferrar ignorantly says, but by Corr, or Currey, surnamed De Balbeyn, a celebrated merchant of Limerick, who bequeathed to the citizens his castle.[2]

[1] "This I saw, being then upon the Fort, as I did that other accident at the Boyne before."—*Storey.*

[2] 3rd Hen. IV., 28th Mar. 1401.—Thomas Balbeyn, surnamed Cor, senator of Limerick, left by will to the commonality of Limerick, the Castle called Thom-Cor which he built in the middle of

John's Church was small—and was the only building near the walls in that direction, except the numerous cabins outside in which just before a large thriving population devoted to industry had dwelt, but many of which were now levelled by the Danes, who here as at the Boyne formed a part of William's army, and who delighted in their devilish work, rejoicing when they saw the old forts of their ancestors in the hands of William. The streets in this quarter were Mungret-street, Palmerstown, and what the French in their maps and plans of the city called "La Haute Rue," or the High-street. It is said that the "Brazen Head" still in John-street, was then built. In St. Mary's parish the principal citizens dwelt—the nobility had their houses in the Great street, in the Island there were several fine residences—a wall surrounded the entire, and from this wall belched forth the

the southern suburbs, on this condition, if they should pray for his soul, and if his brother Henry Balbeyn, of the City of Bristol, should not live at Limerick. Peter Loftus, Mayor, John Budston, John Robert Creagh, Bailiffs.—*Arthur MSS.* Balbeyn, who appears to have incurred the displeasure for a time of Henry IV. was pardoned, and settled down in Limerick. The Arthur MSS. contain a copy of his pardon, an inventory of his goods, his will, &c.

His pardon was witnessed by "James Botiller, Count of Ormond, our Justiciary of Ireland, at Waterford, on the second day of July, in the fifth year of our reign.

By petition endorsed by the Justiciary, and signed with his seal, and by twenty marks paid in Hanaper." "EVERDON."

"Sworn and delivered before John Lombard, Secondary Justiciary of our Lord, at the Court of Common Pleas of our Lord the King, assigned to be held at Kilkenny on the sixth day of August, in the fifth year of King Henry the Fourth [of that name?] after the conquest of England."

By his will among other bequests he gives, as it appears, to his brother Henry Balbeyn, if he shall come here from England, his Castle, which he built in the suburbs of Limerick; otherwise he wills that the Castle aforesaid revert to the commonality of Limerick, and let them pray for his soul; he says "I also bequeath to Thomas Hroose one tenement in the city aforesaid, near the Custom House of the same city, the aforesaid messuage to be had and holden, with its appurtenances, by the said Thomas, his heirs and assigns for ever; I also bequeath to Robert Arthur one tenement in the suburbs of the city aforesaid, said tenement with its appurtenances, to be had and holden by the aforesaid Robert, his heirs and assigns for ever; I also give and bequeath to Nicholas Stretch, my chapel which I built in the southern part of the Church of St Mary by permission of the reverend father in Christ, Richard Wale, Bishop of Limerick, the Dean and Chapter of the same, dedicated to St. James, the aforesaid chapel to be had and held with its appurtenances by the said Nicholas, his heirs and assigns for ever. I also give and bequeath to the Vicar of the Church of St. Mary my house of residence to be had and held by himself and his successors for ever so that they pray for my soul." The following is added:—

"This will was proven and enrolled before us, Cornelius, by the Grace of God, Bishop of Limerick, on the first Monday after the Feast of All Saints, 1403, and the administration of all the goods of the said Thomas, deceased, was granted unto the executors sworn in legal form, viz., to make faithful administration and render account, and to save us from all indemnities as to all things in the said will contained."

"David Roche, Mayor; Thomas Roche, and John Stackpol, Sheriffs of the city of Limerick to all the faithful of Christ, who shall see or hear of the present writing, greeting, eternal salvation in Christ. You well know that we have inspected the will of Thomas Belbeyn, of happy memory, the tenor of which is as above mentioned; and at the request of Robert Arthur and Richard Long, citizens of the said city, in order to give faithful testimony to this copy of the aforesaid will we have caused to be attached the seal of our Mayoralty. Given at Limerick on the 26th day of the month of August, A.D. 1499, in the fifteenth year of the reign of King Henry the Seventh."

To show how very little Ferrar, on the authority he quotes (Davis MSS.) knew of the builder of Thomcore Castle, or of the facts detailed about him, I quote the following paragraph from Ferrar's History of Limerick, p. 105:—

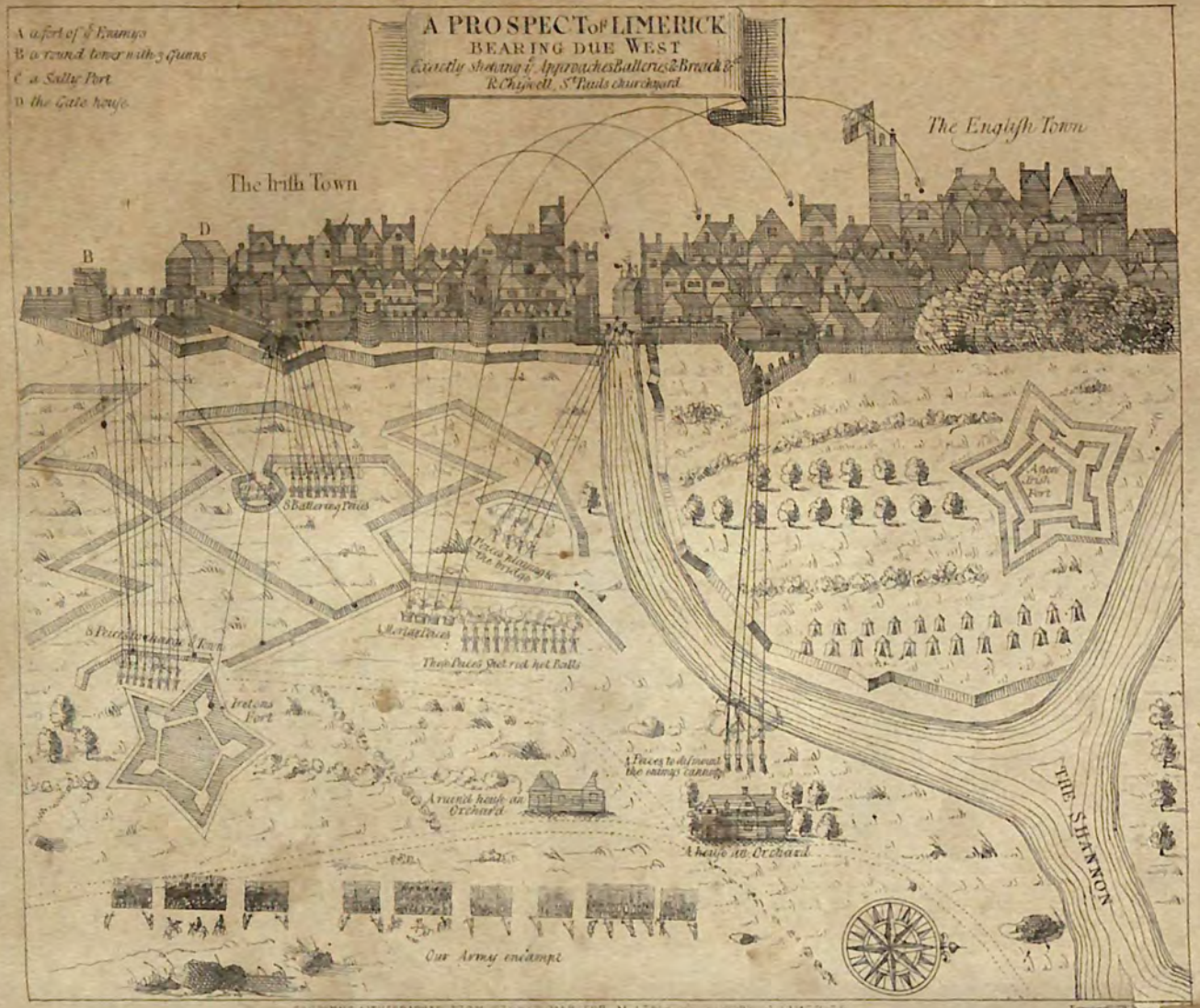
1401. THOMAS KILDARE, Mayor.

"This mayor did Thomcore castle free bestow
On the corporation, a precedent to shew
To his successors;—none like him we see,
'Tis strange, 'till sixteen hundred, seventy-three.

(Thomcore Castle stood where the old market was, in John-street.)

There is not a word in Ferrar as to Thomas Cor or Balbeyn or as to the prayers for the soul of the donor, or to one or other of the particulars mentioned in his will. It is a question whether it was not after this citizen that Corry's or Curry's lane was called—it is near where the Castle stood. It was not Thomas Kildare but Balbeyn that bestowed the Castle on the Corporation.

THE SIEGE OF LIMERICK BY WILLIAM IN AUGUST 1690—SEE CHAPTER XXXIII.


A a fort of ye Enimys
B a round tower with 3 Gunns
C a Sallie Port
D the Gate house
A PROSPECT OF LIMERICK
BEARING DUE WEST
Exactly showing ye Approaches Batteries & Breach &
R. Chiefest St Pauls churchyard
The Irish Town
The English Town
B
D
8 Battering Peices
Peices Playing on the bridge
Mortar Peices
Their Peices Shot red hot Balls
Irish Fort
Peices to defend the mining canon
A round house in Orchard
A house in Orchard
THE SHANNON
Our Army encampt
FACSIMILE LITHOGRAPHED FROM STORY'S MAP FOR M. LENIHAN'S HISTORY OF LIMERICK

brazen-throated engines of war on the Williamites, as they were pushing the siege to the most memorable crisis that occurred all through the campaign.

The shelling was constant and terrible.[1] Inside, nothing daunted, encouraged rather than dismayed, the defenders redoubled their energies, making good what had been injured, and guided by the ablest engineers, stirred by the example of Sarsfield, and resting faithfully on those ancient prophecies by which even the English were as much as, if not more, influenced than the Irish, who assured themselves of a glorious victory despite of every disadvantage. Though the Duke of Berwick asserts in his memoirs that the weather was not rainy, we are inclined, however much we respect his testimony, to agree with those who state that it was wet during this period of the siege.[2]

On the 23rd in the morning one of Galmoy's troopers went over to William, and brought with him a boy, and four very good horses. About noon two captains, a lieutenant, a priest, and seventy common soldiers of the Irish, were brought in prisoners from Nenagh, whither General Ginkle marched with two thousand horse, six hundred dragoons, a regiment of foot, and two guns, the castle enduring a siege of twenty-four hours, and then surrendered at discretion.[3] That afternoon two Frenchmen went over, and brought with them two as good horses as any in their army; they gave an account that "the rogues in the city are in a miserable condition for the want of bread and drink, but that meat is plenty among them." That night about seven in the evening, the besiegers played furiously into the town in several places. One shell fell into the great magazine of hay, which was consumed, and several houses were burned, the fire lasting there about six hours; another set fire to a place near the Church, which was not consumed till five the next morning, and as that was extinguished they fired another place, which was blown up by the besieged.

I have shown what has been said by English writers of our countrymen at this extraordinary crisis of their fortunes; ancient and modern Limerick have suffered equally in their description, yet neither Harris, the biographer of William, nor Lord Macaulay who dilates upon the "glaring red brick of the houses," and the "showy shops with their shawls and china," could tell the position of the grave of Tyrconnell, whose coffin was concealed beneath the pavement of St. Mary's until certain repairs of the Cathedral which were executed a few years ago revealed it.[5]

[1] I have one of those enormous shells in my possession—it is 18 inches in diameter—weighs 200 lbs., and is as formidable an engine of destruction as can well be imagined!

[2] We have the fact on the authority of three eye-witnesses—namely, Storey, Molleneux, and Dumont, whose MSS. are quoted by Lord Macaulay, p. 675, vol. 3, in support of it. Mr. Lawless, in his History of Ireland, believes with the Duke of Berwick that it was not rainy during the siege, and that it is a mere pretence and excuse on the part of the Williamite writers when they say that it was.

[3] Dean Storey, in reference to this event (Dean Storey's *Impartial History of the Affairs of Ireland*, p. 127) has the following:—"This afternoon was eighty-four prisoners brought to the Camp, from a Castle some twelve or fourteen miles off, called *Nighagh Round*: these kept out the Castle for twenty-four hours against Major General Ginkell, and his party of about 1500 Horse and Dragoons; they killed us fourteen men; but seeing two cannon come, and the soldiers very busie in bringing Faggets for a Battery, they submitted to Mercy. Their Commander was one Captain *O'Bryan*." In the same paragraph he goes on to state that the same "afternoon, also, one of Colonel Leveson's Dragoons was hanged for deserting," and that "in the evening our Bombs and Red-hot balls began to fly, which set part of the Town on Fire, which burnt all that night, destroying a great quantity of Hay, with several Houses. I remember we were all as well pleased to see the Town flaming as could be, which made me reflect on our Profession of Soldiery, not to be over-charg'd with good nature."

[4] Lord Macaulay's History of England, Vol. 3, p.

[5] Tradition states that the house in which Tyrconnell lived during his residence in Limerick,

It is unquestionable, however, that in the face of fortune, regardless of overpowering difficulties, with a King who showed no active sympathies, with soldiers unpaid except in the brass money, £30 worth of which was made to represent at least £1000, officers and men and citizens arose in the emergency with a purpose never surpassed, and stood up so nobly, that until the last moment heroic Limerick and purest patriotism will be ever associated together and honored by all who value greatness struggling against overpowering difficulties.

As the shot and shell of the enemy poured in and uprooted the pavement of the streets, multitudes of women and children were provided with a refuge in the King's Island, which remained in the hands of the defenders, though many fruitless attacks had been made upon it. Tents made up of whatever was available, were pitched where Ireton had been forty years before; many too found refuge beyond Thomond Bridge. It was here that many of the state records were kept, that the principal judges of the land, including Sir Stephen Rice, Chief Baron of the Exchequer, and one of the Lords Commissioners of the Treasury, dwelt during the occasion;[1] as well as the Archbishop of Cashel, and several of the highest personages, civil and ecclesiastical.

"Swine herds," "cow boys," "Irish cut throats,"[2] was the common name by which the native Irish were designated; but the epithets were far more applicable to those who so freely used them than to the natives.

While the chivalrous Patrick Sarsfield had a command in the cavalry, the already suspected traitor, Henry Luttrell, of whom more hereafter, held the same position, whilst Simon Luttrell, who stood true throughout, held a similar commission, that of Colonel in the Dragoons. There were fifty-three Regiments of Foot—constituting in all, on their first embodiment, a native force of 40,000 men, capable of holding their ground in any field, against all odds, as such portions of the army, about 15,000 in number, as were in Limerick, proved when it was put upon them to vindicate their race from the calumnies, the reproaches, the insults, and the injuries of which they had been so long the victims. Shot and shell poured into the city from the 17th to the 25th—and the walls which had borne the assault throughout with unexpected strength, were at length beginning to crumble, in some parts, beneath the concentrated fire of the Williamite artillery, which was replied to shot by shot from the citadel and its approaches, and from every other available point. Hunger was now beginning to do its work on the beleaguered garrison. Supplies from Clare, which were frequent in the commencement, were failing as the siege progressed. The long promised and long expected aid that the

and in which tradition also states that he was afterwards "poisoned," (though written 'and printed authorities state the contrary), was situated near the Church of St. Munchin's, within very few yards of that Church at the Castle-street side of it. Within the last sixty years the house has been removed, and on a site nearer to the roadway, are houses in which a humble class of persons now dwell.

[1] He had been a member of the Limerick Corporation; and it was he who first declared, when a lawyer, that he would drive a coach and six through any act of settlement! Another of the family was collector at Limerick. Indeed, even at this period, the Rice family was provided for largely by high public employment. Mr. John Rice was at the time collector of Kinsale.

County Limerick M.P.'s in James II.'s Parliament, 7th May, 1689:—

County—Sir John Fitzgerald, Bart. Gerald Fitzgerald, Esq., commonly called Knight of the Glynn.

Kilmallock—Sir William Hurly, Bart. John Lacy, Esq.

Askeaton—John Bourke, Esq., of Cahirmoyle. Edward Rice, Esq.

City of Limerick—Nicholas Arthur, Alderman. Thomas Harold, Alderman.

Manor and Borough of Rathcormuck, Co. Cork—James Barry, Esq. Edward Powell, Esq.

[2] Memoirs of Ireland, p. 223.

French fleet, which commanded the seas, should have brought, was not appearing. A dry crust, a little oatmeal, a few beans, were luxuries which at this crisis were all that could be looked for by soldiers who had pledged their lives on the issue. Londonderry has had the annalists of its bitter days of trial; but Limerick, on its own side, has never before had one to tell the story of the daily sufferings of its inhabitants, while they withstood the might of William's power. The soul of the defenders was Patrick Sarsfield; he cheered the faint-hearted, infused spirit into, and gave hope to all. His object at this juncture was to give orders to his engineers to have masked batteries placed and mines prepared near wherever a breach might be made in the walls, in order if an entry were attempted, that the most destructive agencies should be ready to repel the attack. While the thunders of the Williamite guns were thus directed from Singland against the citadel, knocking splinters off the towers, tearing away the stones, or burying themselves in the circumjacent ground, the sappers within were at their silent and certain work. William it is said lived for some part of the time at New Castle, the ruins of which may be seen within two miles of the city, where he kept up a constant succession of drinking parties—a notorious lover of spirits, even the Irish usquebaugh was not an unwelcome beverage to him! Sarsfield was every where giving further evidence of his military genius.[1]

Sacred to every lover of national honor and religion is the spot from which the picked soldiers of William were hurled by the intrepidity of the soldiers and citizens of Limerick. The outside wall of the citadel bears at this moment unmistakeable evidence of a fierce cannonade; splinters are off, indentations are visible, stones displaced; everything indicates even at this

[1] The town gate of the citadel is at present the entrance gate to the yard of St. John's Hospital; the wall is seven feet thick at this place, and wall-flowers in season bloom above the gate, and all along the wall until it meets the newly built enclosure of the Hospital on the western side. The country or outer gate of the citadel is the western portion of the Hospital, of which it forms what we may call a wing—and the lower part of the gateway is now used as a store-house for the convenience of the Hospital: the wall is extremely strong, thick, and is fitted with a groove through which the heavy door was raised or let down by chains. The ground in front is considerably raised, and reaches so high as to cover the greater part of the trunk of an old pear tree, which is spoken of as having furnished fruit for King William III. and often for Sarsfield. The remnant of the Black Battery is at the eastern corner of the hospital, and faces Keeper Hill and the old Slieve Phelim mountains in Tipperary. The view from it is really enchanting. A masked battery, concealed by wool-bags, sand, timber, and whatever was available, was placed at what is now the extreme corner of Curry's Lane, near the same locality, exactly opposite the breach. The ancient wall of the citadel ran several feet out from the present enclosure of the hospital, and is now level with the roadway; but on the foundations of it skulls and bones were found in abundance on a recent occasion, as laborers were laying down gas-pipes.

On the wall of the hospital is an ancient tablet which was picked up from the ruins about, and which was placed in its present position by, I believe, W. J. Geary, Esq. M.D., J.P. when the Fever Hospital was undergoing enlargement. The tablet contains the following legend:—

JOHN CREAGH MAYOR
1st of MAY 1650
DAVID ROCHFORT and
JAMES BONFIELD Sheriffs
citie freely bestowed
[Broken] two hundred pounds
[Broken] OUTWORKS of
the

hour the wonderful efforts that were made to demolish the walls and citadel. We need not say what were the capacity and conduct—what the watchfulness and care of Sarsfield, when the decisive moment was drawing nigh. Whilst the besiegers were pushing on their works with activity, the besieged were equally wakeful—they not only kept their ground, but they placed their mines within a short distance of the covert-way, where it was almost certain the Williamite grenadiers and Brandenburgers would lodge themselves. There was no sufficient precaution taken by them; nor was the terrible cannonade of the Williamites able to silence the guns that continued to roar from the old grey walls. As happened before, and will again happen, the engineers of William made a mistake which it was not in their power to remedy: they made their attack at a point which they imagined the weakest, but which in fact was the best covered and the most artfully contrived for defence of any other throughout the walls; here a mine was made by the direction of Sarsfield, who showed in this instance also his able generalship. No less than three hundred shot had been discharged against the walls; but although the trenches were pushed within thirty yards of the ditch, the Williamites dared not attempt to storm the counterscarp.[1]

These three hundred shot, accompanied by shells and "carcasses," at length made a partial breach in the wall near the citadel: which breach may be seen at this moment; it measures twelve yards—and was loosely built up between the first and second sieges under the orders of Sarsfield. All the stones of the wall, except at the breach, are "grouted"—but the breach is repaired by mortar hastily made of clay. It was at this crisis that the endurance and courage of the soldiers and citizens, the genius and authority of the commanders were tested to the utmost, and above all, that the admitted and world-renowned courage of the women of Limerick was conspicuous above all that was done by others. The street leading to the citadel is in the same position to-day as it then was, though the houses were fewer in number and did not approach the walls so closely as afterwards and now.

On the 26th the Williamites widened the breach which they had made the day before in the wall of the town, and beat down part of the Irish pallisados on the counterscarp. That night they set fire to the town again, which burnt very vehemently. Captain Peter Drake, of Drakerath, in the county of Meath, who was in Limerick during the siege, has mentioned in connection with the battery and bombardment of the city, by the formidable artillery of William—a curious instance of the interposition of Divine Providence in his behalf, by which he adds, "I have been so often times rescued from calamity and the jaws of death. "There was," he says "between our house and the town wall a large building. The besiegers ordered two pieces of ordnance to be levelled at this building, and several shots passed through and hit at the gable end, within which was the apartment wherein I slept, with one Captain Plunkett, of my lord Gormanstown's regiment; this gentleman was to mount guard that day, and going out early left me a-bed. About two hours after I went out to one of the servants to get me a clean shirt, and before I had time to return, a ball had beat down the wall, a great

[1] "But notwithstanding all the opposition which the besieged were able to make, the enemy had finished their battery of thirty pieces of cannon on the 24th, and in two days more had advanced their trenches within thirty paces of the ditch; there was at this time a great breach in the wall, near St. John's Gate, and part of the palisadoes beaten down by the Counterscarp, &c."—*King James's Memoirs, &c.*

part of which had fallen on, and demolished the bed. It then passed through my father's bed-chamber, broke the posts of the bed where he and my mother were asleep, but thank heaven, had no more effect than putting the family in a consternation."[1]

A deserter gave them an account, "that Colonel Dodrington, Colonel Garret Moore, Sir Maurice Eustace, and Colonel Lutterel were killed in the sally." Eustace was not killed; and it is equally certain that Colonel Henry Lutterel was not killed then or during the war; but that he did meet a violent death, in the streets of Dublin, some years afterwards, will appear hereafter. King William was everywhere at this particular juncture: balls and shot flying about him, he braved danger defiantly, and seemed to value life far less than success in those efforts, the issue of which he looked forward to as the means of affording him a more secure footing than he had hitherto possessed. Harris says[2] that the engineers assured King William that the breach was sufficiently large, but "could not be enlarged for want of bullets." The walls, therefore, which at first could be taken, according to Lauzun, with roasted apples, gave way but a few yards in breadth before the fire that had been so long poured upon them. William complained bitterly of his men.[3]

The breach not being sufficiently wide to admit a formidable body of assailants—and it was by mines, according to Harris,[4] that William had resolved to take the city—counter-mining as a consequence became absolutely necessary with Sarsfield, who, always wakeful and wary, was thoroughly acquainted with the stratagetic movements and proceedings of the enemy. Everywhere did he meet them with a ready wit and genius, which even his foes freely acknowledged wherever they spoke or wrote of his military ability. All the night of the 26th, within the walls, was occupied hour by hour, in making preparations for the eventful morrow. The masked battery which had been so well planned at the corner of Curry's Lane, was contrived to deceive the vigilant and cautious engineers of William, who did not dream that death-dealing missiles or gaping guns were concealed within. A formidable mine also was run underneath the Black Battery, which was reserved for a duty which it soon afterwards performed against the Brandenburgh Regiment. It had been resolved long before this to remove all the women and children from the city; but even the adverse historians avow that very large numbers of women could not be induced to abandon the post of danger. Attached to the sacred cause, and maddened with rage against the invaders, they mingled with husbands, sons, and brothers, in the streets. They appeared on the walls during the hottest cannonade; they supplied the gunners with ammunition; they attended the sick; removed the disabled; bound up the limbs of the wounded. The duty in which they were engaged was the most delightful that could devolve upon them, and they went through it with extraordinary spirit and devotion.

[1] Macariæ Excidium. [2] Harris's Life of William III., p. 288.

[3] For instance, when "Manus O'Brien, a substantial country gentleman, came to the Camp, and gave notice that Sarsfield had passed the Shannon in the night at Killaloe, with a body of five or six hundred Horse and Dragoons, and designed something extraordinary, though several concurring circumstances, and Sarsfield's activity and resolution, which fitted him for any gallant enterprise, rendered O'Brien's story at least probable, yet little regard was paid to it at first; and a great officer, instead of enquiring particularly into the matter, interrogated O'Brien concerning a prey of Cattle in the neighbourhood, of which he complained, saying, "He was sorry to see *General Officers mind Cattle more than the King's Honour*; (Harris's *Life of William III.* p. 286) and it was not until he was brought before the King, that His Majesty ordered Sir John Lanier, with 500 horse, after much delay and confusion, to meet the train." These, and similar circumstances, weighed so heavily on William, that he had not confidence in his officers.

[4] Harris's Life of William III. p. 287.

Like the matrons of Sparta, they infused life into the drooping spirits of those who fought for their country—and in tones not to be misunderstood, conjured them to make ramparts of their bodies rather than return from the walls, except amid shouts of victory! The morning of the 27th of August dawned cloudily; a mist was dense on Keeper Hill and on Cratloe Woods; rain had fallen in abundance during the previous night—the ground near the camp was almost untenable from the water.[1] Lord Macaulay[2] admits that all about the city at this period was a swamp—the view from the towers of St. Mary's, he says, did not stretch over smiling meadows and waving fields of corn—all was bog and water. Between Newcastle and Singland there was a marsh, whilst between Groody and the river, it was impossible to make an approach by infantry or cavalry, owing to the swampy nature of the ground. Monabraher, or the Friar's Bog, was beyond the water, and it was well nigh impassable. Within the walls all night, there was deep silence allied to the most resolute and sleepless determination and activity on the part of soldiers and citizens. And now came the eventful moment of the attack, as day broke through the thick rain which continued to fall. The attack was commenced, according to Storey[3] by a detachment of nine companies of Grenadiers, supported by a hundred French (Huguenot) officers and volunteers. The Grenadiers were armed with hand-grenades, which they cast away from them with tremendous velocity, hideously shouting in the jargon of their country. The bells with which their waist belts were furnished made a tinkling, clanking noise, such as may be imagined from the jarring and jingling of so many of them together as the men leaped and ran in hot haste to the covered way and the two forts near John's Gate, which they were ordered to occupy. A hand to hand, desperate encounter now took place between the assailants and defenders at this point; but such were the numbers, the violence, the strength, and impetuosity of the Grenadiers and their supporters that the soldiers of the Irish army gave way! Here too, the tact and foresight of Sarsfield were manifest. Had not the Irish given way and retreated when they found it impossible wholly to repel the assault, they would have permitted the Williamites to make a lodgement at this important point—and nothing could have prevented its permanent occupation by the enemy in that event, and most likely the reduction of the city within a much shorter time than even William anticipated, flushed as he already was with the assured hope of complete success. Such at least was the thought that possessed the souls of the grim Grenadiers, and the fierce Huguenots at this moment. "The Grenadiers," says Dr. Molleneux,[4] "were seconded by other detachments, who went on with that heat and courage, that having gained the counterscarp, and a fort which the Irish had under the walls, they, instead of lodging themselves there, as they were ordered to do, and not to advance any further, mounted the counterscarp, following the Irish that fled that way, but these being entrenched behind the breach and having planted cannon against it," (this was the masked battery at Curry's Lane) "they were cut off"! It must be added, that the moment the retreat of the Irish soldiery was discerned by their comrades in the streets, and above all by the women, it is impossible to describe the sudden, overwhelming reaction which at once took place. Every feeling that could arm citizens and soldiers, with vengeance,

[1] So at least, say the Williamite historians.
[2] History of England, Vol. III. p. 287.
[3] Storey's Continuation.
[4] Dr. Molleneux's Diary of the Siege of Limerick, p. 26.

and brave, defiant, death-scorning women, was aroused within their souls. Grenades flew thick and heavy about them, shot and shell swept the walls, but they faltered not; the Grenadiers followed now by several detachments, were fighting within the very streets. John Street, Broad Street, Mungret Street, every street of the Irishtown down to Ball's Bridge, were crowded with those detested freebooters and vagabonds—the ruffian rabble soldiers of the bloody-minded contriver of the massacre of Glencoe! Burning with insatiable revenge, the women, forgetting their nature, called aloud on husbands, sons, and brothers to rally—and showed the example themselves. The ranks that had been broken were re-formed in order to beat back with irresistible force the tide of sanguinary foreign cut-throats which poured across the walls, and which even the battery above referred to was not able sufficiently to resist, though it continued to make lanes in the legions of the Dutchmen and to strew the pavement with their bodies. The brave Wauchop, a Scotch officer of considerable ability, commanded seventeen hundred Irish soldiers chosen for the duty. The contest was the fiercest ever yet remembered. The fight raged, the women, in front and centre urged on the soldiers by word and example. Half the Earl of Drogheda's Grenadiers were actually on the rampart, says Harris,[1] while others, still more eager, pushed into the very town. Captain Cadogan, of William's army, raised his sword in triumph as his men were on the breach. Sarsfield, lion-like, went through the streets, ascended the walls—was everywhere. By an exhibition of personal courage and daring never yet surpassed, he proclaimed aloud the imperative duty which every Irishman owed to his country in the crisis.[2]

Elated with this success the Irish ventured again upon the breach, and the resolution of the women was so great, they pelted the besiegers with stones, and so inspired the men by their example, that after three hours unequal fighting, the Williamites were forced to retire to their trenches. In the assault the besieged used whatever weapons came first to hand—stones not the least useful. Dr. Davies, Dean of Cork, then present in William's army, states in his journal, 27th August, 1690—after describing the assault he says:—"It was a very hot service, both great and small shot firing continually on both sides—we lost many men, and had more wounded, and of them the Lord Charlemont was bruised with stones. The Earl of Meath was bruised with a stone on the shoulder, &c. &c."[3] Here the fact is proclaimed, trumpet-tongued to the entire world, that it was the heroines of Limerick who nobly repelled the savage invaders, that endeavoured to obtain a firm footing within the walls! Let us picture to ourselves the heterogeneous battalions of William bristling with all the latest appliances and weapons of aggressive war—stung by the miseries of a protracted siege; resolved on "death or glory"—making their way blindly over the counterscarp, through the breach, enfiladed by the fire from the ambuscade, from which the Irish soldiers had not been driven at any time—like famished wolves, hungry for their prey—and at length, within the precincts

[1] Harris's Life of William III. p. 288.

[2] Harris tells us, "This action would have been decisive had the Engineers made a lodgement in time, or the Counts Zolmes and Nassau suffered the detachment, appointed to second the Grenadiers, to advance beyond the counterscarp. For the Irish were running over the walls over the Bridge into the English Town; but observing that few of the English had entered the town, they rallied and killed many of them."

[3] See Camden Society's Publications.

of the coveted city, the capture of which was to place the crown permanently on the head of William, who in person commanded the besieging host! Picture the garrison—worn out by constant watching—pinched by irremediable hunger—the victim to every species of privation; subject to treachery within—swayed, however, by the never flinching courage of Sarsfield, and holding out against all odds! Imagine the wan and wasted figures of those maids and matrons who, forgetful of the gentler influences which reign predominant in the female breast, lost for the moment the amenities of their nature, wild with the excitement of battle—and nerving their arms to hurl death on the heads of the most odious foemen that ever challenged an oppressed and outraged people to combat. On, on the crowds rushed from every contiguous lane and alley—from Palmerstown, from Mungret Lane, from Curry's Lane, across Ball's Bridge from all the streets and lanes; from Emly Lane, Barrack Street, Tumbling Lane, &c. of the English town, which had never, even in Ireton's cruel time, been witness to a scene so bloody and so awful as that which was enacted on the ever memorable evening of the 27th of August, 1690. Creagh Lane, Fish Lane, and Churchyard Lane; the "Great Street," and every other street, gave out their crowds of enraged heroines, who, armed with whatever weapon fury supplied, swelled the ranks of the Irish soldiers, who now fully restored to nerve and vigour, and with the cry, which in a few years, afterwards, made the English pale in the fields of Fontenoy and Cremona, of Steenkirke and Dettingen they drove terror into the coward hearts of the retreating Dutchmen, Huguenots, and Danes, as they endeavoured to run from the streets over the walls, through the breach back to their trenches! Broken bottles was a favorite weapon with the women. But few, comparatively few of William's army lived to make their escape from the city.—William, all the time, was viewing from Cromwell's fort, the events of that to him, most disastrous evening! The afternoon had cleared up; the sun, in the west, invested with a crimson glory, gave a delightful tinge to the foliage of the old woods of Cratloe. The scene beyond the city was one calculated to challenge the admiration of the painter, whilst the ruin and havoc of war blended with those elements of tranquil rural attractiveness which nature profusely shed over the more distant outlines of the landscape, constituting a picture to which Claude Lorraine only could do justice. A shout of victory arose from the besieged, as they hurled from the walls the last remnant of the beaten Dutch battalions. But there was more yet to be done. Those mines which Sarsfield had planned had not as yet been set to work—but the opportunity was speedily to arrive! Dr. Molleneux says that "they sprung a mine in the Ditch with but little effect." Dean Storey does not say a syllable about the Ditch or anywhere else.—[1] Harris more truthful—tells us, that "during the heat of the engagement a detachment of the Brandenburgh regiment got on the enemy's Black Battery, the powder by accident took fire, and blew up numbers."[2] No. There was no accident: It was all intended in the well-weighed and artistically planned calculations of Sarsfield. Molleneux admits that there was a "mine in the ditch:" no doubt of it; and there were mines, in numbers, wherever it was imagined that one could be of use.[3]

[1] Story, Ibid.
[2] Harris's Life of William III., p. 288.
[3] Rapin, who was with King William at the siege and was wounded, gives a most favorable

Attached to the fortunes of William, whose countrymen the soldiers of the Brandenburgh regiment were, they attempted what no other regiment dreamt of effecting. Like a cloud of vultures they swarmed about the Black Battery, little dreaming of the volcano that slumbered beneath their feet. They were allowed to crowd in all their strength on the walls, and well-nigh to dream that they might win back what had gone so far against them, when, in an instant, the ground beneath their feet began to rock and to tremble—to sway to this side and to that—to form chasms into whose widening jaws many a Brandenburgian fell helplessly—never to see daylight more—and at length, with a terrific outburst of all the explosive elements that were concealed within the chamber of the mine, to blow high into the air, amid the sunset of that glorious evening, the ruthless barbarians whose very name smelt horribly in the nostrils of the people! "When our men drew off (says Dean Storey),[1] some were brought up dead, and some without a leg; others wanted arms, and some were blind with powder; especially many of the poor Brandenburghers looked like furies with the misfortune of gunpowder; one Mr. Upton got into the town among the Irish, and surrendered himself to the governor. Bedloe, a deserter from the Irish army, in which he was a captain, went over to William, and obtained equal rank in that army."[2] This event has been so often and so variously told—it has been the theme of so many a pen, and so long the boast of Limerick, that to dwell longer on it would seem supererogatory. But too much cannot be said of an event which had so decisive an effect on the determination of William that he saw in an instant the game was up. That night he slept uneasily on his pillow at Singland. Dreams disturbed his soul—he had not retired before he drenched himself thoroughly with those strong drinks which he loved so dearly. He cursed the fate which brought him to Limerick to witness a defeat unparalleled in the annals of warfare. None of his generals dare approach him—tortured and maddened he cast blame on all about him—and as he weighed the advantages of the Boyne with the losses and disgrace at Limerick, he groaned in spirit. It was a splendid victory.[3]

picture of the siege, but also says the action would have been decisive if Counts Somes and Nassau would have suffered the detachment, that was to second the Grenadiers, to go farther than the counterscarp. Storey, too, admits the truth. "The *Irish* then ventured upon the Breach again, and from the walls and every place so pestered us upon the counterscarp, that after nigh three hours' resisting, bullets, stones, (broken bottles from the very women, who boldly stood in the breach, and were nearer our men than their own) and whatever ways could be thought on to destroy us, our ammunition being spent, it was judged safest to return to our trenches."—*Dean Storey's Impartial History of the Affairs of Ireland, p.* 129. He adds, "that the Danes were not idle all this while, but fired upon the enemy with all imaginable fury, and had several killed; but the mischief was, we had but one breach, and all towards the left it was impossible to get into the town when the gates were shut, if there had been no enemy to oppose us, without a great many scaling ladders, which we had not. From half-an-hour after three till near seven, there was one continued fire of both great and small shot, without any intermission; insomuch that the smoke that went from the town reached in one, continued cloud to the top of a mountain at least six miles off." This was Keeper Hill.

[1] Dean Storey's Impartial History of the Affairs of Ireland, p. 130. [2] Ibid.

[3] Dalrymple (Memoirs, Vol. I. p. 503) says "that the inhabitants of Limerick, eager to give that defeat to King William which those of Londonderry had given to King James, animated the garrison. Even the women, from the same emulation, filled the places which the soldiers had quitted. The garrison rallied, more troops poured into the town from the country behind; and after a dispute of three hours, William was obliged to desist, with the loss of 500 of his English troops killed, and 1000 wounded, besides the loss of the foreigners, which was probably so great, because in the attack they were equal in numbers to the English. He raised the siege soon after, and the same day set off for England, leaving Count Solmes to command the army. But Solmes leaving it likewise soon after, General Ginkle, a Dutchman, was put in his place."

Meetings were held within the walls, and in the camp of the enemy on the following morning, which broke over a scene as terrible and as bloody, as ever battle-field exhibited after fierce contention in the deadly struggle. The streets were flowing with blood—the blood of friends and foes—the latter greatly predominating. The uniforms of the Brandenburghers and of Drogheda's horse were easily discernible among the heaps of slain that made a mount in John-street, and up from Ball's Bridge to the very mouth of the breach. About the Devil's Tower, too, there was an awful appearance of carnage—here many a Dutchman was made to bite the dust in unavailing agony, as he strove to master a position which defied the united strength of William's trained and well-equipped veterans. In several other places about the walls, the helmets of horsemen and the curiously formed hats of infantry, all headless, showed that their owners were sleeping the long sleep from which there is no waking; and, as the event proved, the killed, missing, and wounded of the enemy numbered some thousands, though Storey, and his copyist in this respect, Harris, are unwilling to admit that they amounted to more than eighteen hundred![1] Not a few of the fair forms of those heroines to whom all William's historians attribute the success of the repulse, lay stretched in death, their pure features smiling in the rigid stillness of the grave, on the victory which they had aided in winning. Wives looked among the slain for husbands and sons; and as they found them, the salvoes of triumph which thundered from the walls, were mingled with the heart-piercing wail of sorrow, which ascended from the voices of those who were deprived by the ruthless invader of the prop and stay of many a cheerful homestead, before the hour that William appeared before those walls, which not only roasted apples did not take, but which stood firm against the

[1] A more absurd untruth never was uttered, when the fact is admitted by Storey and Harris, that no less than nearly two thousand men were killed, or placed beyond harm's reach, during the attempt to storm the city. The official return between killed and wounded, as given in Appendix LI., p. lxix., Harris's Life of Wm. III., is as follows:—

A List of the Slain and Wounded in the Attack made on Limerick *on the 26th of August*, 1690, *transmitted by the Secretary at War to the Earl of* Nottingham:—

Regiments.	Field Officers killed.	Field Officers wounded.	Captains killed.	Captains wounded.	Lieuts. killed.	Lieuts. wounded.	Ensigns killed.	Ensigns wounded.	Soldiers killed.	Soldiers wounded.
Second Battalion of Guards ...	...	...	...	5	...	4	...	8	42	148
Third Battalion of Guards ...	...	...	...	2	...	1	...	...	10	31
Belcastles's	Lt. Col.	...	...	4	2	7	3	8	27	60
Cambon's	...	...	...	...	3	10	2	10	10	63
Stuart's	...	Col. and Major.	2	7	1	5	...	2	44	96
Cutt's	...	Colonel Lt. Col.	1	3	...	4	1	...	46	74
Douglass's	Major	Major.	...	6	1	5	2	2	30	146
Lisburne's	...	...	2	2	...	2	1	1	28	62
Meath's	...	...	...	2	1	4	1	2	29	101
Danes. Guards, and Hanmer's Grenadiers ...	Colonel	3 Majors	...	8	1	5	...	6	135	280
Gustavus Hamilton's Grenadiers	...	3	...	1	...	...	...	...	5	15
Drogheda's Grenadiers ...	...	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	8	18
Mitchelburne's Grenadiers ...	...	...	1	...	...	...	...	...	1	23
	3	9	6	40	9	47	10	34	414	1117

cannon shot and scientific engineering of the most accomplished artillerists in Europe at the time! Molleneux, with a judicious eye to the consequences, tells the world that but 700 were killed on his side[1] "since the beginning of the siege!"

King William took a view of the havoc that was made, and sighed as he beheld the effects of that power which is stronger than fire—the power of freemen fighting against slavery—for a cause immeasurably dearer than life. Kirk's regiment acted throughout with their usual savagery.[2]

A Council of War being called, where, as is said, the following reasons among others being urged, William thought fit to give the order for raising the siege:[3]—

First, "*That the rain that had fallen, and in all probability was likely to fall,* would in a little time so moisten the ground about Lymerick, that it would be impossible to draw off the cannon and heavy baggage.

Secondly, "*That the river Shannon began so to swell, that if they did not suddenly pass the same,* the communication with the other part of the army would be cut off.

Thirdly, "*The watery season would undoubtedly bring the country distemper on our army,* and so more dye of it than by the hand of the enemy; in the same manner they did the last campaign of Dundalk.

Fourthly, "*That the garrison of Lymerick being very numerous, if they abide any assault* (which on account of the weather must be made with great disadvantage), we should lose a great many men."

The soldiers were in hopes that William would give orders for a second attack, and seemed resolved to have the city, or lose all their lives; but this was too great a risk to run at one place; and they did not know how his ammunition was gone, especially by the former day's work. They continued however their batteries; and then a storm of rain and other bad weather began to threaten, which fell on Friday the 29th in good earnest; upon which William calling another Council of War, concluded the safest way was to quit the siege, without which they could not have secured their heavy cannon, which they drew off from the batteries by degrees, and found much difficulty in marching them five miles next day. Sunday the last of August, all the army drew off; most of the Protestants that lived in that part of the country taking the opportunity of removing further from Limerick with the army; and "would rather leave their estates and all their substance in the enemies' hands, than trust their persons any more in their power."[4] Harris, too, speaks of the wet season and a scarcity of ammunition, as the occasion of the raising of the siege. The heavy baggage and cannon were sent off, and the next day the army decamped, and marched towards Clonmel. The apologists of William have endeavoured to throw the cause of the failure on the weather, not on the bravery of the soldiers, citizens and women of Limerick.

The Duke of Berwick in his memoirs states that the enemy lost two thousand men in the assault. There were ten thousand of William's picked soldiers, including the Brandenburghers, the Danes, &c. engaged in it; because

[1] Molleneux's Diary of the Siege of Limerick, p. 26.

[2] Kirk's cruelty was proverbial. His soldiers were called Kirk's Lambs—he had been engaged in long and sanguinary wars in Africa; and his soldiers were ever ready to execute his bloody orders. Graham in his History of Ireland states that Kirk's regiment—the 2nd regiment of foot—had the device of a lamb, which it bears to this day, and that the soldiers were called lambs long before the period in question.

[3] Storey.

[4] This is a calumny of the Williamite writers.

according to Dalrymple, William, in coming to Ireland, did not repose faith in his English soldiers to fight against King James, and hence he supplied his army with an enormous number of Danes, who Storey says, "looked lusty fellows,"—Brandenburghers, and mercenaries who were ready to enlist for the highest pay, and fight against the liberties of a nation with which they had no sympathy.[1] Brigadier Talbot displayed great courage and address in the assistance he gave Sarsfield in repelling the assault. Though it is stated by Storey that houses were set on fire, and tremendous damage done to the city during the siege, nevertheless, from the examination of John Rider, referred to in O'Callaghan's Macariæ Excidium, "there were but few houses and a little hay demolished in Lymerick during the siege, they," adds he, "having covered their hay with raw hides." Rider bore arms in the city during the siege. Harris, the historian of William, is candid enough to add to the numbers given by the Duke of Berwick, and to say, that on that eventful 20th of August, 1690, there were twelve field officers, 46 captains, 100 subalterns, and 1531 soldiers of William's army killed and wounded![2]

There never yet was a more signal or a more glorious victory on the part of the Irish. A ray of hope appeared to dissipate the deadly gloom that

[1] Dalrymple (Memoirs, p. 474) says, "The forces which sailed with William, or joined him in Ireland, amounted to 66,000 men. But distrusting English soldiers to fight against one who had been lately King of England, he took care that more than one-half of his army should consist of foreigners. For he had 10,000 Danes, 7,000 Dutch and Brandenburghers, and 2,000 French Protestant Refugees, and superiority in general officers, three-fourths of whom had been foreigners or Dutch officers, was still greater. He carried with him the Prince of Denmark, mor from a fear of leaving him behind, and to lessen the odium of going to fight against his wife's father, by dividing that odium, than to do honour to the prince, (*Duchess of Marlborough*) whom he would not permit to go in a coach with him. For a similar precaution he carried with him a number of English nobility and men of fashion as volunteers, or rather as hostages. But Clarendon's son, Lord Canterbury, who was in the Prince of Denmark's service, refused to attend his master, (*Clarendon's Diary*) under pretence that he could not with honour serve in a country, where he must have run to see that Regiment which the King had taken from him, commanded by another; but in reality to expose the King for not showing that delicacy to James, which he, who was more distantly allied to him, seemed to feel. But though the Duke of Ormond had the same excuse of honour, to plead from the station of his former Regiment, he attended the King, perhaps to conceal the defection which he already meditated,"

[2] Dean Storey (*Impartial History of the Affairs of Ireland, pp.* 129-130) estimates the killed at 500, and the wounded at 1000, and gives the following list of the officers killed and wounded at he attack, in the five English Regiments that were on duty, as it was taken exactly the next day:

In Lieut.-General Douglas's Regiment.

Wounded.

Sir Charles Fielding.
Captain Rose, mortally wounded.
Captain Guy.
Captain Trevor.
Captain Rose, junior.
Captain Wainsborough.
Lieut. Wild, mortally wounded.
Lieutenant Wybrants.
Lieutenant Lacock.
Lieutenant Rapino.
Lieutenant Loyd.
Ensign Goodwin.
Ensign Burk.

Kill'd.

Major *Humbleton.*
Lieutenant *Ennis.*
Lieutenant *Morrison.*
Ensign *Tapp.*
Ensign *Futsent.*

In Colonel Cutts' *Regiment.*

Wounded.

Colonel *Cutts.*
Captain *Newton.*
Captain *Foxon.*
Captain *Masham*
Lieutenant *Lewis.*
Lieutenant *Barrock.*
Lieutenant *Cary.*
Lieutenant *Trenchard.*
The Adjutant.
Mr. Haws, a Volunteer.

Kill'd.

Captain Hudson.
Ensign Mead.

In the Earl of Meath's Regiment.

Wounded.

The Earl of *Meath.*
Lieut.-Colonel *Newcomb*, mortally wounded.
Lieutenant *Blakeney.*
Lieutenant *Hubblethorn.*

hung upon the fortunes of Ireland; and the name of Sarsfield became synonymous with everything that was agreeable to the heart of the nation.[1]

De Burgho relates that William, in his haste to decamp, left a vast number of men sick and disabled in hospital. He was asked by such of the generals as dared to approach him, what was to be done with the sick and wounded. De Burgho gives the reply—with fury in his eyes, and rage consuming him, roaring out, he said, "Let them be burned,"—"let them be set fire to;"[2] and forthwith the hospital was enveloped in flames.

Killed.

Lieutenant *Latham.*
Ensign *Smith.*

Kill'd.

Captain *Lindon.*
Captain *Farlow.*
Lieutenant *Russell.*

In Brigadier Stuart's *Regiment.*
Wounded.

Brigadier Stuart.
Major *Cornwall.*
Captain *Pallfery.*
Captain *Galbreth.*
Captain *Stuart.*
Captain *Casseen.*
Lieutenant *Stuart.*
Lieutenant *Cornwall.*
Lieutenant *Carey.*
Ensign *Stuart.*

In my Lord Lisburn's *Regiment.*
Wounded.

Major *Allen.*
Captain *Adair.*
Captain *Holdrich.*
Captain *Hubbart.*
Lieutenant *Hillton.*
Lieutenant *Goodwin.*
Ensign Hook.

Kill'd.

Captain *Wallace.*
Captain *West.*
Ensign *Ogle.*

[1] The following verses by Thomas Stanley Tracey, Esq., A.B., Sch. T.C.D., contain an allusion to the locality, as well as to the principal events of the Siege:—

SARSFIELD'S DEFENCE OF LIMERICK.

There's a deathless tree on the ancient lines
  Where the old Black Battery stood;
With leaves still bright as the fame of the fight
  That dyed them once in blood.
The heroes are dead, but the tree still lives;
  And still, as the night-wind grieves,
Immortal memories wake again,
  That slept beneath its leaves.

And warriors' ghosts from the battered walls
  Cry forth in Fancy's ear—
For ever curs'd be these foreign dogs,
  What demon brought them here?
But we drove them out in the olden time,
  And we'll drive them out again;
Listen to how your father's fought
  When Sarsfield led our men.

The blood rushed back to many a heart
  On that eventful day;
When Sarsfield from the hills returned,—
  The lion from his prey;
Little the slumbering foe had dreamed
  The Shannon's fords were passed,—
But bloodhounds staunch were Sarsfield's dogs,
  And dragged them down at last.

Quick as the lightning flash reveals
  The ravage of the storm,
His eye had scanned the patriot band,
  And seen their ranks reform;—
"Now pay them back, my boys," he cried,
  "In honest Irish coin,
The long-due debt that Ireland owes
  These braggarts of the Boyne!

"Sword, shot, and shell are best to tell
  The wrongs of injured men—
No craven King, no traitor friends,
  Shall spoil our sport again;—
Up with your strong and bloody hands,
  O'Brien and O'Neill,
And dig the graves of these foreign slaves
  With a shower of Irish hail."

A thousand iron mouths of death
  Their fierce replies combined,—
And the stormers reeled from the fiery breach
  Like chaff before the wind;
To the trenches driven, with ranks all riven,
  In the sweep of that deadly shower,—
Sarsfield hath wished on a foreign field,
  He had died in that glorious hour.

The green flag streamed, the death-shower teemed,—
  The fatal bridge was passed;
There was hardly one in that fierce sortie
  But had crossed it for the last:
Red ran the flood with women's blood,
  Who fought with Limerick's sons,
Their glorious names shall never die,
  While ever that river runs.

Three times the furious foe came on,—
  But met and beaten still,
Their souls went down to their last parade,
  With their friends of Keeper Hill.
The sun set on two bleeding hosts,
  And red with a soldier's shame,
KING WILLIAM with two thousand ghosts,
  Left Limerick to its fame!

[2] De Burgho's Hibernia Dominicana.

The citizens and garrison treated such Protestants as remained within the walls, after the discomfiture of William, with consideration and clemency; they permitted them to betake themselves, in such numbers as they chose, to such places outside as they might select for their residences. The want of provisions within the city, the enormous rates which were charged for the ordinary necessaries of life, and the absence of supplies commensurate with the wants of the garrison and of the citizens, rendered it essential that the number inside should be reduced as much as possible, and for this reason, if for no other, the Protestants were allowed to depart. The money in circulation was the inferior brass or gun money of James; and £10 in that coin was the cost of a barrel of wheat; £9 a barrel of malt; £3 a quart of brandy; 2s. 6d. a quart of ale; salt £1 per quart; 30s. a pair for men's shoes; and everything else in proportion.[1] Storey admits that things were not so bad as they were reported; but that they were bad enough is indisputable.

During the time he spent in camp before Limerick, William fared right well.[2]

About the fourteenth of September, Sarsfield, with a part of the Irish army, marched over the Shannon at Banagher bridge, and besieged the castle of Birr—the marks of the balls may yet be seen in the castle of that town—which was ably defended by a company of Colonel Tiffin's foot. But Major General Kirk marching towards it with a party of William's army, Sarsfield raised the siege and marched off.[3]

Count Solmes, who commanded in chief, was in Cashel at this time, where he received a letter by a trumpeter from the Duke of Berwick, then at Limerick, complaining that they had heard of a design of William, to transport the prisoners who had been taken at several places, to become slaves in the foreign plantations; and withal, threatening them with the French galleys. This was said to be a feint or stratagem of the Irish officers, to prevent their soldiers deserting, making them believe there was a contract to sell them all to Mons. Perara a Jew for so much bread. Count Solmes sent a reply to the Duke's letter, in which he denied the allegation, but threatened reprisals if wrong were done to the prisoners in the hands of the Irish. Soon after this Solmes went to England, and Ginkle was made Lieutenant-General, and Commander-in-Chief of the army, who went to his head quarters at Kilkenny.

During these events the castle of Nenagh was taken, and the town set on fire, notwithstanding a determined resistance on the part of the defenders and the people. During the siege Colonel Evans commanded the County of Limerick regiment of militia, and his life was saved by the merest accident.

[1] Storey's Impartial History.

[2] *Thorpe's Catalogue of the Southwell MSS.* (page 513) gives a curious letter said to have been written by one Captain Robert Taylor, and dated August 20, 1690, which tells what sort was the bill of fare which William was presented withal by the gallant Captain, and which was "all that this poor country can afford, and all that is left worth his Majesty's eating." Taylor doubtless had a keen eye to his own interests; but we are strongly of opinion that no French *cuisinier* could provide a daintier feast for Royalty than did Captain Taylor, under the circumstances, provide for William III. while he lay before Limerick. Here is the letter:—

Letter of Captain Robert Taylor, August 20th, who sends to the Camp near Limerick, "all that this poor country can afford, and all that is left worth his Majesty's eating." The Captain and his wife appear to have been a most loyal pair; the viands they sent for the King's table were "one veale, 10 fatte weathers, 12 chickinges, 2 dussen of fresh butter, a thick cheese and a thinn one; 10 loaves of bread, a dussen and a half of pidgeons; 12 bottles of ale, halfe a barrelle of small ale, some Kidnie beanes."

[3] Cooke's History of Parsonstown gives a very good account of this siege.

A rapid retreat was now the order of the day with William. On Sunday the 31st of August, his soldiers decamped, blowing up a quantity of bombs and hand-grenades, which they could not carry with them; the next day he remained at Cahirconlish, and thence onwards to Waterford where he took shipping for England. Meantime Boisseleau gave vent to his feelings of jealousy by prophesying that when next William attacked Limerick he would be successful!

CHAPTER XXXIV.

EFFECT OF THE DEFEAT AT LIMERICK ON WILLIAM.—EFFORTS TO REPAIR HIS LOSSES.—RENEWED EXERTIONS OF THE DEFENDERS.—ANOTHER MILITARY EXPEDITION SENT TO IRELAND.—PARLIAMENTARY PROCEEDINGS.—THE CAMPAIGN OF 1691.—LIMERICK AGAIN BESIEGED.—THE SURRENDER.—THE TREATY.

HAVING lost his hold on the country worth fighting for, William did not despair. He knew the agencies which were at work in every direction. Vacillation and treachery, he was conscious, would effect more for his purpose than great guns and the sword. On these, however, he placed no small share of reliance. He at once dispatched a powerful armed force to Ireland, including his own regiment of Fusileers, Brigadier Trelawney's, Princess Anne's, Colonel Hastings', Colonel Hale's, Sir David Collier's, Colonel Fitzpatrick's, one hundred of the Duke of Bolton's, and two hundred of the Earl of Monmouth's, with the marine regiments of Lord Torrington and Lord Pembroke. This force effected a landing at Cork on the 22nd of September. Cork fell, not being effective for defence since the invention of gunpowder.[1] Kinsale also submitted, the garrison, 1200 strong, being allowed to march out with arms and baggage, having a party of horse to conduct them to Limerick.[2] It was made a matter of imputation on France that Kinsale was not strengthened rather than Limerick, as by so doing one of the finest harbours in the world could be secured against England, and her trade with the western world damaged if not ruined.[3] But in whatever light this may be viewed, it is indisputable that the Irish commanders had an intuitive knowledge that France was not faithful in the emergency, and that the course that had been pursued by her was not consistent with true friendship. The Irish now did what was possible for themselves. Limerick was put in a complete state of defence. Sarsfield employed the ablest engineering skill to repair what had been injured, and to strengthen every weak place. To this day evidences of his energy and skill, may be seen about those parts of the old walls against which William's cannon had vainly been directed, and which were again about to receive a fire not less concentrated, but equally ineffective. Where the breach had been made was set to rights by masonry, which is even now easily discernible. The walls were lined with enormous earth-coatings which made them completely bomb-broof.[4] Meanwhile a Privy Council was appointed by William's Government, early in

[1] Windele's Guide to the South of Ireland. The year before Macgillicuddy, the Governor of Cork, made an ineffective resistance to William's troops.

[2] Storey. [3] Ibid.

[4] Storey admits that the defences were made by the very ablest engineers.

December; new Commissions were given out to the judges, who did not spare the mere Irish. Nefarious laws were enacted. On the 16th of December, Brigadier Dorrington of the Irish army issued a proclamation from Limerick, in which he stated that all needful accommodation was in readiness for those who chose to transport themselves to France.[1] In this proclamation, the Brigadier inveighed vehemently against William and his government, and the conduct altogether of William's partizans everywhere during this crisis. One of William's very first acts on his arrival in London was to open the Session of Parliament with a speech from the throne, in which he not only spoke of the *successes* (?) which his arms had in Ireland, notwithstanding the want of pay which his soldiers had endured, but of his relations towards France, the raising of a million of money on the credits of the forfeited estates in Ireland, the maintenance of a force of 67,636 men, a strong navy, new ships, &c. It was also suggested that a return should be given of the names of all those who had been in "rebellion" in England and in Ireland, in order to the confiscation of their estates, and the applying the proceeds to bear the charges of the war! Here we have a key to the purpose and the policy of William. He proceeded against his father-in-law, James II. in open "rebellion"—and declared those to be rebels who drew the sword against his usurpation. The question of the forfeited estates was not so easily adjusted, though ultimately it prevailed. The matter was held over for another session, on the recommendation of the House of Lords. William did not feel at ease with his friends; they were exacting, and he was willing, but he could not do all with the desired haste. In disgust he went to Holland, where he arrived after an unpropitious voyage. New "Popish plots" were discovered. Catholics of high position and influence were assassinated under the cover of law. Lord Preston and Mr. Ashton were tried and condemned in England, because they were favorable to James. Never was hatred more insatiate in the darkest days that had gone by. In Limerick, Waterford, Cork, and Tipperary, several brisk actions took place between the Williamite troops and the rapparees. Towards Nenagh a sharp fight occurred between the rapparees and Lieutenant-Colonel Lillington, who first secured a bridge about half a mile from the town, sent a detachment to occupy a pass towards Limerick, while the rest of his freebooters entering Nenagh—the Irish flying to the Castle for security—he set fire to the houses, together with stores of malt, and meal, and plundered 300 head of black cattle. Forty or fifty Irish fell in this foray of Lillington. Hacking, hunting, and butchering was the course of the Williamites.[2] People began to tire and sicken of this wearisome warfare. A defeat at the moat of Grange, and a scarcity of provisions which now began to be sensibly felt in Limerick, contributed in no small degree to unnerve and cause dismay to the people. Succours were hourly looked for from France; but days and weeks were passing amid hope deferred, and the good time after all did not come. However, Tyrconnell, in January, 1691, returned from France to Limerick with three frigates laden with provisions, clothing, arms, and ammunition, and about £8000 in money. Tyrconnell was accompanied by Sir Richard Nagle and Sir Stephen Rice, in whose hands James had lodged the administration of civil affairs up to the present.

A considerable number of French officers arrived in Limerick towards the end of April; they brought an account that General St. Ruth, a brave and

[1] Storey. [2] Ibid.

gallant soldier, who had won reputation on foreign fields, would soon follow from France, with clothing and other necessaries for 25,000 men, and that he would place himself at the head of the army. Confidence now gained ground; and Limerick was put in a complete state of defence. The walls were so widened, particularly towards the south, John's gate, &c., that they afforded an excellent walk in after years for the citizens, and White pleasantly observes when he wrote:—"those are the walls we now walk on!"[1] About the 20th of May, a large arrival of war material took place in the bay of Dublin for William's army, with 500 gun carriage horses, together with Lieutenant-General Scravemoor, Major-General Mackay, and Major-General Ruvigni, and a train of artillery, consisting of 30 pieces of cannon, 6 mortars, and 12 field pieces, which marched from Dublin towards Mullingar on the 26th; Lieutenant-General Ginkle, and the other general officers intending to follow in a few days after. The arms also, which were lately sent from England, were distributed among the Protestants of Ireland —a practice, which has not even in our own day been abandoned whenever the Orange interest requires support. The Irish supplied themselves with arms also; and if even according to Captain Robert Parker, they behaved with wonderful resolution the year before at the Boyne, and with unparalleled bravery at Limerick, they were now determined to fight for native homes and free altars, with more than quondam valour. The campaign quicked into vigorous activity in every quarter. Militia were posted by William's officers wherever their presence might avail. Tipperary and Cork were almost altogether confided to the militia. A strong Williamite garrison was placed in Clonmel. Sir William Cox, who had the command of the militia, advised that a flying camp should be formed at Michelstown, which would so cover the country from all incursions from Limerick, that they could spare troops for the army. It was apprehended that an attack would be made on Waterford by the Irish, because that city was weak in the absence of the guns, which had been withdrawn to other places. Rogers, an expert engineer, reported what was necessary to strengthen Waterford for William; and what he recommended was done. Many of the Irish leaders were summarily seized and disposed of by an order from the Council Board of William's government. Everywhere throughout the country the utmost activity prevailed on every side; but all eyes were turned towards Limerick.

Towards the end of May, Major-General Talmash, who was sent over by William, arrived in Dublin; he was accompanied by Sir Martin Beckman, chief of the corps of Engineers. In a day or two they proceeded towards the camp, where the soldiers had been occupied in hanging such of the poor Irish as came in their way. Storey states that on one occasion thirty-five were killed, and six were "fairly" hanged.[2] Orders were issued to all sellers of ale and other liquors to dispose of none, but good brewed ale and genuine liquors to the soldiers in camp, in order to prevent diseases; sellers were directed to procure licenses from Dublin. The latter portion of the order was withdrawn sometime after, not being found convenient to any of the parties interested. On the 30th of May, Ginkle, in chief command, travelled from Dublin, and slept that night at Tycroghan. Next day he reached the camp at Mullingar, where he found Kirk's, Lord Meath's, Lord Lisburn's, Lord Cutts', Colonel Foulkes', Colonel Brewer's, Lord George

[1] White's MSS. [2] Storey's Continuation, &c.

Hamilton's, and Colonel Earle's regiment of foot,—Sir John Lanier's, Brigadier Villiers's, Colonel Longstone's, Reydepell's, Roncour's, and Monopovillon's horse, with Colonel Leveson's Dragoons, who before his coming over to Ireland was made a Brigadier by William. The army and militia got new clothes for the campaign; the colour was generally of grey, for, as yet, the red had not been introduced in the British army. The Irish wore green, French grey, white, &c. The army of the Williamites was now concentrated in a great measure—but in some places stray parties of militia and regulars appeared at a distance from the camp; and it was among one of these that Ensign Storey, the brother of the Dean, was met by the chivalrous galloping Hogan at Corolanty, near Congort in Lower Ormond. This occurrence, fatal to young Storey, who was a gallant soldier, took place on the 1st of June. Drogheda's regiment kept garrison at Corolanty where the news of the capture of Congort had arrived. Storey, with youthful ardor, not believing the intelligence that Congort had fallen into the hands of the Irish, resolved to prevent its capture, and to take care that it should not be burned. He went out with his party, but was surprised and killed. The Irish, however, not only buried him with the honors of war, but the humanity they manifested, is freely admitted by the brother of the Ensign, who was the Historian of William's campaigns.

At Mullingar Ginkle gave certain directions as to the contraction of the works that had been made the winter before for the sucurity of that place. The design of passing the Shannon at Meelck or Banagher, appeared to be the most plausible to Ginkle while he lay at Mullingar; and he sent the Rev. Mr. Trench, who at an earlier period had done service to the cause,[1] to the Duke of Wirtemberg, then at Ballyboy, to encamp thereabouts until the rest of the army had joined him, or if he could, to surprise a passage over the Shannon while the Irish army which were watching the other portion of the English. Mr. Trench, with a party of thirty horse, got to his destination, though surrounded by the Irish; knowing the passes, and the by-ways, he reached Roscrea where the Duke was encamped. For certain causes, however, an express was sent to Athlone directing that the Duke should march forward in order to join the army at Athlone. This was done —and matters proceeded in a regular course of operation on both sides. One of the principal wants of the Irish army was an efficient cavalry. Storey tells a very curious tale in reference to the manner in which this want was supplied by the Irish Generals. On a certain day they sent directions that all the gentlemen volunteers and yeomen in the neighbourhood of Limerick should appear on the King's Island with their best horses and arms. They appeared accordingly, when the majority of them were ordered to dismount and deliver up their horses for the use of the army. In a few days after this occurrence the whole body of Irish moved on towards Athlone, whither they had been informed, by spies and outscouts, the army of the Williamites designed to march. Ginkle, meantime, left nine twenty-four pounders, one eighteen pounder, and three mortars at Mullingar, and marched on Saturday the 6th of June, to Rathcondra about six miles between Meers Court and Cairus Castle. He was joined by several general officers and their regiments and troops, at the head of whom was Lieutenant General Douglas, General Milo Burke was Governor of Athlone. He spurned the

1 Storey states that he had been very forward in their Majestics' Service. This reverend gentleman was ancestor of Lord Ashtown, and of the present Protestant Archbishop of Dublin.

attempt of Ginkle, who sent him this summons to deliver up that important position:—

"*Since the Governour desires to see in Writing the Message which I just now sent him by word of mouth, he may know, That if he Surrenders the Fort of* Ballymore *to me within two hours, I will give him and his Garrison their lives, and make them Prisoners of War; if not, neither he nor they shall have any Quarter, nor another opportunity for saving themselves. However, if in that time their Women and Children will go out, they will have my leave.*
"Given at the Camp this 8th day of *June*, 1691, at 8 a Clock in the Morning.

"*Bar De GINCKEL.*

From Athlone he wrote several letters to the neighbouring nobility and gentry, calling upon them to use their best endeavours to aid him. Among those to whom he wrote was the first Earl of Granard.[1]

Athlone, however surrendered; and the battle of Aughrim, where St. Ruth met with so sudden an end to a glorious career, and where success must have crowned the Irish army with glory, were it not for jealousies and divided councils, followed.

The word now was Limerick, which was destined to endure a second siege within twelve months.

Never perhaps in the chequered history of our country was there a time in which more intense excitement appeared on the part of both of the armies which were now destined to fight for the mastery before and within the walls of Limerick. The die was cast. The resolution was taken. The issue was tremendous. Taking a short retrospect of the stirring events of the past eighteen months, we have seen compressed within that space of time, matters of momentous importance to the destinies of Ireland. Now was the moment in which the result, for good or for evil, was to be developed.

Ginkle was conversant with the strength of the city, which he had resolved to beleaguer. Skill and industry, courage and patriotism, urged the Irish generals and the citizens to make a rally unprecedented in energy and power. An army which had been driven, as it were, to bay, now occupied the garrison, and defended a position which was impregnable if strong arms and equally strong hearts could render it so. Ginkle's soldiers were fatigued and harassed. Superstitious beyond belief, they reposed faith in every idle prophecy which was noised abroad by the busy tongues of those whose wishes

[1] *Copy of a Letter addressed by General de Ginckel, first Earl of Athlone, to the first Earl of Granard.*

Camp at Athlone, July 6th, 1691.

My Lord,—I have your Lordship's of yesterday, and am very glad your Lordship has ordered the militia to pursue the rebels of Lansborough. I hope by this that Ballisharman has furnish'd men to secure Sligo, for orders have been already sent for that purpose. As for provisions from hence for the new garrisons, it is impossible to send them; but if your Lordship, for the present necessity, will send to Molengar, I have ordered the commissaries of provisions to deliver what your Lordship judges necessary for them. But being to march farther off, I desire your Lordship to let the Lords Justices have an account of it, and they will give directions for their supply.

I send your Lordship some of the Lords Justices Proclamations, which you will please to have dispers'd as far as may be: your Lordship sees what clemency their Majesties shew, and the people that come in may be assur'd it will be made good to them, and besides will have such liberty of their religion as their Majesties promise in their declaration of 1688.

I am, my Lord,
Your Lordship's most humble servant,
(Signed) Bar. De Ginckel.

were father to their thoughts. They had but little bread. The people fled from them in all directions, except at Shallee and the Silvermines, where it is said the inhabitants aided the progress of Ginkle's artillery, and where certain returns were given to parties for services they rendered. They encamped on the 12th at Tulla,[1] and here some deserters from Limerick informed them of what was passing. It was here it was mentioned to Ginkle that Lord Tyrconnell had taken dangerously ill, and that no hopes were entertained of his recovery. Ginkle sent several proclamations among the deserters, and contrived that some copies of them should obtain circulation in the city. On the 24th they marched to Caherconlish; and from that place, on the day after, Ginkle, with the principal officers, went with a party within two miles of Limerick, near which three Irish scouts were posted on the top of a high hill on the left, two of whom deserted to the Williamites. On the morning of the 15th, at an earlyhour, Major General Ruvigny, at the head of 1500 horse and dragoons, and 1000 detached foot, as a reserve in case of danger, under the Prince of Hesse, with six field pieces, were ordered to march to Limerick. They were accompanied by General Ginkle and all the chief officers, in order to view the city. The Irish army were vigilant and active. As the Williamite soldiery approached they got a hot reception from firing parties, by which the hedges were lined. Several brisk skirmishes ensued, in which men bit the dust on both sides. A reconnaisance, however, was made, by which Ginkle judged of the formidable preparations that had been made to defend the city. He saw that Ireton's fort had been repaired, and that a new fort had been built. He saw that a third fort had been begun, with a line of communication from one to the other, but that it had not been as yet finished. He also saw that there were two field pieces at Ireton's fort, which, however, were not fired, and which were drawn off to the city next day. He was now told that Lord Tyrconnell had died the day previous, and the intelligence was imparted by a Captain Hagan who deserted, a drummer having gone before him. There is no doubt that Lord Tyrconnell was in a very anomalous position throughout, and that but little confidence was reposed in him by theIrish. It is said he was slighted to such a degree, that while the Irish camp was at Athlone, Lieut.-Colonel Connor went to his lordship's tent, and told him to quit the camp or he would cut his tent cords.[2] Were we to judge of the feelings entertained of Tyrconnell by the Williamites, by the manner in which their historians write of him, it is indisputable that they held him in no bad odour. On the contrary, they manifested a favorable disposition to him, and rather dwelt on the circumstances of his position with sympathy. Ginkle next day seized a quantity of bread carts, which were coming from Tipperary, under a convoy of militia, horse and dragoons, whom he sent home again.

Securing the approaches on every side, on the morning of the 27th, an expedition, with five pieces of cannon, and 700 horse and dragoons, was sent to Castle Connell to complete the work of destruction which had been but partially effected the year before. The castle was now utterly demolished, and 250 men of the Irish army who garrisoned it were driven out, and many of them killed. On the same day General Scravemore proceeded with another party and four guns to Carrigogunnel, a strong

[1] The residence of the late Lieut.-General Sir William Parker Carroll, and of his son Captain Carroll.

[2] Storey.

castle, of which, in the wars during the reign of Henry VIII., we have already written: this was also blown up, and 150 men who composed the garrison were made prisoners of war. There were a few other castles also destroyed on this occasion; Ginkle was afraid of allowing any one of them to stand, "for, to give the Irish their due, they can defend stone walls very handsomely."[1] In the afternoon eighteen ships came up the river with war material and provisions; as they passed Cratloe they fired into the Horse Camp of the Irish army, which was stationed there; and the fact itself of the ships approaching the city, gave cause for further alarm, as it was supposed that the river had been well guarded by the French fleet, which was looked for before this. Further provision ships were ordered by Ginkle to sail from Kinsale to the Shannon. The prisoners also, who had been taken in Castle Connell and Carrigogunnel, were forwarded to Clonmel accompanied by escorts of horse and dragoons. In the evening the line of circumvallation was finished by the engineers, and other works were brought to a state of perfection, the Irish cannon all the while playing furiously on the enemy from the King's Castle and three other batteries which Sarsfield had constructed, and which Ginkle had seen when he took his view of the city. On the 31st of August, Captain Morice, of Sir Donald O'Neill's regiment, deserted from the Irish, and informed Ginkle of the apprehensions and fears which prevailed as to the probability of his army crossing the river. The ford had been seen by William very soon after his approach to Limerick. Ginkle, therefore, was well acquainted with it, and he had already a battery of ten guns and seven mortars to play on Thomond Bridge and the houses on that side of Limerick; and this battery had done considerable damage. Sarsfield was everywhere at his post, and replied effectively to the thunders of the enemy. Ginkle now, on the representation of Morice, directed a new battery to be raised; this was done nearer to the city, and to the right of the former battery, by four out of each troop of horse and dragoons, who were told off for the duty, which they executed before next morning. The duty was irksome to the cavalry, but the exigencies of the position, and the harassing work in which the infantry regiments were constantly engaged, made it imperative. The colours of William were not displayed on the battery, in order to deceive the Irish as to the rapidity with which the work was gone through. Parties were now sent out to Kerry to reduce and terrify the people; and the quickness and intelligence displayed by the peasantry, caused surprise to the soldiers who were despatched against them.[2] These preparations having been advanced, a few days more were occupied in perfecting them. General Sarsfield was employed in earnest and energetic efforts in every direction, and had his plans steadily advanced. The weather was wet and stormy, the ground heavy; but nothing could daunt the spirits of the citizens and the army.

The whole body of Ginkle's army had marched through Borrisokane, where there had been a pretty English plantation, which was burned down the previous winter by the garrison of Birr, because they had no wish to have rapparees in such close proximity.[3] They had passed through Birr, where they left 400 sick, &c. in hospital.[4] On the 6th they proceeded to Nenagh, where they remained four days, for want of bread and other necessaries. The country was desolate, extreme difficulties were experienced in obtaining

[1] Storey.
[2] Storey states that the Cow-boys in Kerry spoke Latin.
[3] Ibid.
[4] Cooke's History of Parsonstown.

supplies for a marching army, which was compelled to carry everything on the axle-tree.[1] On the 8th an expedition of horse and dragoons with pioneers, were despatched towards the Silver Mines to mend the roads for Ginkle's heavy carriages; and a second party went on to the pass at Killaloe to keep a close watch in that quarter. On this occasion seven or eight prisoners were taken; and Ginkle was informed by deserters, consisting of a brigadier of guards and two horsemen, that the Irish army were encamped at or near Caherconlish; that the Irish foot regiments were armed anew out of the stores of Limerick, and that they spoke of giving the Williamite army battle before they should approach the city. On the same day a Mr. Richards appeared in the general's camp where he remained a few days; he was the bearer of a message from Baldearg O'Donnell, whose conduct as represented by Storey and the Williamite writers was of the most treacherous nature, and whom Richards, according to these authorities, represented as anxious to sell his country for a mess of pottage to its enemies.[2] Richards proceeded immediately after this interview with Ginkle, to Flanders, where William was at this time, in order to inform him of the progress of events. While at Nenagh Ginkle issued a proclamation offering pardon and employment to such of the people as would come in, and surrender themselves to him; he gave the most liberal promises to such Irish officers and soldiers as would desert their colours, and give him leave to enrol them under the banner of Orange. The entire army then continued their march towards Limerick, meeting with no great opposition, with the exception of some slight skirmishing between the advance guards and the Irish, who were posted outside the walls. The approaches were made in the same manner as they had been by William, only, says Storey, "we drew more to the left, and nearer the Shannon, but fixed our camp further from the town." Two regiments of foot and one of horse had been left until the arrival of the cannon on the next day. When the larger part of Ginkle's men had got up, a detached body of foot, commanded by Lieut.-General Mackey, was ordered to attack Ireton's fort, and the old Church fort, where it was thought by Ginkle that the Irish had lodged a party—a line was made by Ginkle's men across the fields, and these were sustained by several full regiments of foot, and a body of horse. An immediate advance was made towards both forts at the same moment—the Church fort had been deserted, and Ireton's fort was now evacuated, and its occupants retired to a small stone fort near the outworks of the city, when the attacking party came within gun-shot. In the afternoon Count Nassau with a party attacked Cromwell's fort, in which there were of the Irish 600 soldiers, from which they were dislodged, and in a

[1] Storey.

[2] His business was to assure the General of Baldearg's affections to their Majesties service, and that if he might have the men he brought over with him admitted into pay in order to serve his Majesty in Flanders or elsewhere, he himself made Earl of Tyrconnel, to which he pretended a title from his ancestors, and have two thousand pounds given him for his expenses, he would then come over, and bring a considerable body of the Irish along with him.—*Storey.*

[It is only right to state that all this matter respecting the treason to Ireland of Baldearg O'Donnell has been since denied and refuted in a series of admirable articles in Duffy's Hibernian Magazine by the late Professor John O'Donovan.]

See the account of the O'Donnells in Sir William Betham's Irish Antiquarian Researches. It is strange that he makes no mention of Baldearg, whose appearance in Ireland is the most extraordinary event in the whole history of the race. See also Storey's Impartial History; Macariæ Excidium, and Mr. O'Callaghan's note; Life of James II. 434; the Letter of O'Donnell to Avaux, and the Memorial entitled "Mémoire donnée par un homme du Comte O'Donnel à M. D'Avaux."

short time the fort was in the possession of the Williamites.[1] There were about ten of the Irish and three of Ginkle's men killed in this encounter.

Approaching nearer to the walls Ginkle perceived that a man had been hanged, who, he was told, was an officer in the Irish army, who, having meditated desertion, was treated with summary justice. He ordered that every man should sleep at his horse's head, for he apprehended a vigorous sally; and on this occasion Colonel Donep, a Dane, who had commanded an advance party of horse, was killed by a random shot from the Irish. On the following day the battering train came up, as also a great many carriages with bombs, balls, shovels, pickaxes, and about 800 barrels of powder. On the same night Ginkle completed his arrangements.

In the evening of the 15th of September, four hundred grenadiers, as soon as it was dark, were ordered to parade at the head of Major General Kirk's regiment, from whence they marched at 9 o'Clock, p.m. being joined by six hundred workmen, with the tin boats, and sustained by five regiments of foot commanded by Major-General Talmash, and a body of horse and dragoods under Major-General Scravemore, with six field pieces.[2] They marched to a part of the Shannon two miles beyond the Williamite camp, and by twelve o'clock at night began to lay the boats over. In the meantime the grenadiers commanded by Sir David Collier, with Captain Ketchmay of Sir John Hannier's, Captain Almat of Lord Drogheda's, Captain Parker[3] of Sir Gustavus Hamilton's regiment, another captain and eight more officers, were wafted by the tin boats into an island eastward[4] where a bridge was laying also, and from whence it was fordable to the other side. They were occasionally interrupted, but they succeeded in the enterprise; and on the 16th, the bridge being completed, Colonel Mathew's dragoons began to pass into the island. Brigadier Clifford, who was posted just at the spot by Sarsfield, to guard against a surprise, betrayed his duty in the most flagrant manner, scarcely made a show of resistance, and permitted the passage to be made, though he could have prevented it by a little exertion. His dragoons, who came down on foot, were ridiculed by Ginkle's soldiers. Major-General Talmash immediately commanded the grenadiers to wade through: this done they possessed themselves of an old house and a hedge or two, about a hundred yards from the Irish; and were commanded not to be lavish of their shot, but receive the fire of the Irish until the dragoons and some horse had got over. Then the Irish endeavoured to flank the dragoons on the right. The Major-General commanded a detachment of Colonel Mathew's to beat them from that post. This was effected, and a good party soon got over. Talmash then ordered the grenadiers to advance, being sustained by Tiffin and Bristow, a party of dragoons, and a party of Coy's horse. This too was done, and after some faint resistance, the Irish ran towards Monabraher, and a wood which was in their rear, throwing away their grenadoes,

[1] Oliver Cromwell, in the former wars of Ireland, never went farther than Clonmel; for there receiving orders from the Parliament to proceed to England, he entrusted the management of the army to Ireton; who, at the besieging of Limerick, built several forts; two of the most remarkable, bearing the names of Ireton's and Cromwell's, were by Ginkle ordered to be called Mackey's and Nassau's Forts, because gained under these commanders; and by these names we shall call them for the future, when there is occasion to mention them. It is true that they have long since ceased to be called by the names of William's generals; and that to this day they are known by the names given to them in Cromwell's time.

[2] Storey.

[3] This individual was a native of the county Cork, and wrote an account of the siege in his Military Memoirs of Ireland and Flanders.

[4] This island is above Athlunkard Bridge, and is called in Irish Illainarone.

their muskets, and everything that proved cumbersome. Ginkle's men pursued them, and killed several upon the bog, taking a French Lieutenant-Colonel, a Captain, and some more prisoners. His advance party received orders not to move till all had got over, and then march to the left up towards the Irish camp. But by this time the news of the passing of the river had got to the Irish horse and also to the city. The disorganisation and panic consequent on these disastrous events, which were totally unexpected, are indiscribable.

Clifford, it is certain, was aided by Henry Lutterel in the work of treachery, both having agreed as to what was to be done. It is impossible to depict the dismay and consternation into which these successful movements of the enemy threw the Irish army and the citizens. Sarsfield could have easily prevented the passage of the river; but he had heard nothing until all was over. He had been at the horse camp, and it was too late, when he became acquainted with the disastrous result. The Irish now broke down the bridge, which had been erected by FitzAndrew Creagh some forty or fifty years before; this movement however was not attended with any advantage. An attempt was made to seize the records, the chief personages of the Irish government, the treasure, and the ladies who occupied a house about a mile from Thomond bridge; but this did not succeed.[1] At the Castle on the Salmon Weir, an ensign and twenty men were posted; these were made prisoners. A small garrison on St. Thomas's Island submitted, and two brass field pieces were taken. It had been made a matter of boast that the English lost but one sergeant, and that there were but twenty of theirs men wounded throughout the day. Captain Taaff, another deserter, reported to Ginkle that the city was almost without bread, and that the shell and shot had done mischief to an extraordinary extent. Ginkle at this juncture issued a proclamation in the names of William and Mary, offering "Pardon of their offences, Restitution of their Estates, Reward of their Services, and all the Benefits promised by the Lords Justices in their Proclamation of the 7th of July," if they submitted within eight days, "from which they are not debarred by any Act of Parliament, as they are falsely made to believe by some persons who live by sacrificing their country to the Tyranny and Ambition of France, and ought for that reason be excluded from Mercy by both sides." The Irish leaders spurned the proposal.

St. Mary's cathedral, during the siege, as it had been during Ireton's siege, was an object at which most of the power of Ginkle's artillery was brought to bear for a time, though it is said he did not wish to destroy it, being an ornament to the city.[2] It served as a store in which most of the provisions for the Irish army were placed, and furthermore from its mitred towers guns were directed against the besiegers.[3]

[1] "There is a small White House about half a mile from the town on the *Thoumond* side, nigh which two squadrons of the Enemies horse were drawn up, and about a Regiment of Foot posted in the hedges, to secure their Lords Justices, the Records, all their chief Ladies and Treasure, which all were there, and had been, as then, no difficult, though a very good Prize. But after some of our Parties had seen them go off in the greatest confusion that could be, we set two or three houses on fire; and staying on that side till about Two o'clock in the afternoon, we had orders to return, leaving a guard in the Fort newly cast up on the other side to secure the Bridge; whereas it's not improbable, had we pursued our good Fortune, the Irish Horse had been routed, and the Town delivered upon our own Terms."—*Storey's Continuation, &c.* Storey.

[2] It is said in popular tradition, that it was a gun fired by Burke, a clever artillerist, from the towrs of the Cathedral, which was so near being the death of William in 1690.

Still fears filled the minds of the besiegers, and parties were constantly sent out to harass the country. Ballingarry and Bruree were burned, and Captain John O'Dell[1] was posted at Athlacca with militia and dragoons. It was quite well known in William's camp that unless this stratagetic movement was successfully effected, it would be impossible to make a decisive attack upon the city, though shot and shell were vehemently and constantly poured into it from the guns and mortars of the besiegers. So hard pushed had been the besiegers, that it was disputed in William's camp whether the siege should be raised and a blockade instituted. For a time it was carried in favor of raising the siege, and of abandoning the strong and obstinate old city; but as an engineer was proceeding to Kilmallock, for the purpose of fortifying it as a place of retreat or for winter quarters, in the event of the abandonment of Limerick, he was countermanded; and on the 18th of September, orders were sent to the men of war and other English vessels in the river, to set some men on shore in the county of Clare, to destroy all the forage, as it was harvest time. Ginkle's war materials was literally enormous.[2]

A second great passage of the river by Ginkle himself, the Duke of Wurtemburg, Scravemore, "with all our horse and dragoons, commanded by Major-General Ruvigny, (except Colonel Coy's horse, and fifty out of each regiment of dragoons), with ten regiments of foot and fourteen guns, viz., ten three-pounders and four twelve-pounders, taking also seven days' provision along, was made over our bridge of boats into the county of Clare, leaving Major-General Mackay and Major-General Talmash to command on this side."[3] Great difficulty was experienced in this movement; the forts and batteries played upon the moving columns with tremendous precision. At twelve o'clock, however, on the 22nd of September, they all passed the river,[4] and they must have been compelled to retreat, had it not been that they were so well sustained. Some small firings continued about four o'clock,

[1] Smith's MSS. in R.I.A. contains "some account of the O'Dells of Ballingarry, a family of which this Officer was the ancestor. They were related by intermarriage to the Knights of Kerry, the Hunts of Glangoole, Co. Tipperary, &c. &c.

[2] "Three hundred cars, with Bullets, Bombs, and other necessaries, come from Dublin, and our guns play still from the great battery." That there might be no want of stores of war to reduce the rebellious town, the Commissioners of the Ordnance had some time before loaded on board a vessel, and consigned to Waterford, 1000 barrels of corn-powder, 2000 twenty-four-pounders, 4000 culverin round shot, 4000 twelve-pounders, 20 tons of musquet shot, 5 tons of carbine shot, and 5 tons of pistol ball, together with other necessaries.—*Storey.*

[3] Storey.

[4] In Storey's Map of this the Second Siege, he fixes the exact place where the English troops passed the river, and to which tradition has constantly pointed. We have so fully described it in Chapter XXXIII. that it is needless here more particularly to refer to it. The spot where Carraig na Slabhraighe, or Rock of Chains, stood before it was blown up by Captain H. Jackson's servant, Connell, may be seen in the large field on the Clare side of the river, opposite Corbally. Storey's Map describes "fishing weirs" near the spot. These weirs now form the mill-race of Corbally Mills, the property of Messrs. J. N. Russell and Sons. St. Thomas's Island is a short distance to the west. Illainarone is to the east. In 1864, while building a wall around, and making other improvements in the old historic church-yard of Kilquane, another tomb-stone which deserves notice, and which had been concealed for many years under the earth, was turned up:—

I.H.S.
THIS STONE WAS ERECTED BY
MARY KIRBY IN MEMORY OF HER SON
THE REV. CORNELIUS KIRBY, PARISH
PRIEST OF PARTEEN, WHO DEPARTED THIS
LIFE 27th DAY OF FEBRUARY, 1769,
AGED 33 YEARS. MAY HE REST IN PEACE.

and the Irish retiring until they had got under their cannon. Then all Ginkle's grenadiers commanded by Tiffin, Hudson, and Major Noble, sustained by Kirk's, Tiffins's, St. John's, and Lord George Hamilton's regiments, were commanded to advance, and attack the works that covered Thomond bridge, being one fort to the right above musket shot from the bridge, another on the left somewhat nearer, besides several natural fortifications of stone quarries and gravel pits, in all which the Irish had posted a detachment out of eighteen regiments, of about eight hundred men each. The dispute was hot at first, the cannon playing from the King's Castle, and two or three more batteries, as also small shot from the walls; the attack seemed hazardous, when the English were ordered not to approach so near the city as they did afterwards. However, the Irish being now pressed upon by the grenadiers, quitted their first posts, and were then reinforced by other detachments; but the grenadiers pushed onwards. Thomond Gate was held by about 850 Irish; these were driven out and across the bridge, when a French major in command at the drawbridge, ordered it to be raised, and left his friends exposed to the fury of their enemies. Colonels Skelton, Hurley, and Dempsey, Major Neville (Aid Major of Limerick) Major French, 22 officers and 97 men were made prisoners; but all the rest slain, 154 being drowned, and the others killed on the bridge, where the dead were in heaps higher than the parapets.[1] Harris[2] gives a letter of Lord Westmeath, vindicating Colonel Lutterel from the charge of having betrayed his duty at Limerick, with notes of his own showing that Lutterel must have done some great favor to William III. from the demands he afterwards made, and which were complied with.[3]

[1] Before killing was over they were laid in heaps upon the bridge higher than the ledges of it; so that they were all either killed or taken, except about a hundred and twenty that got into Town before the Bridge was drawn up, and many of those cut and slashed to the purpose. The number of dead is said to be six hundred, amongst whom we may reckon one hundred and sixty-four that were drowned in being forced over the fall of the Draw-Bridge, and reckoned afterwards cast upon the shore"—*Storey.*

[2] Harris's William III. p. 348.

[3] "No doubt Lutterel was blamed for his conduct at Limerick and Aughrim, and notwithstanding the denial of Lord Westmeath, not without good grounds. He ought to have been honest, but he was a thorough traitor. Capt. Parker was never forgiven for making a candid statement of this patent fact; and his "Memoirs" were suppressed wherever they could be found: hence the scarcity of his book. This Lutterel was Henry, the second son of Thomas, of Luttrelstown, co. Dublin, who was restored to his estates in fee by the Act of Settlement, and died so seized in August, 1674. He was one of the Gentlemen of the Privy Chamber to King Charles 11, and married a daughter of Wm. Segrave, Esq., of the county Dublin. Simon was the eldest son of Thomas; Henry, of whom we are speaking, the second; Thomas, the third, who was attainted of high treason in 1688, and died without issue; and Robert. Simon, the eldest, was also attainted of high treason in 1688, but being in France when the articles of Limerick were agitated, it was thereby provided that in case he returned to Ireland in eight months, and submitted to the government of King William and Queen Mary, he should have the benefit of the said articles, and "General Ginkle did at the same time, under his hand, agree with his brother, Henry Lutterel, that he, the said Henry, should have the estate of his family; and the said Simon not returning and being outlawed, King William, in performance of the said General Ginkle's promise, granted to Henry, first, custodiam, and afterwards letters patent, of all the said Simon's title, by virtue of the said outlawry, either by descent, purchase or otherwise, to Walter Delawar, Esq, and his heirs in trust for the said Henry, held from October, 1698" (Decree in Chancery quoted in Archdall's Lodge's Peerage, vol III, pp 410 414).

Henry Lutterel was Governor of Sligo, Knight of the Shire for the county of Carlow, Colonel of a regiment of horse, and a Brigadier General before the revolution. Immediately before the battle of Aughrim every possible imputation was cast upon him by the Irish, and subsequently for his imputed treachery at Limerick. We find that almost after the siege he rose in high favour in the estimation of the English—"in 1702 he was appointed a Major General in the Dutch army with a Regiment; and nominated to command on a military enterprise of importance." But on the death of King William he "retired to his seat at Lutterelstown, where he chiefly resided until he was assassinated in his sedan chair by a band of ruffians in the city of Dublin, 22nd of October, 1717, and died the next day, October 23."* A letter of William Wogan,

This was the most disastrous and fearful incident of the siege. Lacey was the Commander of the party from the city, who made the sortie at the King's Castle over Thomond Bridge. The incident tended to increase the feeling of distrust which prevailed among the Irish soldiery towards the French.

There would have been another story to tell had it not been for those causes which have so clearly manifested themselves throughout. The anger and indignation by which the citizens and the Irish soldiers were now seized, may be better imagined than described. No longer was there confidence in the professions or the good faith of French officers, who appeared, no matter the consequence, bent on the resolve to put an end to the war. The crossing of the Shannon by Ginkle, of which Bartholemew Van Homrigh,[2] who appears to have been Commissary-General of William's army in Ireland, was a witness, has been described by that fortunate adventurer in glowing terms. He admits that the action of Thomond Bridge was the crowning event on the part of the Williamites; it secured a position for the English which they could not have anticipated. According to Van Homrigh it "led to the capture of Limerick;" and he indeed, makes a boast which is not warranted in truth, when he writes that, "not one was lost in the action, that they had taken two pieces of cannon, the Standard of Maxwell, a great part of the accoutrements of their horse, a lieutenant-colonel, and other officers prisoners, and drove their troops to the mountains and bogs."[3] This is not the fact. Harris admits that there were ninety of the English killed on the occasion.

In the pocket of Colonel Skelton who died soon after this event, of his wounds, was found a curious paper, which contained the representation of a spear's head, or a wound, and which was looked upon with the utmost interest, even by those of the English who professed to scoff at it.[4]

tutor to Edward Southwell, Esq., M.P. for Bristol, dated October 24, 1717, says "Colonel Lutterel was shot in his chair the other night, and died this morning; the murderer made his escape;" and on the 26th he writes, "A person is taken on suspicion for the murder of Colonel Lutterel, who was the Col.'s Fowler."† Henry Laws Lutterel became Earl of Carhampton by creation of George III. on the 23rd June, 1785; and after the treason and abnegation of Henry, the family became thoroughly imbued with the principles of "the Revolution," and several of them served abroad in the navy and army, supporters of the English.

Mr. O' Callaghan, in his notes to Colonel O'Kelly's Macariæ Excidium, quotes official MSS. for the pension £500 granted to Henry Lutterel. Baldearg O' Donnell is also said to have received a pension. This has been questioned and contradicted, however, by Mr O'Donovan in his History of the O'Donnells, already referred to, in the *Hibernian Magazine*. The direct line of the Lutterels became extinct by the death of Henry's grandson, John Lutterel Olmius, third Baron Turnham and Carhampton; and Lutterelstown passed into the hands, by purchase of Luke White, Esq. Lord Annally Luke White's son recently raised to the Peerage, enjoys the property; it is now called Woodlands.

2 This Van Homrigh feathered his nest very comfortably: in 1697, he was Lord Mayor of Dublin; and it was at his request the year afterwards that King William granted the collar of S.S. "to be worn by the Lord Mayors of that city in everlasting memory of the delivery from Popery and slavery of Ireland."† [The unfortunate Miss Vanhomrigh, Swift's "Vanessa," belonged to this branch of the Vanhomrighs.]

3 Thorpe's Catalogue of the Southwell MSS.

4 The following is a copy of a paper which was found in Skelton's pocket; it contained the representation of a spear's head or a wound, and the following words were written about it:—

"*This is the measure of the Wounds of the side of our Saviour Jesus Christ, which was brought from Constantinople to the Emperor Charlemaine in a coffin of goulde, and is a most precious Relique, to the end that he or she who carried the same about him, no fire, nor water, no wind, tempest, knaife, Lance or sword, nor the Deul cannot hurt him; and the woman with child the day she seeth the same measure, shall not diy a sudden Death, but shall be delivered by ———, and if any man carrie the same about him with good devotion, shall have the honour and victory of his Enimy. The day that any doth read the sam or heard it read, shall not dey an evil Death.—Amen.*".

Animæ Scriptoris in manu Saluatoris.

* Archdall's Lodge's, vol. III., p. 411.

† Thorpe's Catalogue of the Southwell MS. p. 621.

With fraud, corruption, and overpowering numbers, with Henry Lutterel and Clifford, who had bid for their reward, and who awaited the moment to obtain it; with infamous traitors of this stamp in his own camp, Lutterel and Clifford, who were now in prison, awaiting a Court-Martial for their treachery and abandonment of every sacred duty which they owed their country in this tremendous crisis of its fortune, Sarsfield and those true men, who had thought and acted with him, came to the conclusion that they were fighting against odds; and though the cannon yet poured its raking fire from the King's Castle and the batteries about the bridge on the Williamite soldiery, and though many more of them, than has been admitted, fell beneath the shot and shell of the Irish, yet the position of affairs was sufficiently discouraging in the estimation of the Irish commanders. Other deserters went over to Ginkle, among whom was Colonel Corbet, who promised that Tyrconnell's and Galmoy's regiments were prepared to join him. This must have been a calumny on the brave soldiers of these distinguished regiments, which as active contingents of the celebrated Irish Brigade abroad afterwards, made the name of Ireland respected on foreign fields, and won for themselves enduring fame and glory. For six long weeks, the siege had been now proceeding, but without the most distant chance of success to Ginkle and his myrmidons, had treason, on the one side and want of confidence and union on the other, done the work of Ireland's enemies. Rain had been falling in torrents for some time; a high wind had accompanied it. However, on the night of the 23rd of September, two nights after the fatal event at Thomond Bridge, a parley was beaten by the Irish drummers as well in the English-town as in the Irish-town. The rain and wind now ceased,—and as if the lull of the elements was the forerunner of a truce, at least in the strife which had raged so furiously for so long a time, Wauchop and Sarsfield, who were beyond the river at this time, proceeded to Ginkle, who was at the same place also; Colonel Ruth had previously gone towards Mackey's fort, where Lord Drogheda's horse were posted; but Talmash referred him to Scravemore and the Marquis De Ruvigny. A cessation was that night concluded; but though it was, the Williamites entertained no idea that they could possess themselves of the city; but divided councils, treason, English gold and all artful contrivances, which have left Ireland a prey to disastrous fate at all times, had now nearly done their work; and it only remained for Sarsfield and his adherents to make the best terms they could with a faithless foe which had never yet observed honor in its dealings with the Irish. If in 1690, William in person had been beaten back from the walls of Limerick, and had been forced to fly from a city which in its then wretched plight was able to withstand his picked guards and legions, surely Ginkle should have had the same tale to tell, if not a worse one, had not Lutterel and Clifford, and the French Major, and all the other traitors perjured themselves in the face of every high principle.

On the following day, the 24th, it was mutually agreed, that the cessation should continue for three days more, in order ostensibly that Sarsfield should send to Clare for the horse to be included in the capitulation, which was now all but an accomplished fact. These horse had been commanded by Sheldon, who, when he discovered the treason of Clifford, made a masterly retreat, and kept in the direction of Cratloe and Six-Mile-Bridge.[1]

[1] Numbers of King James's half-crown pieces have been recently discovered on the spot near which the Horse Camp was in 1690 and 1691. They appear to have been scarcely ever used. A poor man sold several of them in 1863 which he dug out of a field.

Storey states that at this time there were no less than 240 odd prisoners of the English army and militia in the hands of the Irish, and these were delivered up on the same evening to the English between Mackey's fort and the city. Whilst these proceedings were taking place galloping Hogan was busy in his department with his untiring rapparees, cutting off supplies from the English wherever he had the opportunity, particularly in the neighbourhood of Cullen and Ballyneety.[1] But his "labour of love" was destined soon to be brought to a close! and the stirring and great events which have so long occupied us. Negociations were now proceeding with wonderful rapidity. Amongst the exalted personages who were with the Irish commanders throughout the siege, were Dr. Maguire, the Catholic Lord Primate of all Ireland and Archbishop of Armagh, the Catholic Lord Bishop of Cashel, and other high dignitaries of the Ancient Church of Ireland. Dr. Molony, Bishop of Limerick, was in France with King James. Lieut.-Gen. Sheldon, Lord Galmoy, Lord Westmeath, Lord Dillon, Lord Trimblestown, Sir Theobald Butler, and several more Irish officers, came on the next day, the 25th, from the horse camp, where they had been, and dined with General Sarsfield.[2]

On the following day Wauchop and Sarsfield dined with Ginkle. Such is war—the most conflicting enemies think no more of what has passed—they sup and are cheery over the red graves of the fallen! It was agreed that hostages should be exchanged, in order to a further treaty; and accordingly, Lord Cutts, Sir David Collier, Colonel Tiffin, and Colonel Piper were sent into the city; Lords Westmeath, Iveagh, Trimblestown and Louth were sent out.[3]

On the 27th the Irish forwarded their Proposals, which were:[4]—

"1st. That their Majesties will by an Act of Indemnity pardon all past Crimes and Offences whatsoever.

"2dly. To restore all Irish Catholics to the Estates, of which they were seized or possessed before the late Revolution.

"3rdly. To allow a free Liberty of Worship, and one Priest to each Parish, as well in Towns and Cities, as in the Country.

"4thly. Irish Catholics to be capable of bearing Employments, Military and Civil, and to exercise Professions, Trades, Callings, of what Nature soever.

"5thly. The Irish Army to be kept on Foot, paid, &c. as the rest of their Majesties Forces, in case they be willing to serve their Majesties against France, or any other Enemy.

"6thly. The Irish Catholics to be allowed to live in Towns Corporate and Cities, to be Members of Corporations, to exercise all sorts and manners of Trades, and to be equal with their Fellow-Protestant Subjects in all Privileges, Advantages and Immunities accruing in or by the said Corporations.

"7thly. An Act of Parliament to be passed for ratifying and confirming the said Conditions."

[1] At his favourite rendevous, near Cullen, he took off with him seventy-one horses and care which were coming in that direction to the English Camp; but Storey, very naively, says "he durst not stay to do any further mischief," as if the taking of seventy-one horses in the sight of the enemy was not mischief enough for one experiment.

[2] Storey says that "they went afterwards into the town in a boat rowed by French seamen ("there being then three vessels drawn within the key, and one of them sunk across it, to prevent our coming up the river at night by way of surprise.") "As they rid by the end of the Bridge towards the Boat, a party of their own men were burying the dead killed in the last action; they stopped and enquired for several people, whom they there found dead: and the cessation was continued next day at ten o'clock."

[3] Storey. [4] Ibid.

These proposals were all rejected, though strongly pressed on Ginkle's attention by the Archbishop of Cashel and others. So difficult was it to come to an arrangement, that at one time it was considered probable that the battle should be fought over again; even the batteries were making ready for that purpose, but the treaty was at length determined on; and on the 28th, Sarsfield, Wauchop, Baron Purcell, of Loughmore, the Archbishop of Cashel, Sir Garret Dillon, Sir Theobald Butler, and Colonel Brown, (the three last mentioned counsellors-at-law), with several officers and Commissioners, proceeded to Ginkle's quarters; where after a protracted debate, articles were agreed to, not only for the city of Limerick, but for all the forts and castles of the kingdom, then in possession of the Irish, such as Ross, Clare, &c. &c. On the same evening an order was signed, directing a portion of the transport ships to sail from Cork to the Shannon, in order to take some of the Irish forces on board; and Ginkle despatched a letter to Sir Ralph Delavall, who, he understood, was upon the coast, with a squadron of English ships of war, cautioning him not to prevent the transport ships of France from arriving in the Shannon, nor the remainder of the French fleet from entering the bay of Dingle. On the following day (the 29th) the horse and dragoons, commanded by the Marquis de Ruvigny, proceeded to encamp beyond Six-Mile-Bridge, for the convenience of forage. On this occasion the soldiers of both armies became on friendly terms, and mutually visited each other's camps. On the 30th, the Duke of Wirtemberg entertained nearly all the Irish general officers at dinner, no other movement having been contemplated until the expected arrival of the Lords Justices, who were sent for to confirm the civil and military articles. Sarsfield next day complained that certain of the English began to plunder and strip his soldiers according as they had the opportunity. Ginkle thereupon gave orders that none of his men should go beyond their own works. The Irish made huts in the King's Island, to which several regiments were drawn. The gates were kept fast locked, as it was apprehended that many would endeavour to escape on the intelligence of their having to go to France—a service for which, according to Storey, they entertained no particular affection, but which they preferred after all, as the result soon proved, to the English service.

At nine o'clock on the evening of the 1st of October, the Lords Justices arrived at Ginkle's camp; on the 2nd, about two o'clock, p.m. Sarsfield, Wauchop, and the principal generals and public functionaries of Ireland, civil, military, and ecclesiastical, proceeded also to Ginkle's camp; the French generals kept out of the way, pretending indisposition.[1] Lord Merrion and Lord Brittas had now come from Kerry; their party was included in the Articles; but new debates arose respecting the Rapparees, which occupied the meeting till an advanced hour in the night. On the 3rd, however, the Irish officers again dined with the Duke of Wirtemberg, when the Articles were interchangeably signed.[2] The first about the Surrender of the city was signed by the Generals: and the other about the Privileges granted to

[1] Storey—Their names however are signed to the first article.

[2] Articles agreed upon between the Baron De Ginckle, Lieutenant-General and Commander-in-Chief of the English army, on the one side; and the Lieutenant Generals De Ussoon and De Tessee, Commanders-in-Chief of the Irish army, on the other; and the General Officers hereunto subscribing.

I—That all persons, without any exceptions of what quality or condition soever, that are willing to leave the kingdom of Ireland, shall have free liberty to go to any country beyond the seas, (England and Scotland excepted), where they think fit, with their families, household stuff, plate and jewels.

the Irish, by General Ginkle and Lords Justices jointly, being afterwards ratified by their Majesties' Letters Patents under the Great Seal of England in the forms given in full in the note. Storey designates both the articles "civil."

II—That all General Officers, colonels, and generally all other Officers of horse, dragoons and foot guards, troopers, dragooners, soldiers of all kinds that are in garrison, place, or post, now in the hands of the Irish, or encamped in the countries of Cork, Clare, and Kerry, as also those called Rapparees, or volunteers, that are willing to go beyond seas aforesaid, shall have free leave to embark themselves wherever the ships are that are appointed to transport them, and to come in whole bodies as they are now composed, or in parties, companies, or otherwise, without having any impediment, directly or indirectly.

III—That all persons above mentioned, that are willing to leave Ireland and go into France, shall have leave to declare it at the times and places hereafter mentioned, viz: the troops in Limerick, on Tuesday next in Limerick; the horse at their camp, on Wednesday, and the other forces that are dispersed in the counties of Clare, Kerry, and Cork' on the 8th inst, and on none other, before Monsieur Tameron, the French intendant, and Colonel Withers; and after such declaration is made, the troops that will go into France must remain under the command and discipline of their Officers that are to conduct them thither; and deserters of each side shall be given up, and punished accordingly.

IV—That all English and Scotch Officers that serve now in Ireland, shall be included in this capitulation, as well for the security of their estates and goods in England, Scotland, and Ireland (if they are willing to remain here), as for passing freely into France or any other country to serve.

V—That all the general French Officers, the intendant engineer, the engineers, the commissaries of war, and the artillery, the treasurer, and other French Officers, strangers, and all others whatsoever, that are in Sligo, Ross, Clare, or in the army, or that do trade or commerce, or are otherways employed in any kind of station or condition, shall have free leave to pass into France, or any other country, and shall have leave to ship themselves with all their horses, equipage, plate, papers, and all their effects whatever; and that General Ginckle will order passports for them, convoys, and carriages by land and water, to carry them safe from Limerick to the ships where they shall be embarked, without paying anything for the said carriages, or to those that are employed therein, with their horses, cars, boats, and shallops.

VI—That if any of the aforesaid equipages, merchandize, horses, money, plate, or other moveables or household stuff belonging to the said Irish troops, or to the French Officers, or other particular persons whatsoever, be robbed, destroyed, or taken away by the troops of the said general, the said general will order them to be restored, or payment to be made according to the value that is given in upon oath by the person so robbed or plundered; and the said Irish troops to be transported as aforesaid; and all other persons, belonging to them, are to observe good order in their march and quarters, and shall restore whatever they shall take from the country, or make restitution for the same.

VII—That to facilitate the transporting the said troops, the general will furnish fifty ships, each ship's burthen two hundred tons; for which, the persons to be transported shall not be obliged to pay, and twenty more, if there shall be occasion, without their paying for them; and if any of the said ships shall be of lesser burthen, he will furnish more in number to countervail; and also give two men of war to embark the principal officers, and serve for a convoy to the vessels of burthen.

VIII—That a commissary shall be immediately sent to Cork to visit the transport ships, and what condition they are in for sailing; and that as soon as they are ready, the troops to be transported shall march with all convenient speed, the nearest way, in order to embark there; and if there shall be any more men to be transported than can be carried off in the said fifty ships, the rest shall quit the English town of Limerick, and march to such quarters as shall be appointed for them, convenient for their transportation, where they shall remain till the other twenty ships be ready, which may come in a month; and may embark on any French ship that may come in the meantime.

IX—That the said ships shall be furnished with forage for horses, and all necessary provisions to subsist the officers, troops, dragoons and soldiers, and all other persons that are shipped to be transported into France; which provisions shall be paid for as soon as all are disembarked at Brest or Nantz, upon the coast of Britany, or any other part of France they can make.

X—And to secure the return of the said ships (the danger of the seas excepted) and payment for the said provisions, sufficient hostages shall be given.

XI—That the garrisons of Clare-castle, Ross, and all other foot that are in garrisons in the counties of Clare, Cork, and Kerry, shall have the advantage of the present capitulation; and such part of these garrisons as design to go beyond the seas, shall march out with their arms, baggage, drums beating, ball in mouth, match lighted at both ends, and colours flying, with all the provisions, and half ammunition that is in the said garrisons, and join the horse that march to be transported; or if then there is not shipping enough for the body of foot that is next to be transported after the horse, General Ginckle will order that they be furnished with carriages for the purpose, and what provisions they shall want in their march, they paying for the said provisions, or else that they may take it out of their own magazines.

Ginkle's army had orders to march into the Irishtown on that night; but as it was after sunset when the Articles were signed, Talmash, who was ap-

XII—That all the troops of horse and dragoons that are in the counties of Cork, Kerry, and Clare, shall also have the benefit of this capitulation; and that such as will pass into France, shall have quarters given them in the counties of Clare and Kerry, apart from the troops that are commanded by General Ginckle, until they can be shipped; and within their quarters they shall pay for everything, except forage and pasture for their horses, which shall be furnished gratis.

XIII—Those of the garrison of Sligo that are joined to the Irish army, shall have the benefit of this capitulation; and orders shall be sent to them that are to convey them up, to bring them hither to Limerick the shortest way.

XIV—The Irish may have liberty to transport nine hundred horse, including horses for the officers which shall be transported gratis; and as for the troopers that stay behind, they shall dispose of themselves as they shall think fit, giving up their horses and arms to such persons as the general shall appoint.

XV—It shall be permitted to those that are appointed to take care for the subsistence of the horses that are willing to go into France, to buy hay and corn at the king's rates, wherever they can find it, in the quarters that are assigned for them, without any let or molestation, and to carry all necessary provisions out of the city of Limerick; and for this purpose the general will furnish convenient carriages for them to the places where they shall be embarked.

XVI—That it shall be lawful to make use of the hay preserved in the stores of the county Kerry, for the horses that shall be embarked; and if there be not enough, it shall be lawful to buy hay and oats wherever it shall be found at the king's rates.

XVII—That all prisoners of war, that were in Ireland the 28th of September, shall be set at liberty on both sides; and the general promises to use his endeavours, that those that are in England and Flanders shall be set at liberty also.

XVIII—The general will cause provisions and medicines to be furnished to the sick and wounded officers, troopers, dragoons, and soldiers of the Irish army that cannot pass into France at the first embarkment: and after they are cured, will order them ships to pass into France, if they are willing to go.

XIX—That at the signing hereof the general will send a ship express to France; and that besides he will furnish two small ships of those that are now in the river of Limerick to transport two persons into France that are to be sent to give notice of this treaty; and that the commanders of the said ships shall have orders to put ashore at the next port of France where they shall make.

XX—That all those of the said troops, Officers, and others, of what character soever, that would pass into France, shall not be stopped upon the account of debt, or any other pretext.

XXI—If after signing this present treaty, and before the arrival of the fleet, a French packet boat, or other transport ship, shall arrive from France in any other part of Ireland, the general will order a passport, not only for such as must go on board the said ships, but to the ships to come to the nearest port to the place where the troops to be transported shall be quartered.

XXII—That after the arrival of the said fleet, there shall be free communication and passage between it and the quarters of the above said troops; and especially for all those that have passes from the chief commanders of the said fleet, or from Monsieur Tameron, the intendant,

XXIII—In consideration of the present capitulation, the two towns of Limerick shall be delivered and put into the hands of the general, or any other person he shall appoint, at the time and days hereafter specified, viz: the Irish town, except the magazines and hospital, on the day of the signing of these present articles; and as for the English town, it shall remain, together with the Island, and the free passage of Thomond bridge, in the hands of those of the Irish army that are now in garrison, or that shall come hereafter from the counties of Cork Clare, Kerry, Sligo, and other places above mentioned, until there shall be convenience found for their transportation.

XXIV—And to prevent all disorders that may happen between the garrisons, that the general shall place in the Irish town, which shall be delivered to him, the Irish troopers that shall remain in the English town and the Island, which they may do, until the troops to be embarked on the first fifty ships shall be gone for France, and no longer; they shall entrench themselves on both sides to hinder the communication of the said garrisons; and it shall be prohibited on both sides to offer any thing that is offensive; and the parties offending shall be punished on either side.

XXV—That it shall be lawful for the said garrison to march all out at once, or at different times, as they can be embarked, with arms, baggage, drums beating, match lighted at both ends, bullet in mouth, colours flying, six brass guns, such as the besieged will choose, two mortar pieces, and half the ammunition that is now in the magazines of the said place; and for this purpose an inventory of all the ammunition in the garrison shall be made in the presence of any person that the general shall appoint, the next day after these present articles shall be signed.

XXVI—All the magazines of provisions shall remain in the hands of those that are now employed to take care of the same, for the subsistence of those of the Irish army that will pass into France; and if there shall not be sufficient in the stores, for the support of the said troops, whilst they stay in this kingdom, and are crossing the seas, that upon giving up an account of their numbers, the general will furnish them with sufficient provisions at the king's rates; and

pointed to take possession of the town, thought proper not to march in that night, but gave directions to Nassau's and Hamilton's regiments to possess

that there shall be a free market at Limerick, and other quarters, where the said troops shall be; and in case any provision shall remain in the magazines of Limerick when the town shall be given up, it shall be valued, and the price deducted out of what is to be paid for the provisions to be furnished to troops on ship board.

XXVII—That there shall be a cessation of arms at land, as also at sea, with respect to the ships, whether English, Dutch, or French, designed for the transportation of the said troops, until they shall be returned to their respective harbours; and that, on both sides, they shall be furnished with sufficient passports both for ships and men; and if any commander, or captain of a ship, or any Officer, trooper, dragoon, soldier, or any other person, shall act contrary to this cessation, the persons so acting shall be punished on either side, and satisfaction shall be made for the wrong that is done; and Officers shall be sent to the mouth of the river of Limerick, to give notice to the commanders of the English and French fleets of the present conjuncture, that they may observe the cessation of arms accordingly.

XXVIII—That for the security of the execution of this present capitulation, and of each article therein contained, the besieged shall give the following hostages * * * * And the general shall give * *

XXIX—If before this capitulation is fully executed, there happens any chance in the goverment or command of the army, which is now commanded by General Ginckle, all those that shall be appointed to command the same, shall be obliged to observe and execute what is specified in these articles, or cause it to be executed punctually, and shall not act contrary on any account.

D'Usson,	*Le Chevalier de Tesse,*
Latuvur Monfort,	*Mark Tabbot,*
Lucan,	*Jo. Wauchop,*
Galmoy,	*M. Purcell,*

Articles agreed upon the Third Day of October 1691, *by the Right Honourable Sir* Charles Porter, *Knight, and* Thomas Conyngesby *Esq; Lord Justices of* Ireland, *and his Excellency Baron De Ginckel, Lieut General and Commander in chief of the* English *Army, on the one part, and the Right Honourable* Patrick *Earl of* Lucan, Percy, *Viscount* Gallmoy, *Col* Nic Purcell, *Col* Dillon, *and Col* John Browne, *on the other side: on the behalf of the* Irish *Inhabitants in the City and County of* Lymerick, *the Counties of* Clare, Cork, Kerry, Sligo, *and* Mayo, *in consideration of the surrender of the City of* Lymerick, *and other agreements made between the said Lieut General* Ginckel, *the Governor of the City of* Lymerick, *and the Generals of the* Irish *Army, bearing Date with these Presents, for the surrender of the said City, and Submission of the said Army.*

1. That the *Roman* Catholicks of this Kingdom shall enjoy such Privileges in the Exercise of their Religion as are consistent with the Laws of *Ireland*; or as they did enjoy in the Reign of King *Charles* the Second; and Their Majesties (as soon as their Affairs will permit them to summon a Parliament in this Kingdom) will endeavour to secure the said *Roman* Catholicks such further Security in that particular, as may preserve them from any disturbance upon the account of their said Religion.

2. All the Inhabitants or Residents of *Lymerick*, or any other Garrison now in the possession of the *Irish*, and all Officers and Souldiers now in Arms under any Commission of K. *James*, or those Authorized by him, to grant the same in the several Counties of *Lymerick*, *Cork*, *Kerry*, *Sligo*, and *Mayo*, or any of them, and all the Commissioned Officers in their Majesties' Quarters, that belong to the *Irish* Regiments now in being, that are treated with, and who are Prisoners of War, or have taken Protection, who shall return, and submit to Their Majesties' Obedience, their and every of their Heirs, shall hold, possess, and enjoy all and every their Estates of Free-hold and Inheritance, and all the Right, Title and Interest, Privileges and Immunities which they, and every or any of them held, enjoyed, or were rightfully entitled to in the Reign of K. *Charles* the Second: or at any time since, by the Laws and Statutes that were in force in the said Reign of King *Charles* the Second, and shall be put in possession by order of the Goverment of such of them as are in the King's Hands, or in the Hands of his Tenants, without being put to any Suit or Trouble therein; and all such Estates shall be freed and discharged from all Arrears of Crown Rents, Quit Rents, and other public charges incurred, and become due since *Michaelmas* 1688, to the Day of the Date hereof; and all Persons comprehended in this Article, shall have, hold, and enjoy all their Goods and Chattels real and personal, to them, or any of them belonging, and remaining either in their own Hands, or in the Hands of any Persons whatever in Trust for, or for the Use of them, or any of them: And all and every the said Persons, of what Profession, Trade or Calling soever they be, shall and may use, exercise, and practise their several and respective Profession, Trades and Callings as freely as they did use exercise and enjoy the same in the Reign of K. *James* the Second; provided that nothing in this Article contained, be construed to extend to, or restore any forfeiting Person now out of the kingdom, except what are hereafter comprized; provided also, that no Person whatsoever shall have or enjoy the benefit of this Article, that shall neglect or refuse to take the Oath of Allegiance made by Act of Parliament in *England*, in the first year of the Reign of their present Majesties, when thereunto required.

themselves of the Stone Fort and all the outworks of the Irishtown. Next day five of the English regiments marched in and took possession of the Irishtown, in which were fourteen pieces of cannon, and St. John's Church, which was heaped full of oats, of which the Irish had the benefit, in accordance with the Articles. Storey observes that the works were all exceedingly strong.

3. All Merchants, or reputed Merchants of the City of *Lymerick*, or of any other Garrison now possessed by the *Irish*, or of any Town or Place in the Counties of *Clare or Kerry*, who are absent beyond the Seas, that have not bore Arms since Their Majesties' Declaration in *February* 1688-9, shall have the Benefit of the second Article, in the same manner as if they were present, provided such Merchants and reputed Merchants do repair into this Kingdom within the space of eight Months from the Date hereof.

4. The following officers, viz. Col *Simon Lutterill*, Col *Rowland White*, *Maurice Eustace* of *Tearmanstown*, *Cheviers* of *Maystown*, commonly called *Mount Linster*, now belonging to the Regiments of the aforesaid Garrisons and Quarters of the *Irish* Army who are beyond the seas, and sent thither upon Affairs of their respective Regiments, or the Army in General, shall have the Benefit and Advantage of the Second Article provided they return hither within the space of eight Months from the Date of these Presents and Submit to Their Majesties' Government, and take the above mentioned Oath.

5. That all and singular the said Persons comprised in the Second and Third Articles, shall have a General Pardon of all Attainders, Outlawries, Treasons, Misprisions of Treasons, Premunires, Felonies, Trespasses, and other Crimes and Misdemeanors whatsoever by them or any of them, committed since the beginning of the Reign of King *James* the Second; and if any of them are attainted by Parliament, the Lord Justices and the General will use their best Endeavours to get the same repealed by parliament, and the Outlawries to be Reversed *gratis*, all but Writing Clerks Fees.

6. Whereas these present Wars have drawn great Violence upon both Parties, and if Leave were given to the bringing of all sorts of private Actions, the Animosities would probably continue that have been so long on foot, and the publick Disturbances last; for the quieting and settling therefore of the Kingdom, and the avoiding those Inconveniences which would be the necessary consequence of the contrary, no Person, or Persons whatsoever comprized in the foregoing Articles, shall be sued, molested, or impleaded at the Suit of any Party or Parties whatsoever, for any Trespasses by them committed, or for any Arms, Horses, Monies, Goods, Chattels, Merchandizes, or Provisions whatsoever, by them seized or taken during the Time of the War; and no Person or Persons whatsoever in the Second or Third Articles comprized, shall be sued, or made accountable for the Rents or Rates of any Land, Tenements, or Houses by him or them reserved or enjoyed in this Kingdom since the beginning of the present War, to the Day of the Date hereof; nor for any Waste or Trespass by him or them committed in any such Lands, Tenements, or Houses: and it is also agreed, that this Article shall be mutual and reciprocal on both sides.

7. Every Nobleman and Gentleman comprized in the Second and Third Articles, shall have Liberty to ride with a Sword and a Case of Pistols if they think fit, and keep a Gun in the House, for the Defence of the same, or Fowling.

8. The Inhabitants and Residents of the City of *Lymerick*, and other Garrisons, shall be permitted to remove their Goods, Chattels, and Provisions out of the same, without being viewed or searched, or paying any manner of Duties, and shall not be compelled to leave their Houses and Lodgings they now have therein for the space of six Weeks next ensuing the Date hereof.

9. The Oath to be administered to such *Roman* Catholicks as submit to their Majesties' Government, shall be the Oath aforesaid and no other.

10. No Person or Persons who shall at any time hereafter break these Articles, or any of them, shall thereby make or cause any other Person or Persons to forfeit or lose the Benefit of same.

11. The Lords Justices and General do promise to use their utmost endeavours that all Persons comprehended in the above mentioned Articles, shall be protecthd and defended from all Arrests and Executions for Debt or Damage, for the space of eight Months next ensuing the Date hereof.

12. Lastly, the Lords Justices and the General do undertake, That their Majesties will ratifie these Articles within the space of three Months, or sooner, and use their utmost Endeavours that the same shall be ratified and confirmed in the Parliament.

13. And whereas Col. *John Browne* stood indebted unto several Protestants by Judgements of Record, which appeared to the late Government, the Lords *Tyrconnell* and *Lucan* took away the effects the said *John Browne* had to answer the said Debts; which Effects were taken for the publick Use of the *Irish*, and their Army, for freeing the said Lord *Lucan* of his engagement past upon their publick Account for payment of the said Protestants, for preventing the Ruine of the said *John Browne*. and for satisfaction of his said Creditors, at the instance of the said Lord *Lucan*, and the rest of the persons aforesaid, it is agreed, that the said Lords Justices, and Lieutenant General *Ginkel* shall interpose with the King and Parliament, to have the Estates secured to *Roman* Catholicks by Articles and Capitulations in this kingdom, charged

The English placed a guard at one end of Ball's Bridge, and the Irish at another. On the 5th, 100 men out of each regiment of the English were ordered to level the works they had raised against the city. A difficulty arose respecting a Lieut.-Colonel in the Irish army, who sent a letter to Ginkle complaining that he had been imprisoned by General Sarsfield, (who was now called Lord Lucan by the English, in consequence of the Articles), for refusing to go to France. Ginkle ordered four pieces of cannon to be placed on Ball's Bridge; hot work was about to ensue—until the Lieut.-Colonel was enlarged. Ginkle issued a declaration, offering protection and pay to such Irish officers and soldiers as chose to join the English in preference to the French colours; and permission to such of them as desired to proceed to their respective homes.

Limerick afforded King James a title for Dungan (Earl of Limerick) who suffered for attachment to his master.

with, and equally liable to the payment of so much of the said Debts as the Lord *Lucan*, upon stating Accounts with the said *John Browne*, amount unto; Account is to be stated, and the Balance certified by the said Lord *Lucan* in 21 days after the Date hereof; For the true performance whereof, we have hereunto set our Hands;*

Present,

Scravemore, *Charles Porter*,
H. Mackay, *Tho. Conyngesby*,
T. Talmash, *Baron De Ginckel.*

And whereas the said City of *Lymerick* hath been since, in pursuance of the said Articles, surrendered unto Us. Now know ye, That we having considered of the said Articles, are graciously pleased hereby to declare that We do for Us, our Heirs and Successors, as far as in Us lies, ratifie and confirm the same, and every Clause, Matter, and Thing therein contained—And as to such parts thereof, for which an Act of Parliament shall be found to be necessary. We shall recommend the same to be made good by Parliament; and shall give our Royal Assent to any Bill or Bills, that shall be Passed by Our Two Houses of Parliament to that Purpose. And whereas it appears unto Us that it was agreed between the Parties to the said Articles, that after the Words, *Lymerick*, *Clare*, *Kerry*, *Cork*, *Mayo*, or any of them, in the Second of the said Articles, the words following: viz. And all such as are under their Protection in the said Counties, should be inserted, and be part of the said Articles; which Words having been casually omitted by the Writer, the omission was not discovered till after the said Articles were signed, but was not taken notice of before the second Town was surrendered. And that our said Justices and General, or one of them, did promise that the said Clause should be made good, it being within Intention of the Capitulation, and inserted in the foul Draught thereof. Our further Will and Pleasure is, and We do hereby ratifie and confirm the said words; viz. (And all such as are under the Protection of the said Counties) hereby for Us, our Heirs and Successors, ordaining, and declaring, that all and every Person and Persons therein concerned, shall, and may have, receive and enjoy the Benefit thereof in such and the same manner, as if the Words had been inserted in their proper place, in the said Second Article, any omission, defect, or mistake in the said Second Article, in any ways notwithstanding. Provided always, and Our Will and Pleasure is, that these our Letters Patent shall be enrolled in our Court of Chancery, in our said Kingdom of Ireland, within the space of one year next ensuing. In witness, &c, Witness Our self at Westminster, the Twenty-fourth Day of February, Anno Regni Regis & Reginæ Guielmi & Mariæ, quarto, per breve de privato sigillo. Nos autem tenorem præmissor. prædict. ad requisitionem Attornat. General. Domini Regis & Dominæ Reginæ pro Regno Hiberniæ, duximus exemplificandum per præsentes. In Cujus rei Testimonium has Literas nostras fieri fecimus Patentes. Testibus nobis ipsis apud Westmon. quinto die Aprilis Annoque Regni eorum quarto,

Bridges.

Examinat. Per Nos. { *S Keck*, *Lacon W Child.* } in Cancel. Magistros.

* The treaty is said to have been signed at or near the Red Gate, within a mile of the city at the Clare side. Tradition does not admit that it was signed on what has been called the "Treaty Stone," which has occupied a place on the North side of Thomond Bridge for many years, and which was originally a stone, used by country people for getting on horses when leaving town. The Cork "Freeholder" of Monday, 11th July, 1814, says, "that the late Miss Dobbin of Brown-street, had in her possession the TABLE on which the treaty of Limerick was signed; and which was about being auctioned off on decease of above lady."

King James also manifested his attention to Limerick by the grant of a charter, which is on record (Rot. Pat. 4 Jac. II. p. 2, m. 1.) This charter recites a judgment against the Corporation in the Exchequer, and professes to constitute a new Corporate body. Its provisions are very extensive; but may be briefly described as creating a self-elected municipality, removable by the Lord Lieutenant and Privy Council. Its operation was limited to the comparatively short reign of the unfortunate King.[1]

In King James's Parliament sixty-eight of the gentry of the county and city of Limerick were attainted of high treason; and it may be added that

[1] The Common Council of Limerick, January 30, 1687, in which year and the following one, King James altered all the Corporations of Ireland.—*Harris's Life of King William.*

Robert Hannan. Mayor.

Aldermen—24.

Sir James Galway, Bart.
Sir Oliver Bourke, Bart.
Sir William King, Knt.
John Leonard, Merchant.
Nicholas Arthur, Esq.
Dominick Roche, Esq.
Pierce Lacy, Esq.
Edward Warr, Merchant.
Robert Smith, Goldsmith.
Michael Creagh, Merchant.
John Baptist Roufel, Merchant.
James Creagh FitzPierce, Esq.
Thomas Power, Esq.
J. Rice Fitzwilliam, Esq.
John Foord, Merchant.
Thomas Harold, Merchant.
William Craven, Merchant.
J. MacNamara, Merchant, } *Sheriffs.*
Sep. Creagh, Gent. }
John Rice FitzEdward, Merchant and Chamberlain.
Thomas Roche, Merchant.
James Craven, Merchant.
James Taverner, Merchant.

Burgesses—42.

Sir Stephen Rice, Chief Baron.
James Nihell, Esq.
John Ronane, Esq.
Theo. Butler, Esq.
John Sarsfield, Esq.
John Wall, Esq.
Jeremiah Hall, Esq.*
J. Roe Creagh, Merchant.
James Woulfe FitzBartholomew, Merchant.
James Robinson, Goldsmith.
Dominick Roche, Jun. Gent.
Thomas MacNamara, Gent.
Philip Stackpole, Merchant.
John Skeolan, Merchant.
Moses Woodroff, Gent.
Thomas Creagh, Merchant.
Nicholas White FitzDominick, Merchant.
Edward Wight, Merchant.
George Gromwell, Merchant.
Thomas Long, Merchant.
Arthur Allen, Vintner.
Thomas Breviter, Merchant.
Simon White, Jun. Merchant.
Patrick Nihell, Gent.
Robert Riordan, Merchant.
Peter Monsell, Merchant.
Francis White, Merchant,
Stephen White FitzFrancis, Merchant.
Richard Harold, Merchant.
Walter Harold, Merchant.
Zech. Holland, Merchant.
Stephen Comyn, Gent.
Patrick Stritch, Merchant.
James Arthur, Merchant.
Thomas Arthur, Merchant.
Nicholas Morrough; Vintner.
John Daniel, Merchant.
Henry Turner, Esq., Recorder.
Prothonotary, Clerk of the Peace.
Pierce Lacy, Town Clerk.

* This gentleman, who was a Doctor of Physic, founded "Hall's Charity" for Poor Protestants in the English-town, and appropriated certain ground rents in the city to support a certain number of aged men and women. For the support of the men, in quarterly payments, the sum of £65; for the support of a certain number of women, £60; for the Schoolmaster, for instructing twenty boys in reading, writing, and Arithmetic, £12; for a Schoolmistress for teaching twenty girls to read, £12; for supplying the schools with books and stationery, £10; for a Clergyman to attend the chapel of said house, £15; for a steward to keep the accounts, make quarterly payments, &c. &c. £20; for repairs, £10; for releasing debtors from jail, £10. Dr. Hall also bequeathed £200 to be given in apprentice fees to deserving young men. He constituted the Protestant Bishop, Dean, and Mayor, Recorder and Sheriffs for the time being, trustees of his will. For a long time the charity had been grossly mismanaged; the income has latterly fallen away. In the year 1864 there were but eight, viz. two male, and six female inmates. Men and women get coal for six weeks and £5 10s. yearly each. The school is well conducted, by Mr. and Mrs. George Russell, and contains no less than 38 boys, and 22 girls. There is no Chaplain at present. James MacMahon, Esq. of the Probate Court is agent. Mr. Russell has £36 18s. 5d. a year, and Mrs. Russell, £21.

many of their names have ceased to exist in the county and city.[1] And between the clash of adverse arms, and the din of civil war, a Court suit, which was instituted by the Augustinians of Limerick—who appear to have been in the city during the sieges—against a citizen of the name of Lysaght, was decided in favour of the former by Sir Charles Porter, the Lord Chancellor.[2]

Colonel John Rice behaved badly in these times. At the surrender of Limerick, he brought in to William a regiment of horse upon the public faith of being received into the English pay. There was a good deal of litigation and acrimony in consequence, as Captain Morgan O'Bryen, Captain Fitzgerald, and others replied to the case which Rice had made upon obtaining an Act of Parliament for Debentures to be given him for his claims arising out of the Irish wars, the siege of Limerick, &c.[3] One of the heads of the causes

[1] Henry Berry of Limerick, yeoman, Jonathan Boles of Newcastle, gent., George Brien of Shanagolden, gent., John Chinnery of Cregane, gent., Nicholas Chinnery, gent., Richard Chinnery, gent., William Clarke of Cloughnarral, Richard Cooper of Knocklong, Chidley Coote Fitz Charles of Ballyshane, Richard Coote, Esq., Francis Courtenay, Richard Courtenay, (sons to Sir William Courtenay), James Cox of Ballyline gent., Thomas Creed, of Ganynaderkey, gent., George Crofts, jun. of Croghill, John Crowe of Rathkeale, gent., Michael Daly of Chashbane, John Dowdall of Cappagh, Ralph Emmerson of Castlematress, John Flyn of Castlematress, Samuel Foxon, jun. of Limerick, Esq., Bartholemew Gibbins of Covinger, gent., John Owene of Cloughnarral, Henry Holmes of Kilmallock, gent., James Howard of Limerick, gent., James Higgins, Miles Jackson of Ballyvologue, gent., William Jephson, prebendary of Donoghmore, Joseph Jephson, clerk, Richard Ingoldsby of Ballybricken, Esq., Hugh Maguire of Duntrileague, gent., Robert Moore of Limerick, Thomas Moore of Castlematress, gent., Nicholas Monckton of Ballynafrankey, gent., Charles O'Dell of Castletownmaciniry, gent., Charles Oliver of Clogher, Esq., Arthur Ormsby and John Ormsby, sons of Captain Ormsby of Corgrig, Stephen Palmer, gent., William Palmer, gent., Robert Pheaby of Rathkeale, Captain Christopher Phillips, John Ponsonby of Fanningstown, gent., Thomas Ponsonby of Ballincullenbeg, gent., Robert Pope of Rathkeale, gent., Robert Robinson of Rathkeale, John Swayne of Clohomwsey, John Southwel and William Southwel of Castlematress, Henry Trenchard, Thomas Trenchard of Corgraige, John Treth of Rathkeale, William Walker of Cloughnarral, Oliver Walsh of Ballymullane, gent., John Whittaker of Lisnasheely.

The following absentees attainted if they do not return before the first of September, 1689:—Hugh Brady, gent., Randall Clayton, gent., John Harrison of Ballyvonneen, Esq., William Harrison of Toureen, Esq., Hugh Massy, Esq., Archdeacon Henry Harstongue, Hugh Massy, Esq., John Pigot of Kilfenny, Esq., Richard Steevens, gent., Erasmus Smith of Carrigogunnell, Esq., William Trenchard, Esq., and ——— Trenchard, gent. of Mountrenchard, Henry Westenra of Athlacca, Esq.

The following persons of said county and city being residents in England, are to signify their loyalty provided the King goes there, by the 1st of October, 1689:—Joseph Stepney, Abbeyowey, Thomas Butler of Kilnemoney, Richard Bury of Ballynerigy, Thomas Maunsell of Ballynemoney, Thomas Rose of Morgans, William Gribble, jun. of Limerick, John Douney of Caperearneesy, Thomas Warren of Newtown, Daniel Webb of Rathgonan, Timothy Webb of Ballygubby, Thomas Oldfield of Gornskeigh, Richard Peacock of Graigue, Abraham Jackson of Duntryleague, Childly Coote Fitzchidley of Coote, Thomas Spire of Rathanny, Giles Spencer of Limerick, Henry Ciddenham, jun. of Corra, Standish Hartstongue, jun. of Bruff, Richard Newport of Longford, James Webb of Ballyhennessy.

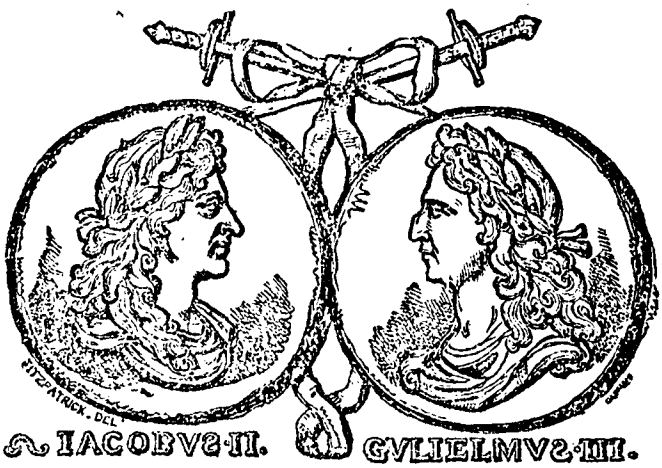
[2] In the registry office of the High Court of Chancery, Dublin, is extant an order of said Court, and an injunction also dated June 22, 1691, in a motion between Friar Brien Kennedy and the Convent of St. Augustine in Limerick, plaintiff, and Wm. Lysaght, defendant. The order of the Lord Chancellor, Sir Charles Porter, was, that the defendant, within six days after sight, or due notice thereof, do answer the said petition upon his corporeal oath to be taken upon the Holy Evangelists; and that in the mean time the injunction of this Court do issue to give the plaintiffs the peaceable possession of the said house, until evicted by law or the further order of this Court. Said father Brien Kennedy was prior of this Convent of Limerick, and afterwards provincial of his order in Ireland.—*White's MSS. taken from De Burghe's Appendix to his Historical Collections, page* 318.

[3] There were certificates of Colonel Fitzgerald Villiers for the horses supplied to the troops by Colonel Rice, letters, &c. All these documents were published in four separate papers in 1697. There were petitions at the same time from Captain Morgan O'Bryen, Captain K. O'Bryen, Captain G. Fitzgerald, and other officers of King James's army, who surrendered under the siege of Limerick.—*Thorp's Catalogue of the Southwell MSS.*

which moved the Catholics of Ireland to take arms in 1641, was that all the natives were deprived of the benefit of the ancient fundamental laws, liberties, and privileges, due by all laws and justice to a free people and nation, and more particularly due by the merciful laws of Ireland[1]—but if ever the Irish had reason to take arms—if ever they were driven to the last alternative, it was when they saw all that they had fought and bled for, wrenched from their grasp, by as truculent a piece of treachery as ever was dreamt of by the most corrupt and the falsest of their tyrants. In this war they fought for their legitimate king! There was no rebellion!

Such was the termination of King James's hold on Ireland. Such was the end of the eventful struggle which Limerick made to secure freedom for Irish Catholics. The treaty was signed! The capitulation was made. The articles were agreed to! Alas! that it should be told how soon the treaty was broken!—How speedily faith was violated!—How rapidly English perfidy exhibited the cloven foot when Ireland was again in her power! On the 3rd of October the Treaty was signed! On the 22nd of the same month, the English Parliament excluded Catholics from the Irish Houses of Lords and Commons, by compelling them to take the oaths of supremacy before admission.

[1] Desiderata Curiosa Hibernica.



CHAPTER XXXV.

ASSEMBLAGE OF THE IRISH ARMY ON THE KING'S ISLAND.—ADDRESSES BY THE CATHOLIC BISHOPS AND CLERGY TO THE SOLDIERS, BY SARSFIELD, EARL OF LUCAN, WAUCHOP, &c.—PREPARATIONS FOR THE EMBARKATION—THE EMBARKATION.—"FAREWELL TO PATRICK SARSFIELD."

THE Irish army who had so nobly defended the cause of their country and their religion, and who in the discharge of duty had won the praises even of enemies, which had fully justified the observation, that some years afterwards was made by Francis the 1st of Austria, after having witnessed what had been achieved by the Irish Brigades abroad—when he stated that the true interests of Austria consisted among other things in fostering Irish officers,—for "the more Irish officers there are in the Austrian service," said he, "the better:" "an Irish coward," he added, "is an uncommon character, and what the natives of Ireland even dislike from principle they generally perform from a desire of glory"—this grand army, or what remained of it after two memorable campaigns, assembled in the afternoon of Saturday, the 5th of October, on the King's Island. Some of the Irish soldiery had not as yet left the city. They were all brought together on this memorable occasion in order that Lord Lucan, as he was now called by the English, in accordance with the terms of the Treaty, which acknowledged the title that had been conferred on Patrick Sarsfield by King James, and Wauchop might address them, and acquaint them with the present posture of affairs. This they did in the most impressive manner: they were told, at the same time, that on the next day they should again muster at the same place, when they would meet the bishops and clergy, to whom they had manifested great attachment, and who were to exhort them as to the course they should adopt in the existing emergency. On the following morning, accordingly, each Irish regiment was drawn up at the appointed place of rendezvous—it was a sight calculated to soften the heart and draw tears from the eyes. The noble river ran bright and clear around the Island—the grey old walls of the city which they had defended so well, and the towers of St. Mary's Cathedral were in front of them. Never, probably, in the history of ill-fated nationalities has an incident occurred more touching than the review of this wreck of the loyalist army. There is a natural pathos connected with the circumstances of the assemblage on this occasion of the native warriors, which it would be idle to endeavour to enhance by any attempt at elaborate description or reflection. To each regiment a persuasive discourse was now preached by the Catholic clergy, who with crucifix in hand stood in front of the soldiers, and openly declared the advantages which enlistment in the French service would be to them, and to the country for which they had fought, but for which, they could no longer employ their arms in defence of at home. They stated that France would open up new fields for their bravery, and add fresh laurels to their brows—that they might return again in the course of a short period, to vindicate the rights of the old land, and restore it to its former position.[1] The bishops too went among them, and gave them their blessing; they addressed them encouragingly, and expressed a hope that they would do what was expected at their hands, now that the contest in which they had

[1] See Storey.

fought so gallantly was over, and in which they must have been victors had they not become the victims of deceit and treachery.

To counteract these addresses and exertions of the bishops and clergy, General Ginkle commissioned one of the most expert of his officers to go among the soldiers, and point out to them the great good they were certain to confer upon themselves by enlisting under the banners of England rather than under those of a foreign nation, from which they had not obtained the assistance sought for. Large promises were made of favour, protection, and promotion. Everything was done to induce them to remain at home, rather than swell the ranks of England's enemies abroad. Some time was occupied in this way; at length the flag-staff was raised, and the word was given: those who were for France were to pass to the right, those for England to the left—the respective generals occupying their proper places during this muster. The scene was one which no pencil could pourtray—no pen describe. There was no more chivalrous and magnificent regiment in Europe at the time than the guards of King James, officered by men of rank and ability; the soldiers being picked men, who had won renown wherever they appeared. Their muster roll was 1400 strong. They were all the chosen favourites of the unfortunate monarch in whose cause they had bled, and whose crown they would have secured, had not the fortune of war decreed otherwise. As they advanced to the place for separating, for declaring for France or for England—the entire regiment, with the exception of seven men, and as tradition has it one officer,[1] marched for France! This was a heavy blow and a great discouragement to Ginkle; who could not conceal his mortification when he beheld the flower of the Irish army betake themselves to France. He was compensated somewhat when he saw nearly the entire of Lord Iveagh's regiment of Ulster Irish go off in a body for England, followed by Wilson's, half of Lord Louth's, a considerable number of Clifford's, Purcell's, Lutterel's, and Hussey's—in all, according to Storey, 1046 men, besides double the number, according to the same author, who had passes to go home to their respective residences in Ireland. The number, however, that declared for France was the vast majority. They were not to be diverted by flattery or persuasion. Those who had mustered for England were now plentifully regaled with bread, cheese, brandy, tobacco, &c., and received a fortnight's subsistence. But Ginkle was not satisfied that he did not obtain more men,

[1] Storey says seven men. There is no mention by him of an officer, but Lieutenant Camberlain of Captain Russell's company of the guards, is said to have been the officer. He got a pass from Ginkle to proceed to Dublin, of which the subjoined is a copy. His commission, with the original of which we have been favoured by his descendant maternally, Thomas O'Gorman, Esq. of Rathgorman, Co. Dublin, is signed in the beautiful bold hand of Tyrconnell. This is the pass:—

BY LIEUT GENERAL GINCKELE,
Commandr of their mats fforces in Ireland.

Locum Sigilli,
Whereas George Chamberlaine of the county of Dublin, Eldest lieutenant to the regiment of guards hath submited to their magties government, and as Resident in the garrison of Lymerik is comprehended within the articles and Capitulations whereupon that garrison was surrendered and desires our passport and safe conduct.—These are, therefore, to permitte and suffer the said George Chamberlane, with his servants, horses and rideng armss and Luggage, freely and quietly to pass from hence towards ye Citty of Dublin or elsewhere in this Kingdome without lett or molestation. Given att ye campe by Limerik this 8th of 8 ber, 1691.

BAR DE GINCKELE.

To all officers and soldiers of their mageis army and all others whom it may concerne.

(a true copy).

W. PALMER.

not for his army, but against France. Accordingly he issued another proclamation, in which he offered liberty and permission, to such of the soldiers as would join him, to return to their homes with goods, stock, and families. He gave a promise too, that the rapparees, creights, and volunteers should be also protected if they came in and submitted. He gave directions to his own officers and soldiers that they should not interfere in any way with the freedom of the people. The moment, however, that he had the Irish soldiers within his grasp, he gave them no peace—he regarded them as nothing better than deserters; he disbanded the entire number that had gone over to him, with the exception of two regiments which he placed under the command of Colonel Wilson and Baldearg O'Donnell, both of whom soon afterwards paid dearly for their desertion of their country.

And now came the trying moment of departure! Passes had been already signed by Lord Lucan for such of his friends as were desirous of visiting their homes and remaining there.[1] On the 10th a large portion of Ginkle's army returned from beyond the river, and 1000 Irish horse and dragoons that had gone over to him, were mustered by Allen, a Commissioner. On the 12th the Irish horse regiments that had declared for France, marched through the English-town, out at the west Water-gate, and on for Cork. Storey states that they were numbered, as they passed the English camp, and were not 1000 strong; but this is evidently a mistake.

It was a sight which drew bitter tears from every beholder. Even Ginkle's hardened warriors afforded them a parting sigh as they looked for the last time on the walls of Limerick. The 13th and 14th of the month were occupied in further movements of the troops on both sides; the Irish-town was occupied by an English regiment. Ginkle removed to quarters, leaving Sir David Collier Governor of Limerick. Lord Drogheda's and Lord Lisburn's regiments were encamped outside the walls, until such time as the Irish soldiers had totally evacuated the English-town. Talmash remained, to see that order was observed. The Irish foot-guards now bade adieu to old Limerick with heavy hearts; and went on the road to Cork to take shipping for the land of their destination—Catholic France. We may well judge of the overwhelming grief which their departure occasioned those they left after them. Storey says that they numbered only 482, though they were 1400 when they declared for France; but in this instance too he commits a serious error. On the 14th, provisions and money were distributed among the Irish soldiers who had not gone as yet, and the guns and other war material, which had remained in Limerick, were put in readiness to be sent for embarkation to France. Treaties were now entered into between the French and Irish officers of the one part, and the English officers of the other part, to secure the safe return of the English shipping which was to be employed in conveying a considerable number of the Irish soldiers to France. Sarsfield and Wauchop, D'Ussone and de Tesse, represented the Irish and the French officers; articles of agreement were duly drawn, signed

[1] The following is a copy of one of these passes; it appears in Sir William Betham's Antiquarian Researches: "Pass signed by Patrick Sarsfield Earl of Lucan, General of King James II.'s Army, and Governor of Limerick at the time of the capitulation:—You are hereby required to permit Major Patrick Allen, with his wife and family, together with their goods, buniart,* horses and arms, to pass out of the gates of this garrison without any lett, hindrance, or molestatioun, in order to his going to his home in Leinster, to enjoy his estate, pursuant to the cappittulation and articles made hereine. Lymbrick, dat. this seventh day of October, 1691.

LUCAN"

* The Irish for footmen.

and delivered on the 14th of October. In these articles it was distinctly promised, in the event of the violation of any of the terms of the treaty, that in addition to Colonel Hugh Mac Mahon, Colonel Arthur, Colonel O'Gara, &c. who were to be left in Ireland as hostages, they (Lucan, Wauchop, &c.) would, on their word and honour, surrender themselves prisoners of war three months after their landing, to the English Secretaries of State.

The memorable 16th of October came; and on that day Patrick Sarsfield the illustrious Irishman,[1] left Limerick for Cork in order to see everything placed in readiness for the embarkation of the troops.[2] The regiments of

[1] During his residence in Limerick, tradition states that he resided in the narrow street now known by the name of Pump Lane, in the house next door to the ancient building known as Queen Anne's prison, but evidently built a few centuries before the reign of that Queen.

[2] I will here give an account of the Sarsfields, Viscounts of Kilmallock, and of the Sarsfields, Earl of Lucan, by Aaron Crossley of Dublin.* It will be seen that Patrick Sarsfield was no adventurer, no *novus homo*, no *parvenu*, but that the most ancient blood of Ireland ran through his veins:—

"The Most Noble Potent and Honourable Sir Dominick Sarsfield, Viscount Kilmallock, Lord Baron of Barret's Country, and Primear Baronet of Ireland.

CREATION.

"Primear Baronet of Ireland, by Patent September 30, 1619. 16 Jac. I.

"Lord Baron of Barret's Country, Lord Viscount Kilmallock, by Patent dated May 8, 1625.

"Lord Chief Justice of the Common Pleas.

"Attorney-General of Munster, Sept. 4, 42 Eliz. And one of the Lords of his Majesty's Most Hon. Privy Council of Ireland.

The Family of Kilmallock.

"Sir Dominick Sarsfield was second son of Edmond, and brother to John; he was created Lord Baron of Ireland, and Viscount Kinsale, by Letters Patent granted at New Market the 13th of February, by King James I. of England, in the 22nd year of his Reign, 1624; but King Charles I. he changed the Title of Kinsale to Kilmallock, the third year of his Reign, by reason, that the Lord Baron Courcey challenged the said title of Kinsale, but the title of Lord Viscount Kilmallock was continued still, by Patent to Sir Dominick, from the time he was created Lord Viscount Kinsale.

"The Original Patent was in my custody in King James II.'s time.

"This Henry had a Son named John, the father of David, who was father of Henry, whose son John, was Admiral of the Fleet of King Henry VI. of England; he married a daughter of — Purcill's, she bore him two sons, Edmond and Roger.

"This Edmond had two sons, viz. John and Sir Dominick.

"John had two sons, Patrick and James, Patrick married Hellin daughter to — White, and by her had John, Francis, Jeoffry, Ignatius, and Hellin; she was married to Jeoffrey Galway.

"John the eldest married Catherine, daughter to — Purdon, by her had Francis now living; James 2nd, son of John and brother aforesaid, married Hellin Rice, and by her had Paul, who went to Nantz in France, in Oliver Cromwell's time, and married there a French gentlewoman, and by her had Sir James Sarsfield, now living in France.

The Family of Lucan.

"Roger, second son of John, who was thirteen years Admiral to King Henry VI. as abovesaid, was married to a daughter of Christopher Cusack of Kilmallock in the County of Meath, and had by her John of Sarsfieldstown, in the said County, and by her had two sons, Patrick and William; Patrick was Mayor of Dublin anno 1554; he died sans issue.

"Sir William chosen Mayor of Dublin anno 1566, and in the same year Sir Henry Sidney being Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, and Knight of the Most Noble Order of the Garter, in the Ninth Year of Queen Elizabeth; he being in England and his Lady in Drogheda.

"John O'Neil came to surprise Drogheda with a strong party, whereupon the Lady Sidney sent to Dublin, and the said Sir William with all speed marched with a select party of horse and foot towards Drogheda, fought and routed John O'Neil and all his adherents, and by that means rescued the Lady Sidney from the danger she was likely to undergo; for which service the Lord Sidney, on his return to Ireland, knighted him in Christ Church, Dublin.

"This Sir William married Margaret, daughter to Andrew Terrill of Athboy, and by her had John, Patrick, and two daughters.

"John married Margaret daughter to Sir Lucas Dillon, and by her had William, Lucas, Robert, and Johanna; this William married Anne, daughter to Sir Patrick Barnewell, Knt. Patrick, second son of Sir William, married Mable Fitzgerald, and by her had Peter and many other children.

* Aaron Crossley's Peerage of Ireland. Dublin, 1725.

Eustace, Talbot, Bedloe, the Prince of Wales, Clanricarde and Colonel Birmingham, now joined, and made in all 618 men. It is said by Storey that as they marched through the Irish-town, all their officers could do could not prevent some of them running away. On the 17th, 18th, and 19th, the Inniskilling regiment which had been in Clare, and other regiments mustered beyond the city and prepared to move for Cork, where the shipping lay to receive them. Sarsfield had vigorously and successfully done his part in reference to the preparations for the embarkation. The "wild geese" at length made their flight from old Ireland; and the songs of their country were sung, as they caught the last glimpse of Erin, the land they loved so well, and on whose green fields the bones of so many thousands of their brothers in arms and companions in sympathy, were now bleaching! From Limerick a division of 4736 men, under the command of Generals d'Usson and Tessé, sailed in French ships. Wauchop followed in eight ships from Limerick, with 3000 men. Sarsfield, who had previously gone to Cork, remained there one month, and reached Brest on the 3rd of December. 1691. A dream occupied the minds of these noble men that they would again see the homes of their deepest affections, and rejoice in the restored liberties of their country. Alas! it was but a dream. Gloomier days were in store for Ireland, and the wail of grief, which was heard from mountain and valley when they went, was expressed by bard and poet in heart-touching verses, some of which have come down to us from those distant days fresh with unfading beauty, and warm with the life of genius. Farewell to Patrick Sarsfield was one of them.[1]

"This Peter married Elinor, daughter to Terlogh O'Dempsey, Lord Viscount Glanmalier, and had by her Patrick; he married Anne daughter to Roger Moor, and by her had Patrick, created Lord Lucan by King James II. anno 1688. This Patrick was General to King James's Army, and married Honora daughter to the Earl of Clanrickard, who bore him one son named Jacobvs, Franciscus, Edvardus.

☞ "William Hawkins, Ulster, witnesseth that on the 4th day of July, 1714, the following account of this family (in these words):—

"That Thomas Sarsfield was Standard bearer to King Henry II. of England, in the year of our Lord 1180. He was father to Richard Sarsfield, who was Captain-General under King Henry III. of England, anno 1230.

"This Richard had two sons, viz. Sarsfield and Henry, and Sarsfield had a son named Sarsfield, and Henry had a son named Henry, who came to Ireland and lived in Cork for some time, and married the daughter of Fitzgerald, by whom he had the Lands from Bealogh Favrye to Kilmallock, six miles in length in the County of Limerick, which fruitful and pleasant estate he and his posterity enjoyed, together with the said Kilmallock for many generations."

The Genealogy aforesaid, from Thomas the first of this family of the Sarsfields to John, who lived in the reign of Henry VI., I had it out of old Irish books, now in the custody of Hugh Mac Curtain, *alias* Curtis, one of the chief Antiquaries of the kingdom of Ireland, and from several other relations of the families, to the year 1640; and the rest I had out of the books of my own office (there being little or nothing in it) and out of several warrantable authors; and also from ancient gentlemen of worth and credit.—In witness whereof, *Nostri saluti fieri* 1714.

ARMS—Parted per Pale Ruby and Pearl, a Fleur-de-luce of the 2nd, and Diamond.

CREST—On a Wreath of his Colours, a Leopard's Face Topaz.

SUPPORTERS—Supported by two Wolves Sapphire, collared and chained Topaz.

MOTTO—*Virtus non vertitur.*

[1] SEAN CHUAN PADRAIC SAIRSEAL.

*From the "Poets and Poetry of Munster."**

A Phadraic Sairséal slán go d-tí' tú!
O chuadair do'n Fhraingc 's do champaigh tsaoilte,
Ag déanamh do Ghearrain leir na Rígte,
'S d'fhág tú Cinne 'gus Gaoidheil-bhoicht claoidte!
Och! ochón!

A Phadraic Sairséal ir duine le Dia tú,
Ir beannaighte an talamh an fhúbair tú mian ain;
Gorm-beannaighe an Ghealach Geal 'ran Ghrian bhuic,
O chuig tú an la o lamha Rígh Uilliam leac.
Och! &c.

* O'Daly, Dublin.

One of the French vessels, which bore off 400 men from Limerick, and many valuable treasures, ran upon a rock near Kilrush, and about 100 men were drowned.

A Phadraic Sairséal zuide zać n-duine leat,
Mo żuide-si féin 'r zuide mic Muire leat;
O tóiz tú an t-Ać-Caol az zabail tre Bhiorra duit,
'S zur az Cuillinn O' z-Cuanad buadaz leat luimneać.
Och! ꝛc.

Zeabad-sa siar an sliab-sa am aonar,
'S zeabad a niar a rís mar féidir;
Is ann do ċonarc mé an campa zaod'lać,
An dream boċt silte nár ċuir le na ċéile!
Och! ꝛc.

Brise na Cruiminne 'r brise na Boinne,
'S an trímúżad brise az Móta Zhrainne óize;
An ceatramad brise an Eać-Dhruim dia-Doṁnaiż,
'S buaileaz buille drum oruinn az tobar Ríż an Doṁnaiż.
Och! ꝛc.

Mo ċúiz céad slán ċúżaib a hallaoi luimnid,
'S ċum na buidin áluinn do bí 'nár z-cuideaċtad;
Bhídeaċ teinte cnáṁa 'zuinn, is cartaiże imeartа,
'S briaṫra Dé dá léażaṁ zo minic dúinn.
Och! ꝛc.

A Lundain Doire, bolzaċ ċúżat-sa,
Air nós na sżáile air lasa le púżdar:
'S a liaċt farraire fada fionn-lubaċ,
Zan forz' ó'n n-zaoiṫ, 'na criad dá z-cúṁdaċ!
Och! ꝛc.

Do bí mé air ṙliab la breaż zréine
Do ċonarc na Sazranaiċ a b-foċair a ċéile;
An cór capall ba deise bí n-Eire,
O! coimêad dam na bodaiz zo m-bainfead zé asda
Och! ꝛc.

Is iomda saiżdiuir meażraċ, meanamnaċ,
Do żaib an t-slíże-si le seaċt seaċtṁuine;
Faoi żunad, faoi ṗicead, 'r faoi ċloideaṁ cinn airzid,
Aċt taid siad sínte ṙíor an Eaċ-druim!
Och! ꝛc.

Cia súd tall air ċnoc Bheinn-Eidir?
Saiżdiuir boċt mé le Riż Séamur;
Do bí mé a nurraiż a n-arm 'sa n-éadaċ,
Aċt 'taim a m-bliażannad az iarraid déirce!
Och! ꝛc.

Is é mo ċreaċ mar do ċailleamair Diarmuid,
Bhí ceann an szaṫfaire air halbart iarruinn;
Bhí a ċuid feóla dá sraca 'sa bratać dá stiallad,
'S zan fáżail ċarda 'ze dá b-fażaċ sé Dia air!
Och! ꝛc.

Is é mo ċreaċ-sa an t-sraiṫ dá tóżban,
An dá ḟear déaz do bí ór cionn Feóraċ;
Mo diar dearbráṫar as iad is zleó liom,
Aċc mo ċúiz céad díoṫ-ċuir Diarmuid an t-óizḟear!
Och! ꝛc.

Do cuiread an céad brise orruinn az droiċead na Boinne,
An dara brise az droiċead na Sláinze
An trímúżad brise an Eaċ-druim Ui Cheallaiż
'S Eire ċúbarṫa mo ċúiz céad slán leat!
Och! ꝛc.

An uair las an teaċ bí an deataċ dar múċad,
'S clann Bhil bradaiż dar n-zreada le púżdar;
Ni'l aon *Volley-shot* dá szaoilidir fúżainne,
Ná fiafraideaċ *Colonel Mitchel* ar leazad *Lord Lucan!*
Och! ꝛc.

By November, the last of the Irish army had left Limerick. We throw a veil over the agony endured by their wives and families as they were

Tá leaſúʒad aʒ O'Ceallaiʒ naċ ʒaiṅiṁ ná ꝼuiʒleaċ,
Aċt ſaiʒdiuiṙide tapa déanꝼad ʒaiſʒe le ṗicead;
A ꝼáʒꝼad iad a ṅ-Eaċ-dṙuiṁ na ſraċaṅṅad ſiṅte,
Maṙ beiḋeaċ ꝼeoil ċapaill aʒ madṙaiḋe dá ſraoile!
Och! ꝛc.

Aṅṅ ſúd atá ſiad bárṙ uaiſle Eiṙioṅṅ,
Diuicíde, búṙcaiʒ, 'ſ mac Riʒ Séamuſ;
Captaoiṅ Talbóid cṙoiḋe na ꝼéile,
'S Pádṙaic Sáiṙſéal! ʒṙad ban Eiṙioṅṅ
Och! ochóṅ!

TRANSLATION.

A FAREWELL TO PATRICK SARSFIELD.

Farewell, O, Patrick Sarsfield! May luck be on your path!
Your camp is broken up—your work is marred for years;
But you go to kindle into flame the king of France's wrath,
Though you leave sick Eire in tears.
Och! ochone!

May the white sun and moon rain glory on your head,
All hero, as you are, and holy Man of God!
To you the Saxons owe a many an hour of dread,
In the land you have often trod.
Och! ochone!

The Son of Mary guard you and bless you to the end!
'Tis altered is the time since your legions were astir,
When, at Cullen, you were hailed as the Conqueror and Friend,
And you crossed Narrow-water, near Birr.
Och! ochone!

I'll journey to the North, over mount, moor, and wave,
'Twas there I first beheld, drawn up in file and line,
The brilliant Irish hosts—they were bravest of the brave!
But, alas! they scorned to combine!
Och! ochone!

I saw the royal Boyne, when its billows flashed with blood;
I fought at Graine Og, where a thousand horsemen fell;
On the dark, empurpled field of Aughrim, too, I stood,
On the plain by Tubberdonny's Well.
Och! ochone!

To the heroes of Limerick, the City of the Fights,
Be my best blessing, borne on the wings of the air!
We had card-playing there, o'er our camp-fires at night,
And the Word of Life, too, and prayer,
Och! ochone!

But, for you, Londonderry, may Plague smite and slay
Your people!—May Ruin desolate you, stone by stone!
Through you a many a gallant youth lies coffinless to-day,
With the winds for mourners alone!
Och! ochone!

I clomb the high hill on a fair summer noon,
And saw the Saxon Muster, clad in armour, blinding bright,
Oh, rage withheld my hand, or gunsman and dragoon
Should have supped with Satan that night!
Och! ochone!

How many a noble soldier, how many a cavalier,
Careered along this road, seven fleeting weeks ago,
With silver-hilted sword, with matchlock, and with spear,
Who now, *mo bhron*, lieth low!
Och! ochone!

thus deprived of husbands, and brothers, and friends! Many wives and daughters of these self-expatriated warriors were drowned in attempting to go on board the transports; whilst the hands and arms of others of them were cut to pieces, in order to compel them to relinquish their hold of the ships that carried away those whom they cherished with the deepest affection. The loss to Ireland was incalculable.

The numbers of the Irish who went off to France, were nineteen thousand and fifty-nine, officers included, besides the brigade of Lord Mount Cashell then in France, consisting of three regiments, each composed of two battalions, forming one thousand six hundred men, in sixteen companies, under the names of Mountcashell. O'Brien and Dillon.[1]

All hail to thee, Beinn Eadair! But, ah, on thy brow
I see a limping soldier, who battled, and who bled
Last year in the cause of the Stuart, though now
The worthy is begging his bread!
Och! ochone!

And *Diarmuid!* oh, *Diarmuid!* he perished in the strife;
His head it was spiked on a halbert high;
His colours they were trampled; he had no chance of life,
If the Lord God himself stood by!
Och! ochone!

But most, oh, my woe! I lament, and lament
For the ten valiant heroes who dwelt nigh the Nore;
And my three blessed brothers! They left me, and they went
To the wars, and returned no more!
Och! ochone!

On the Bridge of the Boyne was our first overthrow;
By Slaney, the next, for we battled without rest;
The third was at Aughrim. Oh, Eire! thy woe
Is a sword in my bleeding breast!
Och! ochone!

O! the roof above our heads it was barbarously fired,
While the black Orange guns blazed and bellowed around!
And as volley followed volley, Colonel Mitchel inquired
Whether Lucan still stood his ground,
Och! ochone!

But O'Kelly still remains, to defy and to toil;
He has memories that Hell won't permit him to forget,
And a sword that will make the blue blood flow like oil
Upon many an Aughrim yet!
Och! ochone!

And I never shall believe that my Fatherland can fall,
With the Burkes, and the Dukes, and the son of Royal James;
And Talbot the Captain, and SARSFIELD, above all,
The beloved of damsels and dames.
Och! ochone!

[1] THE BRIGADES OF THE FIRST FORMATION.

1. Mountcashel; infantry, 1,600. Lieutenant-General Lord Mountcashel. M'Carthy was wounded in Savoy in 1690, and died at Barege same year. Who succeeded him we cannot say; but in 1703 Buckley got the regiment, and in 1775 it was drafted into the Dublin regiment

N.B.—The Irish regiments were usually called by the name of the commander for the time being. Thus this regiment was called Mountcashel in 1690; then Buckley. The King's cavalry was successively called Sheldon, Nugent, and Fitzjames; and so of the rest.

2. O'Brien; infantry, 1,600. Changed its name to Clare in 1691, when its colonel, Daniel O'Brien, became Lord Clare. On his death at Pignerol, Lee succeeded to the command. It was drafted into Berwick in 1775, on the last reconstruction of the Brigade. John Macnamara was first, and James Philips second lieutenant-colonel, and Browne was major of this regiment. Lord Clare's Dragoons were considered the flower of King James's army. On the 11th of May, 1706, Charles the Fifth Viscount Clare, was killed at the battle of Ramillies; and on the 20th of May, 1742, the eldest son of the fifth and last Lord Viscount Clare, a colonel in one of the

In reference to Storey (Dean of St. Mary's Cathedral) who has accompanied us so long in our history of these campaigns, it may be stated that he married Catherine Warter, who, with Margaret Warter, was co-heiress of Edward Warter, Esq. of Bilboe, count Limerick, 1701, who (Catherine) presented this petition to King William, June 28, 1701 :[1]

"Represents the yearly rental of Warter's estate to be £500, but was unfortunately the seat of war. Cullen, a market town, was burned by Patrick Sarsfield, afterwards Lord Lucan; and William the Third, some days after, gave General Ellenberg orders to blow up the Castle. The Irish burned the Manor House; and the Dutch and English armies burned the market town of Bilboe; so that, by being laid waste, the whole damage estimated at £13068."

Purcell, Baron of Loughmoe, though one of the commissioners for arranging the Treaty of surrender, and who was specially privileged to avail himself of the articles of Limerick, preferred to proceed to France with King James, and thus he incurred the forfeiture of his title and property.[2] It is supposed that the attainder of Lord Galmoy occurred for the same cause. These titles have not been revived.

Irish regiments in the French service, died at Prague, in Bohemia.—He was commonly called Lord Clare.

3. Dillon; infantry, 1,600. Retained its name and hereditary commanders till the French Revolution. Two of its colonels died at its head in the battles of Lanfield and Fontenoy. We believe General Dillon, who was massacred in 1793, was one of the same family.

SECOND FORMATION.

King's body guard. This was disbanded in 1698.

CAVALRY.

1. The King's regiment of cavalry, 300:—Dominick Sheldon, colonel; Edmond Prendergast, lieutenant-colonel; Edmond Butler, major; 4 captains, 6 lieutenants, 6 cornets.

2. The Queen's regiment of cavalry, 300:—Lord Galmoy, colonel; Rene-de-Carne, a Frenchman, lieutenant-colonel; James Tobin, major; 4 captains, 6 lieutenants, 6 cornets.

DISMOUNTED DRAGOONS.

3. The King's regiment of dragoons, 600:—Lord Viscount Kilmallock (Sarsfield), colonel; Turenne O'Carroll, lieutenant-colonel; De Salles, a Frenchman, major; 5 captains, 14 lieutenants, 14 cornets.

4. The Queen's regiment of dragoons, 600:—Charles Viscount Clare, colonel; Alexander Barnewal, lieutenant-colonel; Charles Maxwell, major; 5 captains, 14 lieutenants, 14 cornets.

INFANTRY.

5. The King's infantry regiment of guards, 1,600:—William Dorrington, colonel; Oliver O'Gara, lieutenant-colonel; John Rothe, major; 12 captains, 28 lieutenants, 28 sub-lieutenants, 14 ensigns.

6. The Queen's regiment of infantry, 1,600:—Simon Luttrel, colonel; Francis Wachop, lieutenant-colonel; James O'Brien, major; 12 captains, 28 lieutenants, 28 sub-lieutenants, 14 ensigns,

7. An infantry regiment of marines, 1,600:—The Lord Grand-prior Fitzjames, colonel; Nicholas Fitzgerald, lieutenant-colonel; Richard Nugent another lieutenant-colonel; Edmond O'Madden, major; 11 captains, 28 lieutenants, 28 sub-lieutenants, 14 ensigns.

8. The Limerick regiment of infantry, 1,600:—Sir John Fitzgerald, colonel; Jeremiah O'Mahony, lieutenant-colonel; William Therry, major; 12 captains, 28 lieutenants, 28 sub-lieutenants, 14 ensigns.

9. The Charlemont regiment of infantry, 1,600:—Gordon O'Neill, colonel; Hugh M'Mahon, lieutenant-colonel; Edmond Murphy, major; 12 captains, 28 lieutenants, 28 sub-lieutenants, 14 ensigns.

10. The Dublin regiment of infantry, 1,600:—John Power, colonel; John Power, lieutenant-colonel; Theobold Burke, major; 12 captains, 28 lieutenants, 28 sub-lieutenants, 14 ensigns.

11. The Athlone regiment of infantry, 1,600:—Walter Burke, colonel; Owen Mac-Carthy, lieutenant-colonel; Edmond Cantwell, major; 12 captains, 28 lieutenants, 28 sub-lieutenants, 14 ensigns.

12. The Clancarty regiment of infantry, 800:—Roger Mac-Elligot, colonel; Edward Scott, lieutenant-colonel; Cornelius Murphy, major; 6 captains, 16 lieutenants, 16 sub-lieutenants, 8 ensigns.

[1] Thorpe's Catalogue of the Southwell MSS.

[2] The ruins of the great baronial castle of the Purcells adjoin the humble hamlet of Loughmoe, Co. Tipperary, within a few miles of Templemore, on the Great S. and W. Railway.

Of the troops above referred to some were regimented in Ireland, others in France, so that colonels became captains, &c. The regiments of O'Neal, O'Donnell, MacDonnell, Maguire, MacMahon, Magennis, were incorporated, so was that of O'Reilly; and in 1695 all the Irish troops were reduced to twelve regiments which we recapitulate in the following summary :—

"I.	HORSE,	The King's Regiment of Cavalry 300, Dominick Sheldon, Colonel, Edmond Prendergast, Lieutenant-Colonel, Edmund Butler, Major, Four Captains, six Lieutenants, and six Cornets.
II.	Do.	The Queen's Regiment of Cavalry 300, Lord Galmoy, Colonel, Rene de Carne, Lieut.-Col. James Tobin, Major, four Captains, six Lieutenants, and six Cornets.
III.	DRAGOONS,	The King's Regiment of Dragoons 600, Sarsfield, Lord Kilmallock, Colonel, Turenne O'Carroll (godson to the Marshal) Lieutenant-Colonel, De Salis, a Frenchman, Major, Five Captains, fourteen Lieutenants, and fourteen Cornets.
IV.	Do.	The Queen's Regiment of Dragoons 600, Charles Viscount Clare, Colonel, Alexander Barnwell, Lieut.-Col., Charles Maxwell, Major, Five Captains, fourteen Lieutenants, and fourteen Cornets.
V.	INFANTRY,	The King's Infantry Regiment of Guards 1600, Wm. Dorrington, Colonel, Oliver O'Gara, Lieut.-Col., John Rothe, Major, 12 Captains, 28 Lieutenants, 28 second Lieutenants, and fourteen Ensigns.
VI.	Do.	The Queen's Infantry Regiment of Guards 1600, Simon Lutterel, Colonel, Francis Wauchop, Lieut.-Col., James O'Brien, Major, Twelve Captains, twenty-eight Lieutenants, twenty-eight second Lieutenants and Fourteen Ensigns.
VII.	Do.	The Infantry Regiment of Marine 1600, Lord Grand Prior Fitzjames, Colonel, Nicholas Fitz Gerald, Lieutenant-Colonel, Richard Nugent, ditto, Edmond O'Madden, Major, Eleven Captains, twenty-eight Lieutenants, twenty-eight second Lieutenants, and fourteen Ensigns.
VIII.	Do.	Regiment of Limerick, of Infantry 1600, Sir John Fitz Gerald, Colonel, Jeremiah O'Mahony, Lieutenant-Colonel, William Therry, Major, Twelve Captains, twenty-eight Lieuts., twenty-eight second Lieuts., and fourteen Ensigns.

IX. INFANTRY. Regiment of Charlemont, of Infantry 1600,
Gordon O'Neal, Colonel,
Hugh M'Mahon, Lieutenant Colonel,
Edmond O'Murphy, Major,
Twelve Captains, twenty-eight Lieutenants, twenty-eight second Lieutenants, and fourteen Ensigns.

X. Do. Regiment of Dublin, Infantry 1600,
John Power, Colonel,
John Power, Lieutenant-Colonel,
Theobald Burke, Major,
Twelve Captains, twenty-eight Lieutenants, twenty-eight second Lieutenants, and fourteen Ensigns.

XI. Do. Regiment of Athlone, Infantry 1600,
Walter Bourke, Colonel,
Owen M'Carthy, Lieutenant-Colonel,
Edmond Cantwell, Major,
Twelve Captains, twenty-eight Lieutenants, twenty-eight second Lieutenants, and fourteen Ensigns.

XII. Do. Regiment of Clancarty, Infantry 800,
Roger Mac Elligot, Colonel,
Edmond Stot, Lieutenant-Colonel,
Cornelius O'Murphy, Major,
Six Captains, sixteen Lieutenants, sixteen second Lieutenants, and eight Ensigns."

An amnesty was proclaimed in a short time, of which Galloping Hogan is stated by Storey,[1] to have taken advantage, adding, that he was murdered near Roscrea soon afterwards by certain rapparees who had not submitted.

Never in the chequered pages of our eventful history did the Irish prove truer or more powerful than in the sieges, and never did they merit more the praises that have been heaped upon them by all impartial witnesses of their valour, heroism, perseverance, and devotion to the cause they espoused with so much disinterested self-abnegation. Not only did they not obtain the advantages which heroism, constancy and valor, such as theirs should have commanded, but they were betrayed and sold, and treated with a treachery unparalleled in the annals of history.

We do not know that the "*Groans of Ireland*"[2] was ever published; but that extraordinary production of "O'Neale, the Chief of an ancient family of Ireland," makes a complaint regarding the extreme sufferings of his countrymen who went into exile in France—complaints which it is to be apprehended were justified by the state of facts, in which they were the sufferers.

We do not believe with the writer of that manuscript that the Earl of Lucan and Major General John Wauchop "projected only to build their own fortunes on the ruins of the Irish." I am certain there never was a purer patriot, a nobler spirit, a more thoroughly devoted soul than Patrick Sarsfield. But the Irish who went to France did not fare well. We quote the following horrible details of their intense miseries from the MS. in question :—

"But alas! it is a miserable sight to see the condition the poor gentlemen

[1] GEORGE STOREY, the Historian of the Williamite campaigns, obtain d the Deanery of St. Mary's Cathedral, Limerick, from William III.

[2] Thorpe's Catalogue of the Southwell MSS.

are in, and the women and children invited to go along with their husbands are now begging their bread from door to door, and cannot get it. I saw Lieutenants, Ensines, and Sub-Lieutenants, who were Lieutenant-Colonels, Majors and Captains in Ireland, that were forced to turn off their wives, to shun a misery equal to that of the last campaign; and I know others who saw not their children since they came to France, and they knew not whether they live in misery or were starved to death, for when they were reduced in France to fourpence a day, they were obliged to leave their children to the wide world, only to lament with the Prophet Jeremiah, 'that their children lay naked in a starving condition at the top of every street.' I was one of the number. History is most pitiable."

No doubt our countrymen were deceived; promises were broken; no effort was made to save them—the ink was not dry on the Treaty—the last transport had not left Carrigaholt, when the men who purchased Lutterel, broke the Treaty in unmistakable terms. The people became helpless, wretched, the sport and pastime of insolent, bigoted, outrageous foreigners—"aliens in blood, aliens in language, aliens in religion," to the Irish. They sighed to leave Ireland for France or Spain, or any other land in which they might freely perform the duties of their religion. By a curious coincidence Lauzun and other French officers who fought in Limerick, met the English afterwards on the plains of Steynkirk, &c., where Talmash, and others fell, and on the fatal field of Landen the immortal Patrick Sarsfield gave out his life blood, exclaiming "O that this were shed for Ireland!" One of the great complaints, no doubt, against King James was his want of money, and his coinage of the brass and gun money. It is true that on his arrival in Ireland in March, 1689, he had found that besides the great deficiency of his supporters in all the requisites of an army but men, his Irish government were sadly deficient in funds, having "no money in cash." The prospects of the civil war had effectually drained the country of gold and silver, by the flight to England of the wealthier classess, who, of course, left as little as they could of their property behind them. In this financial difficulty the King raised the value of gold 20 *per cent.*, and the English silver eight one-third *per cent.* only, and other foreign gold and silver specie in proportion; that what little money was left in the kingdom, and the few thousand livres he had borrowed from the French King, might go a greater way,[1] and having also in view the superior facility of carriage of guineas as compared with crowns and other silver coins. The first monetary measure adopted by the king was to issue, after his arrival in Dublin, a proclamation for raising the value of English and foreign gold and silver coin, the Exchange having before the revolution been strictly at par. Another proclamation was issued in May, but the money not coming in fast enough, the king having laid aside the patent granted by him four years before to Sir John Knox, and then in the hands of Colonel Roger Moore, set up mints of his own; one in the deanery house, Limerick, the other in Capel-street, Dublin. Several commissioners were appointed to direct these mints, the one named for Limerick being Walter Plunket, which being settled they went to work, and King James on the 18th of June, issued a proclamation for making two sorts of money, of brass and copper, mixed metal, current in this kingdom. The one for twelve, and the other for sixpence.[2] The king on this occasion

[1] Symon's Essay on Irish Coins, pp. 56, 57.
[2] See Symon's Essay on Irish Coins, and Snelling's Supplement.

caused among other metals that of "old guns" to be employed as a temporary equivalent for gold and silver, and which his proclamation promised to redeem on the expiration of the "present necessity." This "gun money," of which there were shillings and sixpences, the latter marked with the date 1689; the former dated 1689 and 1690, and both giving the day of the month, seems to have been coined at Limerick, at least the shillings, for, from the battle of the Boyne to the end of the war in the autumn of 1691, Limerick was the Jacobite metropolis of Ireland.[1] We have several of these coins in our posession.

At the first appearance of this money the Protestants in Dublin objected to take it, but were soon compelled to do so. They were not, however, the principal losers when James's credit broke. The Catholics were by far the most numerous holders of his promissory tokens. This coin declined on its being more abundantly circulated. But against the truth of the statement, that it was calculated to ruin Ireland by destroying trade, we may set off the words of O'Halloran, who was born in Limerick, in 1728, or only about 27 years after the war of the revolution, that it was by means of a barter trade with France, in which the Irish gave their wool, hides, tallow, and butter, for powder, ball, and arms, that the war was so long maintained against William. O'Halloran is supported in this statement by the official information of King William's Lord Justice for Ireland, Coningsby, in the State Paper Office, London. The Duke of Tyrconnell called in this brass money, from which on the 22nd of February following, the Williamite government took away all currency.[2] "Hibernias" were coined in Limerick some time before the last siege, viz. early in 1691; they are of very inferior metal, and bear the designation of Hibernias from the fact, that the figure of Hibernia, seated with cross in hand, is on the obverse, with the legend Hibernia. This coin is sometimes met with in Limerick up to the present day.

This weak and persecuted King died on Friday the 15th of September, 1701, N.S. He seemed to be but little concerned in all his misfortunes; and was the most easy, when least troubled by those airy schemes, upon which his Queen was constantly employing her thoughts. Hunting was his chief diversion; and for the most part he led a harmless innocent life, being zealous for the old faith. In September he fell into such fits, that it was concluded he could not live many days. The French King visited him, seemed much affected with the sight, and repeated, what he had before promised to his Queen, that he would, in case of his death, own the "pretended" Prince of Wales, as King of England. He died on Friday the 15th of September, N.S. (not full 68 years old) with great marks of devotion, and was interred, according to his desire, in the Church of the English Benedictines, in the Suburbs of St. James at Paris, in a private manner, without any solemnity. Indeed the account given by Catholic writers of his latter life is singularly edifying, but, alas! he bequeathed intense miseries in Ireland. His remains were re-interred by George IV. of England.

[1] Notes and Illustrations on the *Macariæ Excidium*, (p. 403).
[2] Harris's Life of William III. p. 279, &c.

CHAPTER XXXVI.

LEGAL STATUS OF THE IRISH CATHOLICS UNDER THE TREATY.—HOW THE TREATY WAS OBSERVED.—ENACTMENT OF THE PENAL CODE.—HORRORS ON HORRORS.

To understand the great importance of the privileges secured by the Treaty of Limerick, we should remember that no oath but the oath of allegiance to William and Mary was exacted from Irish Roman Catholics submitting to their government, anxious to preserve their property or looking for office. This stipulation was violated by the subsequent introduction of the oaths of abjuration and supremacy, and the required subscription to declarations against the principal tenets of their faith. By the principal of the articles of Limerick the Roman Catholics of this kingdom were to enjoy such privileges in the exercise of their religion as were consistent with the laws of Ireland; or as they did enjoy in the reign of Charles II.[1] Now how stood the laws of Ireland in that reign? The Irish Statute book, to use the words of Lord Macaulay, "though afterwards polluted by intolerance as barbarous as that of the dark ages, then contained scarcely a single enactment, and not a single stringent enactment imposing any penalty on papists as such." In England the case was very different. There priests receiving neophytes into the Church of Rome were liable to be hanged, drawn, and quartered. Jesuits held "their lives in their hands;" intending barristers or schoolmasters were obliged to take the oath of supremacy, which was required of every man taking office. In Ireland, on the contrary, the Jesuit was safe. The oath of supremacy was not required unless formally tendered to public functionaries, and therefore, did not exclude from office those whom the government wished to promote; the sacramental test and declarations against Transubstantiation were unknown; nor was either house of parliament closed against any religious sect. Lord Macaulay has thus concentrated, in a few sentences, the exact relative and comparative positions of Catholics in England and Ireland before and after the signing of the Treaty of Limerick. Like those Ultra-Protestants of the present time, who talk of getting the Catholic Emancipation Act repealed, there were not wanting persons in those days, who, repining at the working of any favourable articles with the Irish, openly declared, as the Protestant Jacobite, Dr. Leslie informs us, "that they would have them reversed in parliament;" as indeed they afterwards were in effect, though not all in form. As for William himself, though during the congress at Reswick he passed a new law for the rooting out of popery; it does not appear that he differed in opinion from the moderate Protestants, who, as Harris says, thought it for his majesty's honour and interest abroad and at home that the articles should be strictly observed. Unfortunately these moderate Protestants constituted the minority,[2] as the army had been remodelled in such a way by the Duke of Tyrconnell that Protestant officers were generally displaced in favour of Catholics. The sufferings of James's military followers fell almost entirely on the members of that profession,

[1] History of England, Vol. II. pp. 127-8. London, 1849.
[2] O'Callaghan's Notes on the Macariæ Excidium, p. 493.

while the private soldiers and others who came out of Limerick, and other of James's quarters, were shot down, and hung up in many cases without the ceremony of a trial, under the pretence of being Rapparees. In these barbarous outrages, which were repeated with singular coincidence, on perhaps a larger scale in 1798, the Anglo-Irish militia, or Protestant yeomanry, which acted in aid of the regular Williamite army, and numbered at least 25000 men, won for themselves an unenviable distinction. By the deportation of the Jacobite army, the Irish aristocracy if not destroyed, as an eminent modern Irish historian[1] expresses it, was at least seriously diminished. That army was officered out of all the Irish septs, native and of English descent, and Lord Macaulay is totally in error when he described so many of these officers of plebeian origin: any one who runs his eye over the index of D'Alton's King James's Army List, will see that we are borne out in this statement; for there is not one Catholic family in Ireland of eminence which is not represented among that brave, but unfortunate host, who, after fighting against vastly superior numbers, and the resources of England and Holland, besides Protestant Ireland, "buried the Synagogue with honour," at last, as one of their gallant countrymen, the chevalier Charles Wogan, expresses it, and when they could no longer defend their country, went into honourable exile rather than submit to the rule of one whom they believed to be a usurper. We cannot but deplore with Colonel O'Kelly, that there was no stipulation made in the treaty in favour of prisoners, or of the orphans of those who were slain in the service of their prince and the defence of their country; that those who left their native soil might never, without the special permission of the King, ever visit it again without being liable to be executed; and that those who made the unfortunate choice to remain in Ireland, had nothing in prospect but contempt, poverty, imprisonment, and every misery that a conquered nation might expect from the power and malice of implacable enemies. As a pendent to the horrors and agony which attended this war—a war of which an English authority, Hooke,[2] sets down the cost incurred by England at £18,000,000 sterling, exclusive of arrears due to the army, it must not be omitted the pathetic scenes which took place on the separation of King James's soldiers from those whom they left behind. On this subject, besides the authority of Colonel O'Kelly and others, we have the reliable statements of contemporary Williamite publications,[3] from which it appears to be a positive fact, that many of the women were dragged off and drowned, or had their fingers cut off, as we have already stated, in the sight of their husbands and relations, while trying to get on board with them, or holding on by the boats. This is stated to have occurred at Kerry, but the same is told of the embarkation at Cork, where as well as at Limerick, similar scenes most probably occurred. But, there can be no doubt, that the Irish were in many cases[4] attended by their wives and families; and the French admiral who arrived too late with the French supplies at Limerick, brought back—according to the contemporary historian Pere Daniel—all the French, 16,000 Irish soldiers, and several families.

Sarsfield, who embarked at Cork, had expressly stipulated "for ships for as many of the rest as were willing to go with him;"[5] but that hundreds

[1] John D'Alton, Esq., see his King James's Army List.

[2] Son of the Roman historian. Storey confesses his inability to state the cost.

[3] See an extract from the *Dublin Intelligence*, a Williamite newspaper; in Croker's Notes on O'Kelly's work, or in the Notes and Illustrations already quoted.

[4] See the *London Gazette*, Nos. 2722 and 2727.

[5] The Breda frigate blew up in Cork Harbour, and most of the Irish troops on board perished.

were left behind, under most afflicting circumstances, who were anxious to participate in this sad expatriation, appears evident both from the nature of the case and from written and oral tradition: of the wretched state of those who were left behind it is unnecessary to write, when we read of the pitiable condition of some of the scions of noble and even royal houses. Dr. Charles O'Connor gives one affecting instance in the case of his grand-uncle, Denis O'Connor of Belnagare, Esq., who was obliged to plough his own fields after the defeat of the Irish armies, and who would often say to his sons, "Boys, you must not be impudent to the poor: I am the son of a gentleman, but you are the sons of a ploughman." Yet, this was the descendant of Turlogh More, the father of Roderick O'Connor, the last Milesian monarch of Ireland. Before finishing this pathetic page in the history of Limerick, as of Ireland, we cannot forbear quoting some of the affecting remarks of Mr. J. D'Alton, when writing of this "venerable hatchment of chivalrous cavaliers," who gathered their septs, their sons, and their soldiers, to contend with powers of such enormous superiority. He says, "the details of their regiments wear a melancholy interest; they are as ship lists of noble passengers and crews that have long since perished in the stormy waters; nor did the calamities of their race close with their immolation. Forfeitures, expatriations, religious persecutions rapidly ensued, and have at this day scarcely left a trace of the ancient aristocracy of Ireland."

Those who could fly out of the country did so even before the balance inclined in favour of William's arms, Passes were giving to some—among the passes we find one mentioned in the Southwell MSS., "for lady Mary Butler, abbess of a nunnery in Dublin, with the nuns to go to Flanders, July 23, 1690." This pass was given in the autograph of Sir Robert Southwell.[2] Protections were also given—"No officers or soldiers of our army to be henceforward quartered upon John Newport, of Carrick."[3] Estates were parcelled out to families—estates taken by the strong arm from the ancient possessors—as "of Sir John Bellew, Lord Baron of Duleeck, and Dudley Bagnall, of Dunleckney, county of Catherlogh, in actual and open rebellion against us, to Sir John Trevor, Thomas Pelham, and Henry Guy."[4] Richard Bellew, commonly called Lord Bellew, was also attainted, but was pardoned April 1st, 1696. With all these rigors and cruelties, the Catholics were not put down in Dublin, or elsewhere, no more than they were in Limerick up to the horrible laws that followed the Treaty. William was every day raising complaints of the outrages, insolence, and daring of the rebelly papists; and Sir Robert Southwell, on these complaints, writing to Colonel Floyd, governor of Dublin, states, "His Majesty being informed that several papists do walk the streets of Dublin with their arms, and some of them being of very ill-behaviour towards the Protestants while it was in their power; His Majesty's pleasure is that you disarm all that are papists in that place, and that you make an example of half a dozen of the most insolent by clapping them up, according as you shall be informed of the most dangerous."[5] There was no need of warrant, of bail, of the Habeas Corpus, of constitutional observance. It was sufficient to be a papist, of high or low degree, to constitute the professor of the old faith, a "rebelly" monster, to have him thrown into some

[1] Army List. [2] Thorpe's Catalogue of the Southwell M.S.

[3] This John Newport was one of William's followers; hewas, we believe, in the woollen manufacture, and ancestor of the eminent Sir John Newport, the last Chancellor of the Irish Exchequer and Member of the city of Waterford in the Imperial Parliament.

[4] Thorpe's Catalogue of the Southwell MSS. [5] Ibid.

noisome dungeon;[1] while protection was given to the Newports, the Vanhomrighs, the Pelhams, the Trevors, the Guys of the day, the unfortunate natives as well as the descendants of the Anglo-Norman invaders, because they were Catholics, were hunted like wild beasts, or given a permissive existence—like that granted on the humble petition "of Lord George Howard, of Norfolk, then at Clonmel, to live in Dublin, he having offered security for his peaceable demeanour there."[2] During the heat and terror of the war several distinguished natives of Ireland, as well of the Royalist as of the Williamite party, proceeded to England, where they remained until "peace" was proclaimed. A long and rather interesting letter was written to Sir Robert Southwell, and signed by several of those who had gone to reside in Bristol—it is dated December 26, 1691, after the reduction of Limerick, when the writers were about to return to Ireland, "but were prevented by the news that the army of Ireland was about to be withdrawn for England, and the quiet of the country effected by native force"[3] the impracticability of which, in their estimation, the letter enters into at much length. The writers state that they are Irish merchants; but they afford an extraordinary idea of their feelings and prejudices, by the fact that they feared to return to their country unless they came under "the protection" of Orange bayonets; and that they speedily succeeded to the fullest extent of their desires there can be no question. It was necessary not only to get up but to keep up alarms at all hazards, and in the teeth of the greatest improbabilities. While the House of Commons was granting enormous sums of money to greedy jobbers "to discharge debts and arrears on the civil list, confirming outlawries and attainders, recommending persons to offices in Ireland," "who merited the notice of the King for their zeal and service in the Protestant cause"—throwing sops to noisy placemen—and keeping up, for a purpose, the fear of a French invasion, rumours of conspiracies against William's life were quite general. In a letter of September 9th, 1697, Narcissus Marsh, the Anglican Bishop of Dublin, one of the Lords Justices of Ireland, writes:—that one Madden, an ex-officer in James's army, had discovered a plot of Toole and Bromfield—and Toole's purpose, he says, was to buy horses and shoot the King in his coach![4] This was a mere delusion.

Wherever Irish Catholics could obtain employment abroad they sought it, as the tyranny under which they groaned at home was intolerable. Colonel Maurice Hussey, a native Irishman, writes thus to Sir Robert Southwell on the 7th of June, 1703—"he had been seized with goute those five days past, and confined to his bed." "Here," he goes on to say, "was lately a foolish report that spread all over our mountains, that several Irish regiments were to be immediately raised for the Queen's service to go into Portugal, and that I was to have one; upon this rumour all the Milesian Princes of these parts flocked to my house to offer their service to go along with me to any part of the world, and they would scarcely believe but that I had my commission in my pocket, and I could not but take their offers and readiness for the Queen's service kindly, and made them all as welcome as my poor house could afford, and that I phancie has brought this fitt upon me. MacCartie More, O'Sullivan More, O'Dunuhu More, McGillicuddy, M'Finin, O'Leary, and a long etcetera of the best gentlemen of the Irish of these parts, are in a manner mad to be employed in her Majesty's service abroad, andswear I must go at the head of 'em whether I will or no."[6] The fiery

[1] "Queen Anne's Prison" in Pump Lane, Limerick, is said to have been one of these dungeons.
[2] Thorpe's Catalogue of the Southwell MSS. [3] Ibid, p. 235. [4] Ibid. [5] Ibid.

old colonel was anxious to quit a land in which it was impossible for the native Irish longer to live, if they not only did not surrender faith and honor, but become the instruments of a faction who had become drunk with excitement, after having violated every article of the treaty of Limerick.

In a word, the ink was scarcely dry on the treaty, when the triumphant faction made no scruple of their determination to wreak vengeance on the now prostrate Catholics of Ireland with more than early bitterness and cruelty. A medal was struck in which the insolence of the chance victor was clearly manifested. The test oath was forced by Act of Parliament to be taken by mayors and sheriffs in corporate towns and cities. In Limerick, John Foord was the first mayor who took this abominable oath; he was a merchant of no great wealth or position; but he was obsequiously imitated by William Davis and Abraham Bowman, the sheriffs. This was in 1692, the year after the treaty. An act similar in terms and in effect was passed in the 14th of Charles II. for the same alleged reason, viz. that, according to Harris, "it was necessary and beneficial;" but in Charles's time it could not be carried into effect—it became wholly inoperative. The effect of this nefarious enactment changed, at once, the position of the entire Catholic body. In Limerick, even in dark and evil days, the Catholics made a noble stand against the advances of bigotry. The guilds of trade, which were recognised by the charter of Edward I. and which had received their incorporation from the municipal body, had been hitherto for several years composed, in a great measure, of Catholic artizans; these guilds now became dens of Orange rancour. An apprentice to the woollen, or almost any other manufacture, should be a Protestant. No Catholic child was admitted to indentureship. Under the pretext of retaliation, the worst deeds were perpetrated. Because, it was said, King James had disarmed certain ultra Protestants, William disarmed Catholics wholesale. Because some injustice was perpetrated on one side, the other should rob, and banish, and plunder with impunity! We draw a veil over many of the atrocious and terrible acts of these most awful times. The Catholics were disarmed wholesale. The gentlemen appointed to give licenses for carrying arms in the city and county of Limerick were of the true blue stamp and complexion: they were men who, a few years before, had obtained grants of forfeited, or rather of plundered lands from "Irish Papists." The following are their names:—Sir Simon Eaton, Bart., Sir William King, Knt., the Mayor of Limerick; Robert Taylor, Richard Maguire, Arthur Ormsby, George Evans, Sen., Ralph Wilson, Simon Purdon, Joseph Stepney, Edmond Pery, William Cox, John Dickson, Humphrey Hartwell, George Evans, Jun.. Hugh Massy, Thomas Holmes, Henry Westenra, John Otway, David Wilson, and Charles Oliver, Esqrs. They gave arms, but only to their own creatures, slaves or dependents.

It was enacted that any person maintaining the spiritual authority of the Pope in the realm was for the first offence to forfeit all his goods and chattels, real and personal; and if these were not worth £20, over and above the forfeitures, to suffer one year's imprisonment; on the second offence, a premunire was incurred; on the third, high treason! Another Act was passed for the uniformity of common prayer, by which all persons depraving the Established form, and procuring the use of any other, should forfeit for the first offence 100 marks; for the second, 400; for the third, all their goods and chattels, and suffer imprisonment for life!! Persons absenting themselves from church were fined twelve pence for every "offence." Another Act was passed, by which the Judges might appoint the next Protestant

relation guardian to the heir of any person not dying in the communion of the Church of England. Another Act declared that no schoolmaster could instruct children in a private family without license from the Ordinary of the diocese, to be granted on his subscribing a declaration of conformity to the Church of England, under pain of three months' imprisonment on the first "offence," and for every other "offence" the like imprisonment and a fine of £5. Thus the Treaty was ignored, not only in the first parliament of William, which was dissolved in September, 1693, but in the second parliament of the same reign, in which the Lord Deputy, in his opening speech, informed the Houses that the King was engaged in the firm settlement of Ireland on the Protestant interest, but mentioned not a word of fulfilling the provisions of the Treaty of Limerick.[1]

Curry, Scully, Parnell, Browne, and other powerful writers, have dissected with great ability the horrible character of these revolting enactments. The great Edmund Burke, on these and acts of a similar nature, in his letter to a Peer of Ireland, most justly remarks, "I have ever thought the prohibition of the means of improving our rational nature, to be the worst species of tyranny that the insolence and perverseness of mankind ever dared to exercise."[2] In what a proud contrast the conduct of the Irish commanders of the garrison of Limerick, stands with that of those on whose faith they placed, alas! too firm a reliance. "Some of the officers of the garrison," said Mr. Keough, the celebrated patriot and advocate of the Catholic claims, "urged Lord Lucan and Lord Galmoy, the Commanders of the Irish army, to break off the treaty, alleging that they could now raise the siege (for three days after the articles were signed the French Fleet arrived in Dingle Bay), which would soon give such spirits to the Catholics, and so depress the besiegers, that they might yet recover Ireland; and the more so as they were certain of more aid from France. What was the reply of Lords Lucan and Galmoy? They said they considered themselves pledged in honor to deliver up Limerick and Ireland to the Protestants, and they did so depending upon their faith and truth to preserve inviolate the rights of the Catholics under the articles."

Curry states, "It is really shameful to see what mean, malicious, and frivolous complaints against papists were received under the notice of grievances" by the Irish Parliament of William. A petition of one Edward Sprag and others, in behalf of themselves and other Protestant porters, in and about the city of Dublin, complaining that one Darby Ryan, a papist—a good papist name no doubt—employed porters of his own persuasion, was read, and referred to the examination and consideration of the committee of grievances, that they should report their opinion to the House! Curry adds, "it is observable that the complaint of the petition was not that these Protestant porters were not employed by Ryan, but that the Popish porters were."[3] As to the citizens of Limerick under these circumstances we shall see as we proceed, how the treaty was observed in their regard.

An Act for banishing all papists exercising any ecclesiastical jurisdiction, and all regulars of the Popish clergy, was another of those scandalous enactments in violation of the Treaty of Limerick. By this Act they were to depart the kingdom before the first of May, 1698, under the penalty of

[1] Journals of the House of Lords in Ireland, Vol. II., p. 483.
[2] Burke's Works, Vol. III., p. 531, 4th Edition.
[3] Curry's Civil Wars of Ireland.

imprisonment till transported; and if they returned after transportation, to suffer as in cases of treason. Concealers of such were for the first offence to forfeit £20, for the second £40, and for the third the whole of their lands and goods. The burying also in any suppressed abbey, monastery, or convent, not made use of for celebrating divine service according to the Liturgy of the Church of England, was prohibited under the forfeiture of £10, and neglect in a magistrate was made punishable by that of £100. Curry denounces in powerful words the treachery that was shown towards the citizens of Limerick.[1] "Upon a petition of the mayor, sheriffs, and Protestant aldermen of Limerick, complaining (like the Protestant coal-porters of Dublin before mentioned) that they were greatly damaged in their trade by the great numbers of papists residing in Limerick, and praying to be relieved; a clause was ordered to be inserted in the Act 'to prevent the further growth of Popery,' that every person of the Popish religion, then inhabiting within the said city, or its suburbs, should give in sufficient bail or security, before the chief magistrate of the said city, that they would bear themselves faithfully towards her Majesty; or in default of giving such security, should depart out of the said city and suburbs."

During a visit of the Duke of Ormonde, who had arrived in Dublin as Lord Lieutenant in May, 1703, to Limerick, in July following, the Catholic citizens entertained a hope that even he might do something to mitigate the asperity of their cruel lot; but alas! they were deceived. A so-called "Catholic" faction existed and opposed the legitimate interests of the great body of the citizens. An Act of Parliament was passed, that not more than twenty Catholics should be suffered to live in the city, and these twenty were to undergo the humiliation of obtaining licenses for their good behaviour from an Orange Mayor. White[2] denounces in these terms the monstrous state of things at this time. We give the facts in his own language:—

"John Vincent was Mayor, and many upstarts, strangers, and persons of little repute," says White, "were admitted to be enrolled, and other more considerable Catholic inhabitants were rejected; whereupon those who were rejected petitioned the Parliament for redress, complaining of the partiality of the Mayor and Council; but the under-named individuals, many of whom," adds White, "had little right to be deemed inhabitants, in order to gain the favour of the Corporation, subscribed to Parliament a certificate, disowning their being concerned in said petition, whereupon the petition of the Catholics was rejected, and many Catholics of this city were thereby necessitated to become Protestants, rather than be expelled from their business and settlements which they had in town; and many more, who were more constant in their faith, were banished from the city. The subscribers to this wicked certificate opposing the rest of the Catholics were:—"Drury Wray, Baronet, Thos. Harrold, Aldm., Michl. Creagh, Aldm., Pierse Morony, mercht., William White, mercht., Edmund Skeolan, mercht., Patrick Norris, mercht., Robert Woulfe, mercht., James Creagh FitzAndrew, mercht., John Creagh FitzMichael, mercht., and Thady Quin."[3]

No wonder there should have been an outcry, and that such deeds should call for retributive justice.[4]

[1] Curry's Civil Wars of Ireland. [2] White's MSS.

[3] White states that the chief promoter of this affair was the last mentioned individual.

[4] The following is a document in illustration of the spirit of the times some few years later:—

"Upon oath made in my office I find that John Creagh, merchant, entered security for his good behaviour as a papist, inhabiting this city, pursuant to a statute to prevent the further growth of Popery, which I certifie this 30th March, 1722.

"Tox Roche, Town Clk."

We turn for a moment from these records of treachery, cruelty, rapine, and murder, to the meagre details of the local Annals of Limerick, in this era of revolution and savagery. About the year 1692 an Act was passed, enabling the Earl of Kildare to sell his estates in the County of Limerick, in order to pay incumbrances amounting to £9300; and the rest of the purchase money, except £2000 for the Earl's private use, to be invested in land in England.[1]

An accident by which the Tower of Limerick was blown up and destroyed in 1693, February 12, is thus mentioned by Ware:—"The tower of Limerick (being old) fell suddenly, in which were 218 barrels of powder, which by the striking of the stones, took fire and blew up; it greatly shattered the town, killing about 100 persons besides the wounded." It was intended to make a Popish plot of the accident.[2]

In 1694 there was a most severe frost, the ice was nine feet thick on the river Shannon, and the people walked over it with pleasure. In 1696 street lamps were, for the first time erected, at the sole expense of Alderman Thomas Rose. Rose was mayor in 1695—Richard Sexton and George Roche were sheriffs.[3] "On the 7th of September, 1695," says White,[4] "there fell a shower which most people took to be butter, and on the 20th of October there fell at Newcastle, about Limerick, and in many parts of the country, a shower of perfect butter, so that none could doubt of it, and the like was not heard of before in this country."

White makes this statement also:—"Thomas Smyth, Protestant bishop of Limerick signed the Protest in the House of Lords on the 21st of September, 1697, against an act passing to confirm the articles of Limerick." What a mockery—"confirm" articles which had been shamefully broken.

In 1696 it was ordered that a market house should be built on the site of Thom-Core Castle,[5] and that this celebrated old castle should be demolished. The market house was built by contract, the masons receiving £110—the carpenters £100; the work was completed; but the workmen were losers, notwithstanding the comparative cheapness of wages.

In 1698, through having a fair prospect abroad, the land forces in England were reduced to 7,000, and all the forces in Ireland exceeding 12,000 men,

"I certify, being one of the bearers hereof, John Creagh, security at the time the Popish inhabitants were entering security for their good behaviour, as by law required. Witness my hand this July 4, 1722. Signed by order of John Napper, Esq.

"JNO. NAPPER.

"Present, James Ffarmor, Richd. Dunbaoin."

[1] These estates were sold in 1711, when Adare was purchased by the ancestor of the Earl of Dunraven, and Croom by Mr. Croker of Ballinagarde.—*The Earls of Kildare by the Marquis of Kildare, p.* 256.

[2] It is said in White's MSS. that the Sheriff (Bowman) was among the number of those killed, and that 240 men, women, and children were killed and wounded, and that Counseller John Lacy, Arthur Lillis, Attorney, Mrs. Butler, and Zachary Holland died of the fright; the explosion not only shook the whole city, but was distinctly heard twenty miles off. This tower is placed in the old maps and plans of Limerick, which are preserved in the British Museum, at the corner of the Quay, not far from the present County Court House. It is curious to add that in a few years afterwards, viz., on the 27th of October, 1697, "the magazine of Athlone fired by lightning, blew up the Castle and divers houses, and fourteen persons were killed."

[3] Lamps must have been as great a curiosity at this period as gas was 45 or 50 years ago; and I had the fact from a very aged citizen of Limerick,* that in the last century, before the new town was built, so well was the Englishtown lighted that one could pick a pin off the streets at night—so bright were they, not only with lamps, but with the light that gleamed from the shop windows of the citizens, who, at that period, took the greatest pains in endeavouring to show off their wares, by candle-light especially. In this instance fashion has undergone a complete revolution.

[4] White's MSS.

[5] See pp. 236, 237.

* The late Mr. James Blackwell, who died in 1864, aged 104 years.

(and those natural born subjects to be maintained by the kingdom) were likewise disbanded. To the great relief of the citizens such Dutch guards and French refugees as had remained were dismissed, and ordered away. William was exceedingly annoyed at this step, and remonstrated against it. He would not allow his faithful Dutch guards to be tampered with, if he could—but the fiat of Lords and Commons went forth, so that the Dutch guards were shipped for Holland.[1] In 1698 the Marquis of Winchester and the Earl of Galway, Lords Justices of Ireland, in their progress through the kingdom, arrived in Limerick, and thence went to Galway. On the 30th of July a most violent storm arose, which had such force on the Shannon, that its current was stopped for three hours, and people might walk over quite dry. It destroyed so much corn that wheat rose to 6s. 6d. per bushel, and barley to 20s. the Limerick barrel.[2]

A large trade was carried on at this time in serges, between Limerick and Spain and Portugal; and at this time also the glove trade in Limerick was in such a position as to attract considerable attention.[3]

The Orangemen were not to be treated with scorn or indifference, notwithstanding the betrayal of their interest by William in reference to the woollen trade. Many of them had settled in Limerick, Bandon, Cork, Waterford, and other places in the woollen trade, and had become prosperous.[4] The quality of the material made in Limerick and elsewhere was fully equal to the best produced by English looms. The "Protestant interest" determined that these advantages should not be swept away by an act of Parliament. They agitated, and resisted, and for a time succeeded. The trade increased; the weavers and combers became the strongest guild of trade in Limerick.[5] The triumph, however, was, to some extent, short-lived. To meet the calls of English manufacturers, it was enacted by Parliament that an additional duty should be laid on woollen manufactures exported out of Ireland.[6] For some time this act gave a sudden stagnation to that branch of trade, and introduced a general poverty among the manufacturers, but as a counterpoise the Irish linen trade was encouraged. Numbers were thrown out of employment in the city and suburbs of Limerick. Discontent prevailed to such an extent that the Protestants in whose hands the trade almost exclusively was, threatened to transfer their allegiance if they did not obtain protection.[7]

[1] The effect of this wholesale disbanding of the army may be better imagined than described. Madame Smyth the wife of Dr. Smyth, bishop of Limerick, ordered a certain quantity of muslin (*at* 13*s.*, 10*s.* 6*d.*, *and* 7*s.* 6*d. per yard*) from Edinburgh. Her friend and correspondent writes:—"I have been waiteing for an oppertunity to send you muslin, which I've bought this 4 months; I have at last ventured it with my aunt Irwin's man, tho' they tell me 'tis ten to one if it escape the Hands of the disband'd soulders, most of whom are turned Robers, which makes the rode so foul that scearce any dare travele—However was Resolved to run all hasards rather than keep it any longer."—Decr. 28th, '97. Charles Lennan, the Port Collector of Donoughadee, gives his permit for the transmission of the aforesaid muslin which duly arrived from Portpatrick in Scotland, in January, 1697-8, and which reached Castle Irwin at the end of that month.

[2] White's MSS.

[3] Gloves generally sold for 6d. per pair, and some were dyed "cloth colour," whatever that means.

[4] A petition from the Waterford manufacturers for two yearly fairs for the sale of friezes and baizes, was presented about this period.

[5] They wore the orange-coloured lock of wool in their hats on St. Blase's day, the 3rd of February, and on other festivals, a custom which was not exploded until 1842, when Corporate Reform discountenanced the practice.

[6] This act was passed in the session of 1698—and by it "a duty was laid upon all broad cloths exported from the 25th of March, 1699, of four shillings in every twenty shillings of value of such cloths, and two shillings in every twenty shillings value of all serges, bays, kersies, perpetuans, stuffs, or any other sort of new drapery made of wool, friezes only excepted."

[7] Sir Robert Southwell states that 30,000 weavers, &c., were in a state of absolute want, if not of starvation.

The result was that the restrictions were nearly all withdrawn, but sufficient were left to interfere with the development of this manufacture, which England had made most energetic exertions to retain in her own hands. In the South of Ireland at this time flax was largely grown, and linen was manufactured not only for sale and export, but by private individuals, farmers and others for their own use.

The executioner and the confiscator, meantime, were active in their respective callings; and the following list from the Book of Attainder's MSS. comprises the names of those who in the city and county of Limerick—to which we add a few remarkable names in Tipperary and Dublin—were, at this crisis, attainted for high treason, and whose properties went into the rapacious jaws of the spoliators to be dealt with "according to law" :—

Burke, Patrick, City of Limerick, gent., 1696,
Bodkin, Domnick, same, merchant, same,
Brittas, Theobald Lord, 5th Oct., 1696, Ballymoney, Co. Limerick,
Burgh, John, son of Lord Brittas, do., do. same,
Burke, William, Lisnakelly, Co. Limerick, 5th Oct. 1696, Ballymoney, Co. Limerick,
Baggott, John, Rathjordan, same, do., do.,
Bryan, Morgan, Hospital, same, do., do.,
O'Brien, Connor, same, same, Esq.,
O'Brien, Daniel, same, same,
Bourke, Patrick, Kisyquirke, same, Esq.,
Bourke, Richard, Ballyclough, same,
Bourke, Thomas Oge, Bane, Dollehan, same,
O'Brien, William, Castletown, same,
Brien Kennedy, same, same,
O'Brien, Daniel, Tuan, same,
Firzgerald, James, Knockane, Co. of Limerick, Esq.,
Fitzgerald, John, Gurtnatubrid, Co. Limerick, Esq.,
Gibbon, Thomas, Ballinskey, same,
Gorman, Patrick, Coolesbague, same,
Gorman, —— same, same,
Fitzgerald, David, Dromare, same,
Fitzgerald, Alexander, same, same,
Grady, Mathew, Kilcolane, same,
Fitzgerald, James, Cloghvaller, same,
Fitzgerald, Howard, same, same,
Lutterill, John, Lutterill's Town, } Co. Dublin
Lutterill, Henry, do. }
Lutterill, Thomas, do. }
Lawless, Patrick, Coleman's Town, } 17th of April, 1691, Prop. in different Counties, &c.
Limerick, William Earl of
Limerick, William Earl of
Limerick, William Earl of
Limerick, William Earl of
Limerick, William Earl of
Limerick, William Earl of
Lord Dungan, killed in the Battle of Boyne, [for whom there was a great wake at Clane, near Celbridge, Co. Kildare.]
M'Mahon, Turlock, Cregg, Co. Limerick, gent., 5th Oct. 1696,
Marshal, William, Tomline, gent., do.,
Pigott, Thomas, Clonishire, Co. Limerick, Ballinmugo,
Rice, John, City of Limerick, merchant,
Ronan, James, same,

Roch, David, same,
Ronan, Nicholas, same,
Stephenson, John, Ballyvaughan, Co. Limerick,
Stevens, Thomas, same,
Skiddy, Nicholas, City of Limerick,
Stretch, Edward, same,
Tobin, James, Fethard, Co. Tipperary,
Thyrry, James, City of Limerick,
Thyrry, Patrick, same,
Thyrry, Stephen, same, apothecary,
Wall, Gibbon, same, doctor,
White, William, same, merchant.

} 12th Oct., 1696

So much for "The glorious, pious, and immortal memory of the good and great King William." So much for the Treaty of Limerick, and the good faith of those to whom the fortunes of Ireland were committed in an evil moment.

CHAPTER XXXVII.

THE FORFEITED ESTATES.—THE SALES.—SIR WILLIAM KING'S DEATH.—ORANGEISM, &C.

AFTER several reports, and protracted negociations, it was at length resolved by Parliament to bring to a conclusion the question of the forfeited estates. It is not necessary that we should go over the ground traversed by these heart-rending proceedings. From the principal reports it appeared that—

The Number of Acres in the several Counties in Ireland belonging to forfeiting persons were	1,060,792
Which being worth £211,623 a year, at six years purchase for life, and at thirteen years for an Inheritance amounted to	£2,685,130
Out of the Lands, the Estates restored to the old Proprietors by the Articles of Limerick and Galway, were valued at £724,923, and those restored by Royal Favour at £260,163, after which, and several other allowances, the gross value of all the Estates forfeited since the 13th of Feby., 1688, amounted to	£1,622,343

The number of Grants and Custodiums, since the Battle of the Boyne, under the Great Seal of England, were 76, some of the principal of which are mentioned, viz.—

To the Lord Romney 3 grants of	49,417
To the Earl of Albemarle 2 grants of	108,633
To William Bentinck (Lord Woodstock)	135,820
To Ginkle Earl of Athlone (occasioned by the Parliament of Ireland) ...	26,480
To the Earl of Galway	36,148
To the Earl of Rochford, two grants of	30,512
To the Lord Coningsby	5,966
To Col. Gustavus Hamilton, for his services in wading through the Shannon, and storming Athlone, at the head of the English Grenadiers	5,382
To Sir Thomas Prendergast for the most valuable consideration of discovering the Assassination Plot	7,082

Several of the Grantees had raised great sums of money by sale of their lands, amounting in all to £68,155, particularly the Earl of Athlone (his grant being confirmed by Act of Parliament) who had sold to the amount of £17,684. These lands were forfeited by the Earl of Lucan, Patrick Sarsfield. The Lord Romney, £30,147; and the Earl of Albemarle, £10,000.

The lands granted in 1688, and now about to be disposed of by the Trustees, were in the county of Limerick :—

Acres profitable.	Value per annum.	Total Value.
14,882A. 2R.	£4,728 10 6	£61,370 10 10
In the county Tipperary :—		
31,960A. 3R.	£8,888 12 0	£45,552 2 6
In the county Clare :—		
72,426A.	£12,060 17 0	£156,791 1 0

The conduct of the confiscators made a noise throughout Europe, and in Paris a list of those lands was published under the following head, a copy of which we now have before us :—

ETAT DES TERRES CONFISQUÈES.

Par le Prince d'Orange, depuis le 13 de Fevrier, 1688, sur les Fideles Catholiques d'Irelande, qui ont servi le Roy, Jacques II. & l' ont suivi en France ; Representè au Parlement d'Angleterre par les Commissaires employez a' cet effet.

As we have this remarkable document in the Book of Distributions, and afterwards printed in the Report of the Commissioners of Public Records, we take it fully from the latter as a piece of official information, which it is not surprising had caused indignation and anger throughout Europe :—

LANDS GRANTED IN 1688 AND THEIR VALUE.

	Acres profitable.		Value per ann.			Total.		
	A.	R.	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
County of Dublin	34356	0	16061	6	0	208796	18	0
County of Meath	92452	1	31546	4	6	410100	18	6
County of Westmeath	58082	1	14633	12	6	190237	2	6
County of Kildare	44281	3	16551	18	6	215175	0	6
County of Catherlogh	26303	0	7913	11	6	95872	2	0
County of Wicklow	18164	0	2719	3	0	35348	19	0
County of Wexford	55882	2	7551	10	6	98169	16	0
Queen's County	22675	0	5002	8	2	65031	13	9
King's County	30459	3	6870	13	0	89321	14	0
County of Kilkenny	30152	2	5243	8	6	68161	5	6
County of Longford	2067	2	348	9	9	4530	6	9
Co. Louth and Town of Drogheda ...	22508	0	6331	11	0	82310	3	0
County of Cork	244220	0	32133	12	6	417737	2	6
County of Kerry	90116	0	3652	11	9	47483	12	9
County of Clare	72426	0	12060	17	0	156791	1	0
County of Waterford	21343	0	4130	10	0	44476	10	10
County of Limerick	14882	2	4782	10	6	61470	10	10
County of Tipperary	31960	3	8888	12	0	45552	2	6
County of Galway	60825	0	10225	4	0	33523	19	0
County of Roscommon	28923	0	5808	15	0	62767	2	0
County of Mayo	19294	0	3186	5	6	37598	3	0
County of Sligo	5562	2	998	17	6	12985	7	9
County of Antrim	10103	3	1944	18	6	25284	6	0
County of Down	9079	0	1016	8	0	13212	4	6
County of Ardmagh	4962	0	588	0	0	7644	0	0
County of Cavan	3830	1	478	12	6	6222	2	5
County of Monaghan	3832	0	558	16	0	7264	8	0
County of Fermanagh	1945	0	389	0	0	5057	0	0
Total	1060792	0	211623	6	3	2,555,434	10	7

The denominations confiscated in the county of Limerick embraced a very large portion of the entire county.

In the county Tipperary Barony of Clanwilliam, according to the Book of Distribution, 155 denominations were confiscated.

Eliogarty or Territory of Ileagh	250	denominations.
Iffa and Offa	424	ditto.
Ikerrine	47	ditto.
Kilnalongurty	24	ditto.
Kilnamanagh	45	ditto.
Lower Ormond	279	ditto.
Middlethird	268	ditto.
Owney and Arra	190	ditto.
Slievardagh and Compsey ...	105	ditto.
Upper Ormond	150	ditto.

In addition, all the Catholic glebe land, which was held for pious uses, was parcelled out in a similar ruthless manner. It amounted to several thousands of acres.

In the county of Clare, in the Baronies of Bunratty, Burren, Clonderalaw, Corcomroe, Ibraken, Inchiquin, Islands, Moyfarta, Tullagh, there were enormous confiscations also under the several baronial denominations. Each denomination averaged some hundreds of acres, and the chief complaint against the ancient possessor was his being an "Irish Papist."

But the soldiers, notwithstanding, were by no means satisfied with the way in which they were treated. Early in 1701, a tract was published in London entitled, "Some considerations upon the Payment of the Arrears due to the Army, and on the Subscription for purchasing Forfeited Estates in Ireland;" which showed that all was not pleasant with the soldiers, or with the adventurers who had advanced their money on the faith of being rewarded by the green acres of Ireland.[1]

The acres were plantation acres which bear a proportion to English, as 441 is to 264. The value of the goods and chattels (forfeited) were so uncertain, no estimate has been made of them. Debts due by judgment and statute, and a few mortgages due to forfeiting persons restored, amounted to £120,013 13s. 10d. There were yet to be computed 297 houses in the City of Dublin, 36 houses in the City of Cork, with 226 houses situate in the several cities and towns of Ireland; together with 61 mills, 28 fairs and markets, 72 rectories and tithes, chief rents amounting to £283 per annum; and 6 ferries and fisheries, the forfeitures of persons not restored, value, in gross, £50,000. The woods of the kingdom, then standing on the forfeited estates not restored, particularly on the woods of Sir Valentine Browne, in the county of Kerry, where to the value of £20,000 had been cut down and destroyed; and the waste on the woods of the late Earl of Clancarty's estate, in grant to the Lord Woodstock, was computed at £27,000.[2] In 1701 the trustees made a second report to Parliament of their proceedings; and in the year 1703 completed their duties by an auction, as directed, of the estates and interests which had not been previously granted or restored. They im-

[1] Tract entitled "Some Considerations upon the Payment of the Arrears due to the Army, and on the Subscriptions for Purchasing Forfeited Estates in Ireland." It is written in a bold, free, ungrammatical style, and is evidently the production of a disappointed man.

[2] And, "indeed so hasty have several of the grantees or their agents been in the disposition of the forfeited woods, that vast numbers of trees have been at and sold, for not above 6d. a piece (one cause of the decay and destruction of the woods of Ireland); the like waste is still continuing in many parts of the kingdom, and particularly on the lands of Feltrim, within six miles of Dublin, and the woods of O'Shaughnessy, in the county of Galway, purchased by Toby Butler, Esq., for about £2,500, which was valued at over 12,000."—*Report from the Trustees.*

mediately after executed deeds of conveyance to the several purchasers. These deeds or transfers are enrolled in the Court of Chancery. By an act passed 33 Geo. III. cap. 42, the forfeited lands unsold vested in the Crown.

In the year 1704, the county of Limerick and county of Cork, were infested by three appropriators of somewhat different character, viz.: three notorious Tories, or Robbers, who carried every enterprise with a high hand; Connor More, O'Sullivan, and Philip Connell. They were, at length, so insufferable in their depredations, that the inhabitants of the various places named, rose against, pursued and beheaded them; and set up their heads at Mallow, Askeaton, and Newcastle west, county Limerick. Henry Widdenham and Richard Stephens wrote to J. Dawson, Esq., secretary, Dublin Castle, informing him of the fact, and praying the persons may receive the rewards, particularly the widow of Laurence Hartnedy who lost his life in the affair.[1]

To return to the sales, they were chiefly by "public cant;" the highest bidder was declared the purchaser. The sales in the county and city of Limerick, notwithstanding the extent and character of the confiscations, were comparatively few, the particulars of them are given in the note.[2] In Tipperary and

[1] Thorpe's Catalogue of the Southwell MSS.

[2] Lands brought to sale in the county of Limerick:—

Roll, 2nd Anne, first part, face.

John Hunt, of Glangoole, Co. Tipperary, gent., 12th June, 1703; consideration, £422 12s. 9½d. The lands of Curra alias Curryhouse, 177a. 3r.; barony Kenry, Co. Limerick—the estate of the late King James, subject to a chiefry of 2s. 5d. to the Earl of Kildare. Inrolled 19th June, 1703.

Hon. William Fitzmaurice of Gullane, Co. Kerry, Esq., 12th June, 1703; consideration, £5,008. The castle, town, and lands of Gortnetubrid, 245a. 3r. Rosverilane, Moyvane, Ballynelaugy, 396a. 2r. 8p. Killeene, 164a. Rath, 174a. and 32p. Drumcumane, 609a.—in Gortmore, and Coolgorman, 48a.—liberty of commonage on the commons of Clonluske alias Clongish—the mountain of Monymuck and Ballydanniell, 694a. 1r. 16p.—the lands of Clounmore, 429a. 3r. 24p. Total quit-rent, £30 7s. 6½d.; barony Connello, Co. Limerick—the estate of Sir John Fitzgerald, attainted. Inrolled 21st June, 1703.

Roll, 2nd Anne, first part, back.

Sir Matthew Deane, knight; 11th May, 1703; consideration, £195 12s. 3¾d. The lands of Killmacanerly, containing 76a.; barony Connello, Co. Limerick—the estate of the late King James II. Inrolled 10th June, 1703.

Richard Powell of Cloghviller, Co. Limerick, gent., 19th April, 1703; consideration, £901 18s. 9½d. The town and lands of Galbuoly, 180a. Tonetire, 74a. 3r. 6p.; barony Clanwilliam, Co. Limerick—the estate of the late King James II. Inrolled 14th June, 1703.

Roll, 2nd Anne, second part, face.

Sir Thomas Southwell, bart., 22nd June, 1703; consideration, £116—in Ardagh, 29a. 32p.; barony Connelloe, Co. Limerick—the estate of the late King James II. Inrolled 30th June, 1703.

John Bury of Ballynecarrigy, Co. Limerick, Esq., 22nd April, 1703; consideration, £131. In Dromherbegg, being the moiety thereof, £35—rent, 19s. 9d.; barony Kenry, Co. Limerick—the estate of Sir Drury Wray, attainted. Inrolled 3rd July, 1703.

Said Bury, 30th April, 1703; consideration, £1,087. In Middle Killashara, 61a.—in south Killashara, 34a.—in Graige alias Grange, 40a. Pallice alias Castle Pallice, and Knocktershane, 283a. 1r. 18p.; same barony and county—the estate of the late King James. Inrolled 3rd July, 1703.

Robert Twigg of the city of Limerick, alderman, 30th April, 1703; consideration, £1,833. The town and lands of Whitestowne, 248a. Scartballyvallisa, 40a. Ballyogarhine, 64a. Carrigmartin, 63a.—Coolecragh, 20a.; barony Clanwilliam, Co. Limerick—the estate of the late King James. Inrolled 3rd July, 1703.

Henry Widdenham of Court, Co. Limerick, Esq., 22nd April, 1703; consideration, £841. The town and lands of Kilgrogan alias Kilrogan, 114a. Kilvocan alias Kilknockan, 136a. 1r. Ringaariffe, part of Curry, 19a.—part of Gurtcencarrghane, 74a. Lissavarra, 70a.; barony Kenry and Connello, Co Limerick—the estate of the late King James. Inrolled 3rd July, 1703.

Roll, 2nd Anne, second part, back.

James Dawson of Ballynecourty, Esq., 18th May, 1803; consideration, £1,161. The town and lands of Carryganoush and Ballynegreenagh, 152a. 1r. 8p.—Cloghkillavarilla alias Cloghkillballyhilly, 100a.; barony Cuonagh, Co. Limerick—the estate of the late King James. Inrolled 5th June, 1703.

Dr. Thomas Smyth, Bishop of Limerick, 13th May, 1703; consideration, £3,589. The town and lands of Lickadoone, 533a. 3r. 2p. Bohirload, 123a. 2r. Ballynafrankey, 102a. and 32p.

Clare, the sales were much larger. Among the purchasers in Tipperary were John Pyke of Woodenstown (or Wodingtowne); John Cooke, Esq. of Kiltinane; Henry Gower of Dublin, gent.; Richard Kellett of Clonmel, gent.; Mathew Jacob of St. Johnstowne, Esq.; James Dawson of Ballinecourty, Esq.; John Perry of Woodruffe, Esq.; Joseph Judkin, county Tipperary, gent.; John Carleton of Knocknaniny, county Tipperary; John White of Cappagh, Esq.; Henry Luther of Dublin, Esq.; Sir John Meade, Bart.; William Baker of Lattin, Esq.; Robert Craige of Dublin, gent.; Richard Lewis of Newcastle; Richard Burgh of Grove, clk.; David Lowe of Knockelly, gent.; Edward Stradford of Belan, county Kildare, Esq.; Joseph Damer of Dublin, Esq.; John Butler of Kilvelighter, gent.; Alexander Montgomery. These lands comprised, principally, portions of the estate of the unfortunate King James, which he too obtained, by means to which we have already adverted. In Clare, the purchasers of lands were John Ivers of Mount Ivers, Esq.; John Cusack of Kilkisheen, Esq.; Hector Vaughan of Knocknemece, King's County, Esq.; Sir Donald O'Brien, Bart. of Dromoland; (the estate of Nicholas Arthur, attainted), the same portions of many other estates; Terence Geoghegan; (the estate of Redmond Magrath, attainted); Thomas St. John of Ballymulcastle, Esq.; (the estate of Daniel Moloney, attainted); Robert Westrop of Bunratty, Esq.; (the estate of David Nihell, attainted); Robert Harrison of Fortfergus, Esq.; (the estate of Donough M'Namara, attainted, by lease from the Earl of Thomond for three lives, at £30 17s. 6d.—Harrison

Lismullaghunebegg, 90a.; barony Clanwilliam, Co. Limerick—the estate of the late King James II. Inrolled 10th July, 1703.

The said Bishop Smith, 8th June, 1703; consideration, £271. The town and lands of Stonetowne alias Farrenshane, 17a. 2r. 8p.; liberties of Limerick—the estate of the late King James Inrolled 10th July, 1709.

Roll, 2nd Anne, third part, face.

George Evans, the younger, of Caherrassy, Co. Limerick, Esq.. 18th June, 1703; consideration, £312 7s. 7½d.—in Kilmure, 27a.—rent, 7s. 11½d.; barony Clanwilliam, Co. Limerick—the estate of Theobald, late Lord Brittas, attainted—in Ballytownemore, 19a.; barony Poblebrian, same Co.—the estate of the late King James—in Howardstowne, 48a.—rent, 14s. 7d.; barony Small Co., same Co.—the estate of Sir Drury Wray, bart., attainted—one moiety of the lands of Ballyphillip—north liberties of Corke—the estate of Ignatius Goold, attainted. Inrolled 22nd June, 1703.

Abraham Green of Ballynard, Co. Limerick, Esq., 12th June, 1703; consideration, £1,010—the town and lands of Ballynaclogh, 22a. 2r. 24p.—part of Sheadfeakle and Garryglasse, 108a.—Co. City Limerick—the estate of the late King James. Inrolled 22nd June, 1703.

The said Abraham Green, Esq., 12th June, 1703; consideration, £1,488. The town and lands of Ballymacrees, 200a. and 16p. Lebanmucky, 161a. 1r. 8p.; barony Clanwilliam, Co. Limerick—the estate of the late King James. Inrolled 22nd June, 1703.

Roll, 2nd Anne, third part, back.

James Dawson of Ballynecourty, Co. Tipperary, Esq., 7th June, 1703; consideration, £290 In Knockerdon, 57a.; barony Clanwilliam, Co. Limerick—the estate of the late King James Inrolled 22nd June, 1703.

Thomas Stepney of the Grange of Portmarnock, Co. Dublin, Esq., 23rd June, 1703; consideration, £509. The town and land of Brittas, 128a. 1r. 8p.—rent, £2 16s. 10½d.; barony Clanwilliam, Co. Limerick—the estate of Theobald, late Lord Brittas, attainted. Inrolled 6th July, 1703.

Abraham Green of Ballynard, Esq., 18th June, 1703; consideration, £321. The hamlets, towns, and lands of Ballyvycoge and Ballymorishroe; barony Connello, Co. Limerick; which weree mortgaged, or otherwise conveyed by Gerrard Fitz-Gerald of Ballynard, Esq., to his brother James Fitz-Gerald, Esq., counsellor at law, for the sum of £150; which, with the interest, amounted to £321; which James is attainted. Inrolled 6th July, 1703.

Edward Cosgrave of Dublin, gent., 22nd May, 1703; consideration, £50. The town and lands of Ballyneety and Kilkeatry, 168a. Graigure, 101a. Ballylyone, 67a. Lislotane, and Ballybrue, 164a. Ballinvolla, 51a.; barony Connello, Co. Limerick. Lismongane, 92a. Gortreagh, 58a.—the fishing were thereto belonging on the river Lawn; barony Mogunnihy, Co. Kerry—the several closes of Knockyne, Clonin, Lisneleenoughtragh and Lackeenivoudrick, 20a.; barony Corkagujny, same Co.the estate of Edward Rice, attainted. Inrolled 4th August, 1703.

obtained "the lands in consideration of £10;" Nathaniel Lucas of Clonmel, Esq., "consideration of £10," all their estates and interests to 100a. in Tullacommon, in Glankeen, 121a; barony Inchiquin, county Clare—demised by Murrough Earl of Inchiquin, for 61 years from 1st May, 1666, at the rent of £5; the interest of which lease afterwards came to Donough McNemarra, attainted. Inrolled 1st November, 1703.

Among the lands brought to the hammer of the state auctioneer, were those which comprised the enormous estates of Daniel O'Brien, Earl of Clare, who lived in Carrigaholt Castle, where his name, cut on a large stone mantelpiece over the fire-place of one of the large rooms of the Castle, may yet be seen. These lands (among other lands) by patent dated 26th February, 1698, were granted to Joost Earl of Albemarle, who, by deeds of lease and release, dated the 9th and 10th of March, 1698, conveyed them to Francis Burton, Nicholas Westby, and James MacDonnell, Esqrs. A catalogue of these lands would occupy some pages of this work: they included among other possessions, the manor, castle, town and lands of Ballykett, with a fair and market, 114a. prof., 604 unprof.—Moyferta, east, with a market, courts leet and baron, 127a. prof., 274 unprof.—Moyferta, west, 1 qr. 226 a. prof., 135a. unprof.—Rathrony, alias Rahony, east, 1 qr. 219a. prof. 94a. unprof. —The manor, castle, town, and lands of Carrigaholty, alias Reinmackaderrigg, ½ qr. 55a.—Kilcordan, 1 qr. 128a. prof., 142a. 2r. unprof. Several thousands of acres not only in Western baronies, but in the barony of Corcumroe, &c. &c. The trustees by this deed received a sum of £10,161 : 17 : 5¾. Messrs. Burton, Westby, and M'Donnell, each to hold a third part thereof to him and his heirs—Inrolled 5th June, 1703.

The MacDonnells are mentioned in John Loyd's History of Clare as among the descendants of an ancient Ultonian race, who, in the earlier wars, came down to Connaught, to which province Clare at that period belonged. The three names of Burton, Westby and MacDonnell, exist in Clare at this moment as possessors of the same broad lands which their ancestors thus obtained by purchase in 1703. The name of Daniel O'Brien still lives in the traditional remembrances of the people, as that of one who in his day fought manfully the good fight for Ireland, and sacrificed all he possessed on the altar of his country. There were few more beautiful residences than Carrigaholt Castle. Situated near the estuary of the Shannon, the landscape everywhere was enchanting; it inspired a love for fatherland—it embraced all that was grand and suggestive in Irish scenery. River, mountain, island, ruin, round tower, plain, sea—all grouped within the prospect in magic beauty from the towers of Carrigaholt; and to this hour there is not, perhaps, in any part of the land a lovelier or a bolder panorama than that which is presented to the eye, when one looks over the extensive territory which the illustrious patriot, the great Earl of Clare, claimed as the owner, but which he was destined to forfeit for his loyalty. This Daniel was an active supporter of King James; he raised at Carrigaholt a regiment of horse for his royal master, which from its facings, yellow, were called the Dragúin Buidhe, or Yellow Dragoons; they went with the garrison of Limerick to France, where they distinguished themselves by glorious feats of arms in many memorable engagements.[1]

[1] The Castle of Carraig-a-Choltca, Carrigaholt, (the Ulsterman's rock*) with the entire denomination of West Corcovaskin, Co. Clare, was the property of a branch of the MacMahon

* Shaw Mason's Statistical Survey of Ireland.

In the same year Mr. Vandeleur, the ancestor of Colonel Crofton Moore Vandeleur, M.P. for Clare, purchased the extensive Kilrush estates of the Earl of Thomond; they were not brought to sale by the State auctioneer. Mr. Vandeleur's family had been settled in Kilrush since 1687, when the Rev. John Vandeleur, M.A. a younger son of the Ralahine family, was collated to the prebend of Inniscathrie, alias Kilrush, to the vicarage of Kilferagh, and to the vicarage of Kilballyhone. This Rev. gentleman fought at the battle of Aughrim for William, and was seriously wounded.

The effect of these sales on the population of the several counties in which they took place, was destructive and ruinous. The change from the old proprietors, who, in general, were of the same race and religion as the people, was promptly and painfully perceptible.

As if to allay popular excitement, previous to these events, the statute of 1697, against Popish Bishops, Dignitaries, and Regulars, had been recently repealed; but the full force of a storm which only slumbered for a short season, soon fell on the devoted heads of the Catholics of Limerick. Plots were hatched in which innocent men were involved for crimes which existed only in the wicked imaginations of their unscrupulous persecutors. In 1702, three abandoned ruffians—and the more abandoned, the more acceptable to the authorities of the day—gave information that the Catholics of Limerick had engaged in a conspiracy to raise an army to support the claims of "the Pretender," to the English crown. Three gentlemen of eminence and worth, were summarily arrested on the sworn depositions of these perjured villains; Major Geoffrey Keating, Counsellor Ronan, and Mr. Thomas Arthur, merchant, were literally dragged from their peaceful pursuits, sent off to Dublin, under a strong escort of dragoons, tried, and rather strange to write, acquitted.[1] There was not a breath of evidence adduced against them; but the accusation and the noise were quite sufficient for the hateful purposes of those who had concocted this accusation against irreproachable citizens merely because they were Catholics.

On the 21st of September, same year, Parliament met, when the Duke of Ormonde, as Lord Lieutenant spoke, and told them that "they should make such other laws as were wanting for the Establishment of the Protestant religion, and the welfare of the kingdom." He also spoke of the necessity of providing such fortifications "as would much conduce to the safety of the kingdom, and particularly at Limerick." The Bill against the growth of Popery was passed into a law. A book called "The Memoirs of King James II." published by Brocas and Malone, in Dublin, was ordered

family till the reign of Queen Elizabeth. A romantic story is told of the manner in which the property went into the possession of Henry O'Brien of Trummera Castle, Co. Clare, the ancestor of Daniel O'Brien, Lord Clare. Henry O'Brien, having proceeded to Carrigaholt, to remonstrate with Teigh Keugh MacMahon, against certain outrages, the families being always on bad terms, was struck with the beauty of MacMahon's daughter, who, in the absence of her father at the opposite side of the Shannon, received O'Brien, when a mutual attachment arose between them. On the return of MacMahon, he treacherously fell on O'Brien and his servants; one of whom was killed. O'Brien, wounded, escaped, and lost no time in presenting himself to Queen Elizabeth, to whom he complained of the conduct of his relative MacMahon, who was at once declared an outlaw, and lost his estate which was granted to O'Brien. It had been agreed between O'Brien and the young lady, that the latter should hoist a black handkerchief on the northern pinnacle of the Castle, should her father arrive, by way of warning. This signal O'Brien neglected to look for; and hence the outrage on him, and the disaster that befel MacMahon in consequence. Henry's son Daniel was knighted; was representative in Parliament for Clare, was a Member of the Supreme Council of Confederate Catholics in 1642, and at the restoration was created Baron Moyarta and Viscount Clare. Daniel was Henry's grandson. See p. 282.

[1] White's MSS.

to be burned by the hands of the common hangman at the 'Change and in front of the Parliament House. Eustace, who gave the book to Brocas and Malone, and who brought it from England, was ordered, with the printers and publishers, to be prosecuted by the Attorney-General. When the motion was made for burning the book and prosecuting the printer, a speech was made by a Member, setting forth the great danger the Protestants were in in some parts of Ireland, "particularly in the county of Limerick where the Irish were beginning to form themselves into bodies and to plunder the Protestants of their arms and money."[1] The House entered into a resolution, that the Papists entertained hopes of bringing in the Prince of Wales under the name of James III. The country was inflamed with these rumours; and the passing of any measure, however atrocious and unscrupulous, was an easy matter with those who had leagued against the political existence of Irish Catholics. By this act it was, among other things, decreed, "that, after the festival of St. John the Baptist in 1704, every Popish Priest remaining in this country should give a return of his name, of his place of abode, of his age, of the parish of which he pretended to be the Parish Priest, of the place and time he was ordained, of the name of the Bishop or ordinary who ordained him." All "regulars" by this act were to be banished the kingdom. Several registrations were made in conformity with the provisions of the statute. In the county of Limerick forty-seven priests were registered at St. Francis's Abbey.[2] There were twenty-seven priests registered in the county of Waterford; forty-five in Clare, and sixty-two in Tipperary. The Clare clergy registered in Ennis, the Tipperary clergy in Nenagh. Several of these Priests had been ordained abroad; some in Spain, France, and Rome. Some had been ordained by Dr. Oliver Plunkett, the martyred Archbishop of Armagh; others in the private oratories and chapels of the nobility and gentry, who had adhered to the old faith.[3] The returns of the clergy were made in 1704 and 1705.

In the latter year, about the month of July, the illustrious Doctor Pierce Creagh, of the family of Carrigeen, Archbishop of Dublin, to which he had been translated from the Bishopric of Cork, died at Alsace in France. He was born in Limerick; his life was remarkable for sanctity, and his happy death was conformable thereto.[4] He was grand-nephew of Richard Creagh, Archbishop of Armagh, whose life and sufferings we have written in a previous chapter. He underwent, like his great uncle, terrible trials. On one occasion, when a witness was about to swear against him in Cork, "the whole floor of the Court-house gave way, and with all the people tumbled down into the under cellar, and the rogue of a false witness was crushed to death in the ruins. The other false evidences who were at hand fled immediately, and none escaped falling down with the floor except the judge, whose seat was supported by an iron bar, and Doctor Creagh whose chair happened to be supported on a beam, which did not give way, and there he continued sitting as it were in the air. The judge said that heaven itself acquitted him, and thereupon dismissed him with a great deal of honors."[5]

[1] Annals of the Reign of Queen Anne.

[2] By the Charter of James I. the site and precincts of St. Francis's Abbey, described as extra-parochial, were excepted from the county of the city, as a convenient place for the Court House of the county of Limerick, and freeholders in the Abbey voted as of the Barony of Pobble Brien for county members of Parliament. Under 6th Geo. IV., cap. 99, sec. 6, St Francis's Abbey has become part of the county of the city.

[3] Dr. James Whelan, Bishop of Ossory, ordained the Parish Priest of Doon at Garryricken, the residence of Lord Mountgarret.

[4] Baltus S. J. quoted in White's MSS. [5] Ibid.

Sir William King, Knt. of Kilpeacon,[1] who figured so prominently in many of the events of these and preceding years, died on the 10th of September, 1706. He had been representative in Parliament for the county of Limerick in 1661, together with Robert Oliver, Esq. He was oftentimes mayor of Limerick, of which he was Governor in 1690, when he was made prisoner by the Irish, and having escaped, he gave important information to William. He built the Church, close by the ancient castle and his own mansion, of Kilpeacon, as a chapel of ease; but this Church was subsequently given up to the Ecclesiastical authorities, on the destruction of the old parish Church of Knocknegaul. The old house of Kilpeacon was burned to the ground several years ago, and the castle was thrown down. In the Church of Kilpeacon is a black marble slab set in a moulding of floriated white marble, which was formerly topped to the ceiling with trophies and armorial carvings, elaborately executed, to Sir William King. On the slab is a long Latin inscription which we translate as follows :—

H.S.C.
WILLIAM KING, KNIGHT,
Repeatedly Mayor of the City of Limerick,
Commandant of the Castle, Lord Lieutenant of the County,
Whose generous mind to open his house and home,
To all good persons was accustomed,
So as to attach equally to him both heaven and earth,
At his own cost caused this temple to be built,
And the indwelling Deity to be honored.
Young in prowess, old in council he was powerful.
He illustrated the virtues of both ages by perpetual example.
He at last resigned honors which accrued to him through life,
Having departed this life Sept. 10th, A.D. 1706,
When under this same monument,
In the hope of a happy resurrection,
Of that excellent woman and most beloved wife,
Lady Barbara King,
He had deposited the sacred ashes.
Now with two pledges of a most happy union which lasted 50 years,
John and Barbara King.
Also of this same marble the occupants,
Lie enjoying the loan of a sepulchre,
The remains of Stephen Moore, Esq.
And of Bridget his wife of Clonmel,
Who died at Kilpeacon, 1705.[2]

Tradition states that there was a camp at Kilpeacon during the Williamite wars, and that Sir William King entertained the officers and soldiers at his own expense.

Sir William King was married to Barbara, daughter of John Boyle, Bishop of Cork, and widow of Sir John Brown of Hospital, who was killed in a duel with Mr. Christopher Barnwell in England.[3] Having no issue living his property descended in succession to his grand nephews Richard and Edward Villiers, Esqrs. It was possessed for some time by the family of "Tuthill of the Island," the last of whom, John Tuthill, Esq. is entombed in the cemetery, adjoining the Church, where the Villiers' are also buried. In this cemetery is the mausoleum of the Westropps of Attyflyn. Kilpeacon subsequently became the property of Joseph Cripps, Esq. of Edwardstown, who took the name of Villiers; from him it descended to his grandson the late Edward Cripps Villiers, Esq. who, at a cost of £12,000, built "Kilpeacon Court,"

[1] Kilpeacon is distant five miles from Limerick, in the Barony of Small County.
[2] On the sides, below the middle of the inscription, are these words :—Kidvell, fecit.
[3] See page 147.

the exceedingly tasteful and beautiful residence of Major George Gavin,[1] late of the 16th Lancers, in which he served with distinction in India, and one of the Representatives in Parliament of the city of Limerick, who purchased the house quarter, demesne, and a large portion of the estate, in 1851 and 1852.[2]

We return to the working of the No Popery Laws. Howard, in "his Special Cases on the Laws to prevent the growth of Popery," relates distressing cases which prove the terrific working of these Laws; but he adds one fact, which redounds to the eternal honour of the faithful persecuted Catholics of Ireland—it is this, "that between 1703 and 1709, there were only thirty-six conformists in Ireland;" and among the few who suffered themselves to succumb to temptation, some, on their death-beds, sought a refuge in religion, from the remorse with which they were visited by their temporary apostacy.[3]

[1] Major George O'Halloran Gavin, M.P. a maternal descendant of O'Halloran, the historian, and one of the representatives in Parliament of the City of Limerick, purchased Kilpeacon house and demesne of 429 acres, in 1850, and in 1851, the lots adjoining, consisting of 250 acres, for £12,000, in the Incumbered Estates Court.

[2] The armorial Ensign of the name of Gavin or O'Gavin copied out of an ancient family document:—

This name being of martial antiquity, as doth appear by the Irish College of Heralds, lineally descended from Heremon, being the 36th branch from that tribe, and held large possessions till the arrival of the British under, "Strongbow," the 16th reign of Henry II., which reduced the kingdom to its obedience, in the said reign, wherein the name of Gavin suffered most severely. The ancient arms of this house beareth arms argent, a bordure, azure "suside," a saltire or cross of St. Andrew gules—a sword erect between the saltire proper, pomel and hilt, or on the top a mullet of five points gules—crest on a wreath of its colors, a sword erect pomel and hilt, or on the top a mullet of five points gules as in arms—motto, Malo mori quam Fœdari, in English, "I would rather die than be disgraced." Major George Gavin was married to Jane, daughter of Montifort Westropp, Esq., of Mellon, who served in the 17th Lancers, and has issue.*

* Pedigree of the Westropp family, taken from ancient family papers that are written on vellum:—

They came over to Ireland in the reign of King John; this traces them till the reign of James I., they are of English origin, tracing from John Westropp, son and heir to "Edward," living in the reign of King John. This John married in 1282 Johanna, the daughter of John Manby; he was father to Thomas Westropp, who married in 1325, the daughter of Thomas Linaker, and had with other issue a son; and he was father of Robert Westropp, of Brestow, and had with other issue, a son, William Westropp, who married in 1348, a daughter of Thomas Wentworth of Briston, and he was father of Robert Westropp, who married in 1380, a daughter of Sir Robert Meimb, and their son Richard Westropp, married in 1440, the daughter of Sir Francis Hastings, Knight, and was father of James Westropp, who married in 1470 the daughter and heiress of Marmaduke Levinge, by whom he had an only son and heir, Hugh Westropp, who married twice, and by his second wife whom he married in 1542, he had three sons, of whom James was father to William Westropp, who went to Ireland and first established his family there. Then his son Mountiford of Bunratty Castle, County Clare, High Sheriff of that Shire in 1674—he acquired vast estates by purchase in 1671, and afterwards this Mountifort married Frances, third daughter of Thomas Taylor of Ballynort, County Limerick, Esq., and by his wife, daughter to Sir Francis Berkley, Bart. of Askeaton and M. P., and Catherine his wife, daughter of Adam Loftus, Archbishop of Dublin, and had issue. Then the third son, Ralph Westropp of Cahardangan, whose will (dating 17th October, 1735,) was duly proved, April 1st, 1741, married Jane, daughter of Randal Roberts of Brightfulstown, and had issue. The son and his heir, Ralph of Attyflinn,† married, 1761, Mary, second daughter and co-heiress of William Johnson of Ballybrigan in County Cork, and had issue, first, John of Attyflinn, eldest son; secondly, William, married a daughter of Darby O'Grady and had issue; third son, Ralph, married, 1795, Harriet Vereker, sister of Viscount Gort, and had issue.

[3] Vide Howard's Special Cases.

† Attyflinn, according to local tradition, means the "house of Flan," i.e. Flan O'Brien, second brother of O'Brien Duv, Lord of Carrigogunnel, which Flan was a professed infidel, although a great contributor to the support of the Monks of Manister, until an alleged miracle converted him, when he finally became a monk of Manister. The "miracle" was, that a paper contribution of his, or promise to contribute, on being thrown into the scale, proved as heavy as the usual weight of beef which he was in the habit of contributing; a sceptical mind might object, that the Cistertian monks eat no beef; but then the poor whom they fed, did.

Among the cases related by Howard,[1] are those of Tisdal v. Quin, Evans v. Quin, and the curious one relative to the sons of Sir Stephen Rice, one of whom was informed against by Stone, a "discoverer."

Sir Stephen Rice died in 1714; he had three sons, Edward, James and Thomas. By his will he devised Land to Edward for life; but Sir Stephen being a Papist, the Estate, notwithstanding the will, by the acts against the Growth of Popery, descended to the three sons in gavel-kind. Edward, his eldest son, turned Protestant, and thereby became entitled to the fee of the Estate, and died in May, 1720, and by his will devised his estate to the defendant, a Papist, in fee. The Plaintiff filed his Bill the 29th of October following, before the six months allowed by 2 Anne, c. 6, for conforming, had elapsed. The defendant demurred, for this, and that this was not a purchase by a Papist, within the meaning of the second act, which gave the benefit of conveyances to Papists to a Protestant discoverer. There was much argument on both sides; the court being of opinion that this case did not fall within the clause of the first act, which makes a purchase by a Papist void or within the clause of the second act, which gives lands conveyed to a Papist to a Protestant discoverer; that a desire here was not to be considered as a purchase in the legal sense, in opposition to descent, but that it fell within the clause of the first act, which gives the benefit of it to the next Protestant relation; and the demurrer was allowed, but without costs. Edward became a Catholic again on his deathbed, which gave rise to further litigation, on a case in which Mary Rice, his daughter, appeared.

In the case of Evans against Quin, in Chancery, 26th of June, 1725, where Quin, who was of Popish parents, but became a Protestant in 1709, and was then called to the bar, but never filed any certificate of his conformity, but purchased an estate; and a bill of discovery being filed against him for this purchase, he pleaded that he was a Protestant; and on solemn argument the plea was allowed; the court being clearly of opinion that he was a good Protestant to purchase, notwithstanding he never filed any certificate of his conformity. Similar cases can be produced *ad infinitum*.

There was no more odious or noisome character than the discoverer if we except the Priest-catcher.[2]

In the year 1709, it was enacted, that every registered popish priest should take the oath of abjuration before the 25th of March, 1710, "in any of the Four Courts of Dublin, or in any of the Courts of Quarter Sessions in the counties in which they were registered, which, if they did not perform, and celebrated mass, or performed any other priestly function, they became obnoxious to the pains and penalties of a convicted regular priest." This

[1] Howard's Special Cases on the Laws to prevent the growth of Popery.

[2] M'Graths of Clare, lost their extensive properties, comprising Derrymore, Kilkishen, Clonroad, and a portion of Burren, by the perfidy of a person named John Cusack, who, so characteristic of the persecution and treachery of the times, made information, filed bills of discovery, and thereby became possessed of a certain portion of the property. He was interred in the little cemetery of Clonlea, near Kilkishen in the County of Clare, and even after death an incident occurred to mark his career. Tradition has it, that when on his tombstone was inscribed an Irish epitaph expressive of his character, his friends turned the flag; however, on the inverted side there soon appeared the following caustic lines:—

"God is pleased when man doth cease to sin.
The devil is pleased when he a soul doth win.
Mankind are pleased when e'er a villain dies.
Now *all* are pleased, for here Jack Cusack lies."

This being equally disagreeable to their feelings, they took up the flag at night and having broken it to pieces flung them into a lake near the place.

statute was directly contrary to the ninth article of the Treaty of Limerick. No priest, though registered, could perform any sacerdotal office except in the parish for which he was registered. A priest removed, or dead, was not to have a successor. Ample rewards were given to the priest-catcher, the schoolmaster-hunter, and the persecutor of every degree and kind. In the county of Limerick, amid these terrible trials, it is related that but one Catholic clergyman fell before the tempest; and that such was the horror widely entertained of his, alas! unfortunate apostacy, that the members of his own family refused to receive him after his fall. Even the Protestant bishop, Dr. Smyth, does not appear to have encouraged him, while Dean Daniel sent him off with "five thirteens."[1] In 1710, a complaint, with the nature of which we are unacquainted, was forwarded against Dr. Smyth—who appears ever to have been in hot water—to the Duke of Ormonde, who he was told, "since his lordship is unwilling to come to town, to wait on the Lord Lieutenant, he is afraid his Excellency will make him a visit at Limerick. It is said with assurance, that he designs a progress through Munster, and will set forward the 20th current, the day after ye recess begins. He goes by Kilkenny, so to Clonmell, Cork, Kingsale, and Limerick."

In a postscript, it is said, "to promote one Mr. Smedly of Cashel, to the vicar-generalship of Cork; this was ye occasion of ye motion for bringing in heads of a bill against Simony, &c., was caused by the Protestant bishop of Cork having broken his promise to the Lord Lieutenant."

Injurious reports had been sent up against Dr. Smyth. Sir Thomas Southwell's friendly offices were sought for; and Thomas Burgh, Esq., brother-in-law of the bishop, and at the time high in office under the government, assured his lordship how very little attention should he bestowed on cowardly anonymous slanders. Whatever those rumours were, true or false—and we must believe them to be false, if they rested on no other foundation than a letter written by an unknown hand—Dr. Smyth got over the difficulty in which they appear to have temporarily placed him. But though the most unsparing persecution continued to prevail against the Catholics, not only in the city and county of Limerick, but every where else in Ireland, the Orange animus which had distinguished the Round-heads and Covenanters was creating the greatest excitement, not only in Ireland but in England, where, Dean Swift in his letters from London to Stella, describes the "Yahoos," with the satirical power for which he had become famous.

The trial of Dr. Sacheverell now came on in London, and that remarkable case aroused all the passions of the Anti-Episcopalians. It not only agitated society in London, but it had its effect in Limerick, where General Ingoldsby commanded, and where Major-General Fairfax was second in command. The garrison was composed of two or three regiments; and the officers were in the strongest manner opposed to the bishop and his adherents. The feelings by which they were actuated spread to the soldiery, who in every instance, did what they could to manifest their violent animosity. The Mayor and members of the Corporation were set upon also by these licentious officers and soldiery; and the commander appears to have had no immediate controul over the conduct of men enraged with political and religious excitement, and inflamed, in addition, with strong drink.

To such a pitch did bigotry rise in these times, that on the rumour that the chevalier, son of James II., commonly called the Pretender, but in

[1] Dr. Smyth's Papers.

foreign countries known by the title of James III., had attempted to invade Scotland, but failed in his expectations; the Catholics were turned out of Limerick on the 19th of March, and were kept out for three weeks and three days.[1] Such was the tyranny observed after the Treaty of Limerick!

CHAPTER XXXVIII.

THE ORANGE MILITARY RIOTS IN LIMERICK IN 1710—STATEMENT OF DR. SMYTH, THE PROTESTANT BISHOP—DEPOSITIONS — STATEMENT OF THE OFFICERS AND THEIR PETITION — SUSPENSION OF THE OFFICERS AND FINAL DISMISSAL OF MAJOR CHAYTOR.

THE military riots in Limerick in the autumn of 1710, form a curious episode, not only in the history of the city, but in the history of the kingdom generally. They have been recorded not only in the depositions of witnesses who bore testimony to the outrages, which, for successive days and nights, were perpetrated by a band of drunken Orangemen—licentious officers; but in the humble petition of the officers themselves after they had been convicted, and while the danger of a severe retribution impended. Their names were:—Major Chaytor, Captain Jephson, Captain Plaistow, Lieutenant Mason, Lieutenant Bartlett, Lieutenant Conningham, Lieutenant Barry, and Ensign Hunter, of Sir John Wittenrong's regiment; and Lieutenant Wright, Lieutenant Shoebridge, Ensigns Kelly and Blount, of Lieutenant-General Pidcomb's regiment. It appears by the depositions[2] of witnesses before us that, in the dead of night, on the 11th of September, they made terrible noises in the city, in several places, and more particularly below the Bishop's (Protestant) Palace, where they were heard to drink "confusion, damnation, plague, pestilence, famine, battle, murder, and sudden death to Dr. Sacheverell and his adherents." This, they called, in their own profane manner, "the Litany of Health;" adding also, "confusion to all Archbishops, Bishops, Priests, and Deacons." A representation of the facts was made by the Recorder to Major-General Fairfax, who was old and feeble, and little better able to cope with the difficulty than, in the first instance, to order one sentinel to be placed at the door of the Bishop's residence.

Dr. Smyth made his statement to the Government in a large, bold hand, plain and quick:[3]—

On the 12th of September last, about one o'clock in the morning (as I judge) there came before my house several persons with musical instruments, who sang a song, which (I am informed by those who heard it more distinctly), was a very scandalous one. Afterwards I heard them repeat the words—confusion and damnation—which, I suppose, was when they drank confusion and damnation to Dr.

[1] White's MSS.

[2] From contemporary MS. depositions, autograph petitions, letters, Thorpe's Catalogue of the Southwell MSS.—Sloane MSS. in the British Museum, &c., &c.

[3] Ex-Sloane MSS.—British Museum.

Sacheverel, and all his adherents, and all of his principles, as I was informed they did, by a gentleman, who says, he opened his casement and heard them. They staid before my house a considerable time, and (as the same gentleman informed me, whose depositions are taken before ye mayor and other justices) drank other healths, among which, was the health most prophanely called—the Litany health; wherein, they prayed that plague, pestilence, and famine, &c., might fall on all (and among them, particularly on all Archbishops and Bishops, &c., to the best of his remembrance, and as he verily believes) who should refuse to drink to ye glorious memory of King William. The former of their healths was likewise drunk at one Alderman Higgins's, and neither of them drunk at any other house, as appears by depositions taken as before. The persons concerned in this (as appears upon oath) were Major Cheater, at that time the commanding officer-in-chief of ye garrison, Captain Plasto, Lieutenant Mason, Lieutenant Barkly, and Lieutenant Walsh,[1] all belonging to Sir John Whittrongue's regiment, and Captain Blunt, of Colonel Rooke's regiment. After this, on ye 21st of this month, about four, as I conceive, in the morning, I and my family were again disturbed by several persons who passed by my house and made a strange unusual noise by singing with feigned voices, and by beating with keys and tongs (as it appears on oath) on frying-pans, brass candlesticks, and such like instruments. Afterwards, on the 24th instant, about the same hour, I was startled out of my sleep (as I was each time before) by a hideous noise, made at the corner of my house, by winding of horns and the hollowing of men, and the cry of a pack of dogs. I lay some considerable time in bed, in hopes they would soon have gone away; but finding they did not, I got out of bed, and opened my window, and stood there for some time, in hopes of discovering who they were (for it was a moonshiny night) but could not. At length the dogs in full cry, to ye number I believe of twenty-three or twenty-four couple or thereabouts, ran by my house, and in some time after returned again, and soon after, in the same manner ran back again, making the same noise. After they had passed by my house the first time, I called to the centinel at my door, and asked him who those men were, and what they were doing; who answered me, that they were officers who had got a fox, and dragged him along, and sent ye dogs after him. What the persons are who were guilty of the second and third riots, appears by the depositions taken before our Justices of the Peace. I cannot but observe that Major Cheater (with others of that regiment, as I think appears by ye depositions) was always one, and in the second riot was accompanied by Lieutenant Barkly.

The gentlemen who from the first gave affront on me, having owned their fault, and asked my pardon, I should never have mentioned it to their prejudice, had it not been for the repeated indignities they have put on me since, which, (if continued) will oblige me to remove with my family out of town, till these gentlemen come to a better temper. Beside these abuses which I have mentioned, I and my family have been frequently alarmed and awakened in the dead of night by soldiers, (as they afterwards appeared to be), who feigned themselves to be spirits; some by stripping themselves naked, and others by putting on white garments, and throwing stones at the centinel at my door, and at other times by throwing stones on the slates of my house, which made an unusual noise when they were tumbling down; and one night particularly, the century[2] was so much affrighted and made such a noise, that I was forced to rise out my bed to encourage him, and to assure him they were no spirits.

All this having been done since ye first abuse that was put on me, and never before having received any such abuses by any officers or soldiers since my first coming to this town, there having been always a good understanding betwixt us, and the officers of all former regiments having been at all times very obliging and courteous to me, which I think myself bound in justice to acknowledge.

[1] This name is stated to be Wright in the depositions and petitions, &c.
[2] Sic in orig.

For these reasons I cannot but believe that these later outrages were the result of some resentments occasioned by the first abuse; and that the first abuse was occasioned by an opinion they conceived that my principles did not in all things agree with their own.

THO. LIMERICK.

October the 27th, 1710, at Limerick.

We learn moreover from the depositions, that on the 20th of October the riots were renewed, when, some of the officers above named, went through the streets in the night, "beating warming-pans, stew-pans, &c.; and with this uproar and bawdy songs, pretending to serenade the city;" and again they made a set on the Bishop, against whom they appear to have had a violent animosity. The Mayor interposed his authority, in order to check these disgraceful proceedings; but, in return, he received gross insult from Major Chaytor, who was the principal actor, and, apparently, the prime mover in all these doings; and about three or four o'clock a.m. on the morning of the 23rd of the same month, he (Chaytor) with others of the above named officers, hunted a fox through the city, with a pack of about thirty dogs and three hunting horns, disturbing, in a particular manner the Bishop, at whose house they began the noise, and continued it until six a.m. The Bishop drew up the above complaint; and Major-General Fairfax, who seems not to have been able to make an energetic movement to suppress these shameful excesses, wrote to Dr. Smyth in the following terms:—

"Nov. 2, 1710.

My Lord,

I was extremely troubled to heare of the greate disorder committed against yr. Ldsp. and the whole garrison of Limerick. The Recorder has given the Lieutenant General an account of it, so I need say no more of it. I have ordered another sentinell to be att yr. Lp's. doore; and if I were able I woud wait on you myslf and see if I coud keep better order; but it is a hard matter to do where men are mad and give themselves a liberty to act so contrary, not only to soldiers but to that of Christianity. Yr. Lp. may see by my writing how ill I handle a pen, and may be assured that I am in great truth,

my Lord,
Your most obedient humble servt.,
J. FAIRFAX.

Pray my humble service to your good lady and fireside.

For The Right Revd. Father in God,
The Lord Bishop of Limerick,
att Limerick*."

Dr. Smyth endorses the letter to the effect that it "concerns some abuses put upon mee by some officers," and that Major-General Fairfax had ordered him "two centinels."

Lieutenant-General Ingoldsby, to whom the Recorder had written, and who is referred to by Major-General J. Fairfax, was one of the Lords Justices of Ireland from 1706 to 1711—the anti-Papal and implacable Lord Wharton was Lord Lieutenant during a portion of the time—the Duke of Ormonde

* This letter is sealed with red wax, and an impression of Fairfax's arms—a lion rampant.

after. Ingoldsby, in his private memoranda states, that "he early appeared in *Ireland in King William's interest*, was made a prisoner in Limerick, and sustained losses here to the amount of twelve thousand pounds, at least, notwithstanding which, he never troubled His Majesty for anything more than to be engaged in his service."

The following is a copy of the petition which was forwarded to the Lords Justices:[1]—

"To their Excellencys the Lords Justices of Ireland. The Humble Petition of the Mayor, Bishop, Aldermen, and Comon Council of the Citty of Limerick.

Humbly sheweth That your Petitioners were several times of late, in a violent manner insulted by several officers of this garrison, viz., Major Cheator, Capt. Jephson, Capt. Wright, Capt. Plasto, Lieut. Mason, Ensigne Kelly, and Lieut. Barkley; that the said officers att one time in the dead of the night, went about this Citty, and under the Bishop's and other Houses, Drank Confusion, Damnation, Plague, Petilence, and ffamine, battle, murder, and sudden death to all Arch Bishops, Bishops, Priests, and Deacons, Doctor Sechivorel and all his adherents, at another time in like manner, drunk such like and Bawdy healths, and at the third time in like manner, with a large pack of Doggs and a ffox hunted through the Citty, first abusing the mayor and Corporation when they were celebrateing the anniversary of the twenty-third of October, all wch. pticalarly appear at large by sevll. Informations taken upon oath before the mayor and magistrates of this Citty hereunto annexed [and by memorial of ye Ld. Bp. also annexed]. *And* since we *Complaine* against some officers, we can't but acknowledge and make knowne by this Petition, that Collonll Kendol commanding officer of this garrison, behaved himselfe oblidging to this Citty, and took great care and pains to rectifie these abusses.

May it therefore please your Excellencys to order such Releife for your Petitioners in the premisses as your Excellencys in your great Wisdom shall think fitt; and your Petitionrs will ever pray."

Dated under the Comon Seal of the said Citty, at our
Comon Councel Chamber this 27th of October, ano dni 1710."

Annexed are several Depositions taken before Pearce Piercy, mayor, and 3 magistrates, occupying several pages.

The above given List of 11 officers complained against, and mayor's reasons for omitting 2 names.

"Dublin Castle, 2nd Nov. 1710.

Sir,—The enclosed Petition and Informations, with a Complaint of the Bishop of Lymerick all in his own hand writing, having ben laid before the Lords Justices, their Excys. imediatly sent for all the officers complained of to come up hither, and suspended them from their commands and pay untill her maties. further Pleasure be known therein, and in the mean time, their Excys. hav comanded me to transmit them to you, to be laid before my Lord Duke, that his Grace may doe therein as he shall judge proper.

You will also herewith receive a Memorial of some of the officers concerned in the Riot, to Lieut. Genll. Ingoldsby, that his Grace may see what they say in their own behalfe. I have nothing else to trouble you with at this time, being very truly,

Sr. your most faithfull
humble servt.,
J. Dawson.

Mr. Southwell."

[1] Ex Sloane MSS. Brit. Mus. 20720.

The officers returned the following untrue reply:—

"To his Excellency Lieutt. Genll. Ingoldsby, one of her magties. Lord Chief Justices of Ireland.

May itt Please your Excellcy,

Wee the undernamed officers In the Honble. Sr. John Wittenrong's Regimt., Being Injuriously and falsly Impeached for several misdemeanours (as they are pleas'd to term them), By the aldermen of Limrick for meeting on Septembr last and Drinking the glorious memory of King William with other like Healths, which wee humbly presume do nott In the least argue any disaffection to the present goverment, and some other Innocent proceedings, which, we believe will be specifi'd with additions to your Excellency, nott out of any Conviction of a Crime Committed, But an ambition we shall allways have to bear your Excellency preposess'd with nothing to our disadvantage, as we can on our honours assure your Excellency our Intentions were fair and not levell'd att any particular persons, So we flatter our selves your Excellency will construe our actions as such, your Excellcys favourable determination will be an Extrordinary Obligation to your Excellcys

most humble and obedient servtts,

H. Chaytor,
Geo. Wright,
Tho. Mason,
Tho. Plaistow,
Edmd. Bartlett."

Ingoldsby writing to James Butler, second Duke of Ormonde, relative to these military outrages, states that a court-martial would be most likely favourable to their own cloth—orders the officers' pay to be suspended, and hints that His Grace should give directions that the pay, during the suspension, "should be distributed by the Bishop to the poor of the town of Limerick."[1]

Chaytor, and his brothers in arms and in disgrace, who were at length convicted of these doings, lost no time in throwing themselves on the mercy of the authorities; they addressed "an Humble Petition" to Ingoldsby, and as a specimen of utter abasement and trepidation, we do not know that we have ever read a more "humble" document in every particular.[2]

1 Thorpe's Catalogue of the Southwell MSS.

2 "To His Excellency Lieutenant-General Ingolsby, one of His Majesty's Lord Justices of Ireland.

The humble petition of Major Henry Chayter and the several subscribing officers, Sheweth,

That your Petrs. having through Inadvertency & in Excesse of Liquour, acted some Irregularityes in Lymerick for which the Bishop and Corporation have lately exhibited their memorialls against us with several affidavitts relating thereto (to several of which your Petitioners object).

That some of those Irregularitys so complained off were longe since actually forgiven by the Bishop and Corporation, pardon being publickly asked the Bishop for the same on the Exchange in Lymerick, by some of yr. Petis. who since that time have not offered the least affront or abuse to the Bishop or Corporation.

That your Petis. assure your Excellency, and they do Hereby declare upon their Honours, that such indiscretions and errors (as they were really guilty off) were totally owing to Liquours, and that neither of them was committed with any intent whatever to affront, abuse, insult, or disturbe either the Bishop or any member of the Corporation.

That your Petis. have a just resentment of their Irregularityes and are willing to make such acknowlegements to the Bishop and Corporation as your Excellency shall please to order and direct them.

That your Petis. have not only laboured under your Excys. displeasure a long time, but also

The petition document having been presented, in due form, the Lieutenant-General forwarded it to the Lord Lieutenant for His Grace's consideration and directions; but notwithstanding the very submissive tone of the petition, and the alleged forgiveness of the outrages by the Bishop, Mayor, &c., the Duke of Ormonde wrote to the Lords Justices "ordering the dismissal of Major Chaytor from the army, as being commanding officer he should have prevented such riotous proceedings."[1]

The Bishop, however, was destined for further troubles. He received a threatening letter "in an unknown hand," (a very good hand too) "*if the seat in St. Mary's Church, Limerick, which Alderman Colpoys enjoys, be not given to Mr. Bindon.*" The letter was sent by a messenger, and was wrapped up in an envelope, inside which was the following note:—

"Sir,—The Bearer being not well acquainted with yr. towne, I presume to desire the favour, that you will send one of your servants with this Letter to my Lord Bishop's, that when he returns tomorrow he may have an answer thereto, for Sir,

Your faithfull humble servt.,

Bridge, the 1st June, (1710). JOHN COLE."

We are not told that His Lordship complied with the mandate. But notwithstanding his sufferings and annoyances, as well from the military rioters as from members of his own congregation, the Right Rev. Dr. Thomas Smyth survived them and lived to a ripe old age.

Matters became somewhat more tranquil afterwards.

On the 21st of May, 1712, peace was proclaimed in Limerick between England and France by the Mayor, William Butler, Esq., the Sheriff, the Corporation, accompanied by the Earl of Inchiquin and his son, the Lord O'Brien, and many other gentlemen, all on horseback; the trades also appeared with their usual colours.[2]

The same year William Butler being Mayor, His Grace James Butler, Duke of Ormonde, and Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, came to Limerick. The inhabitants went to meet him as far as Bruff. The streets were lined by the army. The Governor, Mayor, Bishop, Clergy, Corporation, met him at St. John's Gate, where the Governor stopped his coach, "demanding if he was the Lord Lieutenant, James, Duke of Ormonde? Upon his avowing that he was, and at the same time showing his star, the Governor delivered him the keys of the City, the Mayor delivered him the sword and mace, and the Bishop gave him the keys of the Church, &c.; the great guns then fired and the bells rung. He was conducted to the Bishop's house, where he then lodged, and the army fired three rounds."[3]

under the misfortune of being suspended and being at great Expenses in Towne, and totally strangers, and being wholly unable to support themselves and Familyes any longer,

Yor. Petis. therefore humbly begg (the Premises being considered) yor. Excllcy. to take off their suspensions or to grant such other relief as to your Excellency shall seem fit, and yor. Petis. further pray for and entirely depend on your Excllency's clemency and goodnesse in remitting and forgiving them.

and your Pets. shall for ever pray, &c.

EDMD. BARTLETT, JOHN CUNNINGHAM, H. CHAYTOR, NICHLS. KELLY, T. PLAYSTOW, W. JEPHSON, THO. MASON."

[1] Thorpe's Catalogue of the Southwell MSS.

[2] White's MSS. [3] Ibid.

1713.—Dr. James Strich, age 71 years, Catholic Pastor of Rathkeale, was vicar-general of the Diocese of Limerick, the See being long vacant of a Bishop.[1]

This year there was a general election: among those anxious to represent in Parliament the city of Limerick was Mr. Ingoldsby Phipps, son of Sir Constantine Phipps, the then notorious Lord Chancellor of Ireland. As the Protestant Bishop had very great interest in the city, and as he was potent not only with the anglican clergy, but with the Mayor and Corporation, the Lord Chancellor[2] zealously sought his influence on behalf of his son.

Local interests and local men were more potent, and Mr. Henry Ingoldsby and Mr. George Roche were returned.

Diverging for a moment from these matters, it may be remarked that Lord Orrery, having had considerable landed property in the County of Limerick, had also much to do with tithes, &c., and a fair share of correspondence with the Bishop. Several of the Protestant Churches at this period were falling, or had fallen into ruins, and attention having been called to the extremely dilapidated state of the Chancel of Kilfinane, Lord Orrery wrote to the Bishop in these terms:—

"London, Feby. 2nd, 1714.

My Sir,

I have received your Lrds Letter of the 19th of Novb. wh. I have thus long delayed giving an answer to only that yourself, first speak with Mr. Badham about the business of it who is now here. I have now talk'd with him upon it, and given him the necessary orders, for supplying my proportion towards repairing the Chancel of Kilfinane.

He tells me there are some perquisites due to me which he has not yet been able to receive, but by your Lordships assistance he hopes he shall. I will not trouble your Lordship with a further explanation of the matter, but leave it to him to admit &c., and

am, my Lord,

Your Lordship's most Obedient Sevt.

ORRERY."

During the mayoralty of Mr. Hezechiah Holland in 1714, peace was proclaimed in Limerick between Anne Queen of England and Philip V. King of Spain. As on all other similar occasions the Corporation and public functionaries made a great display.[3]

[1] White's MSS.

[2] Lord Chancellor Phipps was one of the Lords Justices with Lieut. Gen. Ingoldsby in 1711. General Ingoldsby died in the Government, January 29th, 1711. Lord Chancellor Middleton succeeded Sir Constantine Phipps on the Irish woolsack on the 20th of March, 1716. Sir Constantine wrote a peculiarly small and exceedingly neat hand, and "dried" his letter to the Bishop, not with blotting paper, but with sand of a shining substance.

[3] White's MSS.

CHAPTER XXXIX.

TROUBLES IN THE CORPORATION OF LIMERICK—ACCUSATIONS AND RECRIMINATIONS—LOYALTY AND DISLOYALTY—PETITIONS AND COUNTER PETITIONS—PERSECUTIONS, ETC—POSITION OF THE CATHOLIC CLERGY.

The year 1715, was rendered famous in Limerick by violent disputes between the Whig and Tory—rather between the Orange and the old Loyalists parties, into which the Corporation was already split. As yet, the notion of the success of the Prince of Wales, King James's son, had not ceased to be entertained by a considerable number, even of Protestants in Ireland; and whilst their "honours" were dividing the loaves and fishes among themselves, and leaving a legacy of debt and poverty to their successors to the seventh generation, jealousies arose among them, which developed their ugly features in the shape of mutual recriminations on many occasions. Though they joined in hate against their Catholic fellow citizens—if indeed Catholics could now be designated by the name of citizens at all, they did not join in love among themselves. This state of things was exemplified in a remarkable manner early in this year, when "underhand" representations were made to the government, reflecting on the loyalty to the Hanoverian rule, which had just commenced on the death of Queen Anne, of certain corporators, including Mr. William Franklin, the Mayor, and involving in the charge, the Protestant Bishop, Dr. Smyth, who, it was alleged by his enemies "disturbed the government," and "was present at a meeting of the Corporate Body, when a sum of £150 was improperly voted to His Worship the Mayor." So gross and injurious a charge was promptly met and refuted, for on the 11th of October, a meeting of the Corporation was held, at which it was resolved, "that it does not appear to us, that the Right Rev. Father in God, Thomas Lord Bishop of Limerick, has busied himself in our corporate affairs, and to obstruct the service of the government. In testimony whereof, we have put our hands, this 11th of October, 1715."

This document, or resolution, which is rather obscure in its phraseology, bears the subjoined signatures :—

William Franklin, Mayor,
Edward Wright,
James Robinson,
Robert Twigg,
Richard Pope,
John Vincent,
Richard Lilles,
John Higgins,
Randal Holland,
Rawley Colpoys,
Hezekiah Holland,
Edward Voakes, } Shrfs.
Benjamin Barrington, } Shrfs.
Henry Exham,
Francis Sergeant,
Edward Sexton,
James Jacques,
George Robinson.

John Seymour,
James Yeomans,
David Davis,
Paul Farel,
William Carr,
Robert Palmer,
Christopher Carr,
Joseph Ffepps,
Michael Apjohn.

Previous to this, viz. on the 13th of April, 1715, the Mayor, in vindication of his own loyalty and that of his brother Corporators, which had been seriously impeached, wrote to the Bishop, who was at the time in Dublin, at the house of his brother-in-law, Thomas Burgh, Esq., Accountant General, "bitterly complaining that at the previous assizes a few aldermen and burgesses of the City of Limerick drew up and signed an address to His Majesty George I., who had just ascended the throne of England, in an unprecedented manner, having neither consulted the Mayor, Recorder, Justices of Peace for the city, concerning any congress, nor desired their concurrence to what they had drawn; whereas affairs of that nature, as your Lordship knows, are to take their rise in an assembly of the Common Council, and to be proposed by the Mayor. The reason of that clandestine proceeding was that they might have an opportunity of reflecting on the magistrates and others, their fellow-citizens, as disaffected to his Majesty's accession and government. The multiplicity of important business at the assizes, and the extraordinary application of my Lord Chief Baron, on whom we were obliged to attend, prevent our having an address ready to send with him. Therefore, by the advice of our Recorder, it was agreed to defer drawing one up until the sessions. But lest the misrepresentation of some of our own members should make any impression on the Government, I have with this sent the Citty's address to His Majestie, which I desire your Lordship to present to the Lords Justices, and to do the Citty right by letting them know the truth of the matter.

"I am your Lordship's most humble and most dutiful servant,

"WM. FRANKLIN."

The seal to this letter has a crowned rose, a thistle and a rose.

The address bears the following 254 names; very few of which are represented in the present times in the city of Limerick:—

Wm. Franklin
Tym. Purdon
Ed. Vokes } Shers.
Ben. Barrington }
Hez. Holland
Ed. Wight
Ja. Robinson
Rob. Twigg
Ric. Pope
Ric. Lyllys.
Jn. Higgins
Rand Holland
Wm. Butlr
Rawl. Colpys
Geo. Robinson
James Yearmans
Dav. Davis
Paul Favryers
Thos. Cook
Char. Wade
Tho. Harris
James Boyle
Rob. Green
Jn. Hare
Wm. Turner
James Carr
James Beaumont

Jn. Cloud Wm.
James Dalton
Sym White
Francis *Tomkins*
Ralph Wilson
Wm. Carr
Chr. Carr
Rob. Palmr
Jos. ffepps
Michael Apjohn
Geo. Bridgmn
Rob. Wilkington
Ed. Brown
Mic. M'Nemera
Geo. Davis
Ephr. Mounsell
Mor. Ryan
Jn. M'Hevoy
Jn. Ricorzi
Dan. Shee
Jn. Thornhill
Wm. Gray
H. Coumey
Jr. Lee
Jn. O'Neal
Wm. Hutchins
Dan. Glisseen

Geo. Evans
Rob. Smart
James Benes
Tho. Brown
Nic. Gains
Ed. Fenton
Tho. Franklen
Rob. Bradley, Sen.
Rob. Bradley, Jun.
Charles Bradley
Rob. Starkey
Wm. Hawes
Tho. Smyth
Thymo Keane
Anton Sparks
Ben. Henn
Corn. Bowens
Nic. White
Ed. Sykers
James M'Donell
Robbart Allin
Tym *Devery*
E. Ormsby
Wm. Twig
Ro. Cashin
A. Ormsby
Jn. Brown

Hen. Barclay
Jn. Moore
Hugh Gough
Char. Story
Ric. Wight
Ric. Burgh
Pat. Moline
Wm. Smith
ffran Williams
John Blood, Jun.
Wm. Burrill
David Carr
Samuel Broylor
Izaac Campell
Jn. Parker
John Boyd, Jun.
Jn. Stenson
Ed. Stokes
Tho. Moulton
Jn. Clark
Char. Epwell
Jonath Epwell
Wm. Bury
Sam. Machell
Ed. Halorane
Geo. Wright
Char. Hughes.
Gilbert Buxton
Wm. Buxton
Dav. Mahony
Walter Cashin
Tym. Holland
Ric. Henderson
Sam. Haly
Ric. Butt
Tho. Barrot
Jas. Murphy
Emanuel Mounsell
Ed. Crawley
Job Boles
Jas. Cunningham.
Tho. Gardiner
Wm. Gardiner
Tho. frankland
Ed. Davis
Ric. frankland
Mark Goodbody
Jn. Newton
And. Barkley
Wm. Benn
Jn. Bull
Jn. Kindells
Tho. Meyls
Geo. Carlile
Sam. Kerky

Jn. Ryan
Fr. Davis
Rob. Stent
Bart. Donovan
Tym. Ryan
Jn. Marshall
John Myles
Jos. Beaker
Geo. Hudson
Lau. Doulin
Tym. Sanders
Geo. How
John Dick
Step. Lambard
John Cox
Wm. Purcell
Jn. Boyle
Jn. Gregory
Owen M'Can
Dav. Condon
Jn. Davis
Ric. Derden
Ric. Williams
Jn. Gilman
Tho. Cox
Jn. Bull
Rog. Doherty
Jn. Gartny
Tho. French
Ol. fowls
Jno. Dargan
Rob. Hutchens
Jn. Alen.
Corn. Hearn
Tho. Hoskins
James Smith
Richd. Butler
Tho. Bury
James Ryan
Jn. Thomson
Tho. Bryan
Darby Mc
Nic. Grady
Geo. Bishop
Jn. Piercy
Tho. Keys
Jos. Laud
Tho. Hyes
Pier Butler
Ed. Gray
James Smith
Tho Woods
Jn. Carr
Jn. Archer
Jn. Rork

Denis Gafney
James Power
Wm. Nowman
Richd, Moore
Xando Woodcut
Geo. Henderson
Josep Vokes
James Blackwill
Wm. Long
Hen. Long
Ric. Thomson
Mat*
Abrah. Houth
Den*
Tym. Lacy
James England
James Bernard
Wm. Jessop
fran. Wainwright
Arch. Millar
Chr. Marshall
James Ryan
Jn. Blood, Jun.
Willm. Barrett
Tym. Shinners
Rob. Blood
Ed. Kean
Jn. Edwards
Tho. Kirby
Jn. Kelly
Dunstill Atkinson
Teir M'Mahan
Mat Hays
Richd. Conry
Jn. Menahan
Char. Copley
Pat. Draw
Jn. Roberts
Jn. Abell
Jn. Amory
Ric. Green
Ed. Bourke
Pat. White
Pat. Mac Danniel
Char. Henry
Jn. Smyth
Rob. Walker
Den. M'Danniel
Phil. Burr
Ric. Cepgland
Hen. Gybson
Wm. Wild
Jasper Cheevers
Phil. Hind
Walr. Wall

These demonstrations produced the desired effect of allaying for a season the excitement between the hostile factions in the common council—and their honours thought it better policy to put on at least a mask of moderation, in order, the more effectually to carry out their joint schemes of personal aggrandizement, and lend their aid towards the iniquitous operation of the "no Popery laws," which though the Priest-catcher had become obnoxious for a while to all classes—even to Protestants—so much so, that though the odious informer was often assailed with clubs

* * These names cannot be decyphered.

and stones and hunted by an enraged populace, yet a desire to keep down Catholics was continually manifested. De Burgo,[1] indeed, avows that during the Hanoverian rule the laws against Catholics were not carried out with severity, and that all general persecution ceased till the year 1744, when it was renewed with great fierceness, owing, he adds, to the spread of Jansenism.[2]

The Oath of Abjuration, however, against "the Pretended Prince of Wales," and in sustainment and acknowledgment of the Hanoverian succession, and its limitation to the heirs of the Princess Sophia, was enacted and vigorously enforced; but this Oath contained no reference whatever to the subject matter of religion.[3]

It was with difficulty, notwithstanding this vaunted mildness of the Hanoverian rule, that a priest could exist independently. In the country he was a mark for the villiage tyrant. In the city, he did not move beyond the precincts of his small oratory or chapel. As an instance, in illustration of the state of things in and about Limerick, at this period, we may observe that during the sieges of 1690 and 1691, the Church of Kilmore or Kilmurry Magdalene in the Eastern Liberties had become a complete ruin. It was close by the site of the Williamite camp. Colonel Kilner Brazier, the resident landlord, made an effort to rebuild the fallen church—a laudable enterprise no doubt, if properly conceived and honestly carried into effect. Mr. Loyd, the rector, and Dr. Smyth, the Bishop, were interested in the project; but they do not appear to have been as zealous or as earnest, or rather as unscrupulous as Colonel Kilner Brazier desired that they should be. Mr. Loyd was either too poor or had too many other demands on him to contribute £30 yearly, towards the maintenance of a curate, and the Bishop had no disposable funds to give towards the building. After vestry meetings had failed to achieve the desired object, a resolution was adopted at one of those meetings by which a sum of £60 was ordered to be levied off the Catholic inhabitants of Kilmurry. Brazier had recourse to the Rev. Bryan O'Donnell, the then parish priest of Kilmurry, to raise the required sum. Father O'Donnell did not feel bound to call upon his parishioners to contribute. The result was that he was threatened by Colonel Brazier in letters which bespeak the temper of the times and the unenviable position of a Catholic Clergyman.[4]

Mr. O'Donnell,

You may remember I sent for you to discourse you about the sixty pound we the Pars. and Churchwardens presented at the Vestry, the 21st of April, to be levied off ye Parish for building of Kilmurry Church, if any of your congregation do refuse I opin you will acquaint them wh. wt. I told you, and sent me their answer for no time I will lose in forwarding the woork and preseeding (proceeding?) agst. them as I told you if they did not comply is what offers from your friend and Sarvant,

K. Brazier.

To Ffathar Bryan O'Donnell.

[1] Hibernia Dominicana, pp. 160-161.
[2] Hibernia Dominicana, 160-161.
[3] See Hibernia Dominicana, where the Oath is fully set out.
[4] From Original Papers of the Right Rev. Dr. Smyth, in the Corporation of Limerick.

This blandly persuasive and significant missive had not the desired effect; and another, couched in more menacing words was forwarded:—

Mr. O'Donnell, a little would make me resolve, you never should say mass here again. I am not to be sarved as you think; this is in relation to what I writt to you about: and more, you have not put all you brought with me of your Parish to there Oaths as I'd desire about the boards and the things stollen from me and my woork men, I expect your immediate answer to

K. Brazier,
Saterday.

To Mr. Bryan O'Donnell, Priest.

Priests and people continued to suffer; and where the Jack in office dressed up in a little brief authority issued his mandate, however oppressive or intolerable, he was imperative and inflexible, and disobedience was certain to receive its quick retribution. The arm of the exterminator, it is true, was not raised; but there were other and galling trials endured in abundance by the people. Owing to the war between England and France, the value of land fell considerably, and districts became tenantless. Holdings, which were valuable in other circumstances were surrendered, and leases would not be taken out even on low terms. The wages of the artizan and labourer, were not low, considering the depression which prevailed,[1] but land became a drug—and was offered at any price that could be obtained from the farmer. The case of Pritrich, in the first instance, and of Bruce, the representative of Pritrich, afterwards, against Chidly Coote, Esq., of the County of Limerick, arose out of this fluctuating value of land, and occupied the Court of Chancery for many years.[2] Pritrich, who was tenant of the lands of Garrincoony, and Rathnahilty, in the County of Limerick, had allowed his interest to lapse on a representation made by Mr. Coote, that he could not obtain a certain sum of money which he required to raise on a marriage settlement, if Pritrich's lease was on record against him. Mr. Coote, on the other hand had contended that Pritrich voluntarily surrendered his interest, and allowed large arrears of rent to accrue, which he was unable to discharge, owing, as he (Pritrich) alleged, to the decline in the value of land. Mr. Coote, during Pritrich's unoccupancy, let the lands to one Godsill, at 6s. 6d. an acre. Pritrich's rent was 6s. The Chancellor decided in favor of Pritrich and Bruce, and directed a new lease to be given. Mr. Coote appealed to the House of Lords; but was unsuccessful.[3]

Whilst the state of things was thus disheartening and disagreeable, the corporators of Limerick having had time to cool down, commenced to make some improvements. On the large strand, which was then westward of the west water gate mill, they built the new quay, now known by the name of the Mardyke.[4]

[1] Wages of Carpenters, Masons, Plasterers, &c., 1s. 6d. a day—Labourers, 6d. a day.

[2] From Contemporaneous records.

[3] At this time Licadoon, Boherload, Ballinafrankey, and Lismullanebeg, were let to Mr. Hunt for £300 per annum—real value then £512, "and after the present war with France, a fat beefe at Xmas, or £2 in lieu thereof." The tenant was obliged to build a house, and make other improvements. Licadoon contains 850 acres and about 40 acres of bog. Caheravala contains 297 acres, was set to Mr. Hunt at the yearly rent of £80, with a lease of lives. Other denominations were held under these lettings—the total rent out of all was £531 9s. 0¼d.—the real estimated value in 1728, was £923 3s. 2½d. In 1865, the lettings amount to a far higher sum in proportion—while taxes are immeasurably higher at present than they were in the times of which we are writing.

[4] White's MSS. state that the Proprietors of it were the Vincent Family, and the heirs of Alderman Foord.

The interests of education were also pretty well cared for: at this period the Rev. Robert Cashin was the head master of a first class Diocesan School, in Limerick, and the teacher of many men of eminence, including Dr. Sylvester O'Halloran, the Historian; the Rev. Joseph Ignatius O'Halloran, S.J.; Charles Johnston, Author of Chrysal or the Adventures of a Guinea;[1] Charles Smyth, Esq., M.P., and several others. He was afterwards appointed to the Rectory of Dromin and Athlacc, in the gift of Lady Robarts, on the recommendation of Dr. Smyth. The school fees in those times, appear not very large, and the school-master's salary was but £10 per annum.[2]

On the 9th of April, this year (1719), a highly distinguished Irishman, Edmond Sexton Pery, was born at Limerick.[3]

CHAPTER XL.

PERSEVERANCE OF THE CATHOLICS OF LIMERICK IN THE FACE OF PERSECUTION. THE FIRST CATHOLIC BISHOP SINCE THE SIEGES—CORPORATE MISDEEDS—LIEUTENANT-GENERAL THOMAS PEARCE—EXECUTION OF THE REV. TIMOTHY RYAN—EXTRAORDINARY DOINGS.

NOTWITHSTANDING the presisting enmity of the Orange faction irrespectively of every consideration of decency, truth, and honor, and the contumely and scorn with which Catholics and the Catholic Clergy continued to be treated, the old faith lived in the hearts of the people, and the year 1720 became remarkable in the Annals of Limerick in a pre-eminent degree. Until that year there had not been a Catholic Bishop appointed to the diocese of Limerick since the death in Paris, of the Right Rev. Dr. Moloney; when the Court of Rome at length adjudged it proper to appoint a Bishop to govern the diocese. The selection of the Holy See was made in the person of the Right Rev. Cornelius O'Keeffe, a native of the diocese of Cork, and of the family of the O'Keeffes of Clouna Phircane, in that county.[4] The day that witnessed the advent of a Catholic Prelate to a clergy and a people, who had been so long severely suffering, and so many years without a spiritual ruler, was a joyous one indeed. While to all the Catholic citizens of every degree, nothing could have been more acceptable.

Almost contemporaneously with the arrival of Dr. O'Keeffe a partial relaxation was experienced in the rigors of the penal code. An order was

[1] It is said Johnston wrote this celebrated standard novel, because he was disappointed in obtaining a situation under government. Mr. William Johnson, J.P. of Limerick, is a descendant of the novelist.

[2] Limeric, 4th March, 1718, Received of the Right Rev. Thomas, Lord Bishop of Limeric, the sum of Twenty pounds sterling in full of one whole year's school-master's salary, and for a year's schooling of his Lordship's son and Thomas Coulston, ending the Second of February last. Witness my hand. Ro. CASHIN.

[3] He had been speaker of the Irish House of Commons—an indefatigable member of Parliament for the City of Limerick, which he represented for many years, and which he greatly added to and improved, having been the projector of the new town. He had been raised to the Peerage as Viscount Pery, and died at his house in Park-street, London, on the 24th of February, 1806, and was buried in Hunsdon in Herefordshire, in the Calvert's family vault.*

[4] White's MSS.

* His Lordship's second daughter had been married to Mr. Calvert.

given by Parliament for liberty to Catholics to dwell in Limerick, without undergoing the process of registration, contrary to the Act of 1703; but the Catholics were compelled to enter into security for their good behaviour.[1] Toxeth Roche,[2] a bigot and a firebrand[3] was particular in enforcing this order; but it may be added, that like many other men equally earnest in enforcing the letter of the law, his own conduct in the Corporation, did not prove to be above suspicion.

During his mayoralty in 1721, a Charter of Incorporation was granted to the Curriers and Tanners of Limerick;[4] but the star of these Orange Roches was not destined to remain much longer in the ascendant. Systematic plunder and oppression had been arousing the resentment, not indeed of the Catholics alone, but of the Protestants themselves, who were not within the magic circle of the Corporation. The gentlemen of the county commenced a law-suit against the municipal body, on account of the many illegal exactions which were practised in the collection and in the levying of the Customs and the Gateage. The Catholic merchants, taking advantage of this auspicious occasion, contended with the Corporation about the Small Duties, called Cockett duties, which had been paid to the Corporation on the importation of goods, and which were proportioned according to the duties which they paid the Crown.[5] The case went before Parliament; several members of the Corporation were summoned to Dublin; the decision on the point being left to a committee of twenty-four members of the House. The Corporation had a ready excuse for their misconduct, alleging that many Catholics were living in Limerick, and were not registered in accordance with the act of 1703, and that all such should be turned out of the city. Some of the most prosperous merchants were among this number. This was a dangerous plea, as leave had been just given to Catholics to live and trade in Limerick, without registration. The committee, however, decided the question in this way: they decreed that it should be optional with the Catholic merchants to pay the small duties to the Corporation as before, or compound by paying £5 each year in lieu of these small duties. By this decree about £100 per annum were gained for the Corporation; and the liberty of dwelling in Limerick, contrary to the Act of 1703, was secured to the Catholics without registry.

[1] White's MSS. We speak of his Lordship's high character and great labours for the advancement of religion, in the proper place of our history. Some of this family distinguished themselves as Officers in King James's army, and served afterwards in the Irish Brigade in France.

[2] It may be proper to observe that "the Corporation" Roches of Limerick, were not related to the ancient Catholic family of that name, who are a branch of the Fermoy house, and were plundered of their patrimony in Cork county by Cromwell, and driven to Clare, where some of them continued in business, and about the period at which we have arrived in our history, settled in Limerick, where they became eminent merchants and bankers—and one of whom, the late William Roche, Esq., was returned member for the city of Limerick, with David Roche, Esq., created a baronet in 1842 (a descendant of the Corporation Roches)—both liberals, in the first reformed Parliament, in 1833, and represented the city for some years.

[3] It is said of Toxeth Roche, that he knocked off a Catholic merchant's hat, because the owner had not obsequiously done homage to the civic autocrat, by humbly taking it off whilst passing him.

[4] The persons named in the Charter as of the Corporation of Curriers and Tanners, are Alderman William Ffranklin, William Brett, Thomas Brett, Charles Taweys, Edward Gray, William Benn, James Fortness, and Joshua Tabb. The draft of the Charter, which is signed by George Roche, Mayor, and Toxeth Roche, Town Clerk, is among the Corporation documents.

[5] The Catholic merchants of Cork had previously succeeded in abolishing the Small Duties.—*White's MSS.*

[6] White's MSS., which state, in addition, that there was a schedule made, mentioning what goods were to pay customs at the gate, and how much the custom was for each kind.

These proceedings checked the dominant party; and though the Corporation in 1722, in their anxiety to propitiate the Protestant interest, endowed a Protestant school, this endowment was soon afterwards withdrawn, and the Roches were destined to meet further municipal reverses.[1]

About this time Lieut.-General Thomas Pearce was governor of Limerick. A brave soldier, he had served abroad in the campaigns in Spain and Holland, and was a most unlikely person to quail before the terrors of a civic faction. Between him and these Roches a violent dispute arose, which was carried on with unsparing acrimony, and the interest of which extended to the country. Pearce championed public rights; the Roches and their partizans continued to be the defenders of a degraded monopoly. After a long succession of fights, Pearce succeeded, not only in becoming a member of the Corporation, but in 1726 he forced himself into the mayoralty. He had received slights and affronts from the Roches, and he was resolved on revenge. His first course was to create among the members of the council intestine divisions, and having, by this means, shaken the power of his assailants, he became a candidate for the mayoralty, which, and many violent contests and animosities, he obtained this year, though the contrary party protested against the legality of his election, and therefore would not give up to him the sword of state or the mace. Nor did he get them till the following year when they were necessary for proclaiming King George the Second, who ascended the throne the 11th of June, 1727, in which year Pearce was signally successful in obtaining the representation of the city of Limerick, together with Henry Ingoldsby, Esq. He continued Governor all the time, and the same hostility existed between him and the Roches.[2]

In Limerick at this period there were twenty-two companies of soldiers, whilst in Cork there were but eleven companies. The troops selected for these garrisons were all English Protestants or foreigners.[3] The "mild Hanoverian rule" did not recognise the military existence of Papists, nor did the ruling body feel secure without alien mercenaries in addition to English soldiers. The superiority of Limerick over Cork as a garrison town, was acknowledged; and this admitted superiority Limerick continued to hold until, in recent years, the authorities have thought proper to reduce it from its ancient rank and station, and make it second to Cork in this respect.[4]

During the mayoralty of Lieutenant General Pearce, a shocking tragedy was enacted in Limerick. The Rev. Timothy Ryan, who is said by White[5] to have been an irregular and excommunicated priest, but who did not deserve the terrible doom to which he was consigned, was committed to gaol by the Mayor (Pearce) "for marrying a Protestant man and a Catholic woman," contrary to an act of Parliament which was passed this year, and which made it death in the priest.[6] He was tried at the following assizes, and condemned, and was the "first" person executed[7] in Ireland for this "crime" since the

[1] The next year (1723) was a very dry year, there was little or no water in the river Shannon; it commonly flowed salt water up to the Quay; a linge was catch't (ling caught) between the two towers of the Quay, and there was a second growth of fruits — *White's MSS.*

[2] White's MSS.

[3] Mr. Edgar, secretary to the Pretender, in reference to the military arrangements of Ireland in 1726—quoted in Croker's Antiquarian Researches.

[4] Limerick continued the head quarters of three regiments until the Crimean War in 1853, and had been the residence of the General Officer until 1858. Lieut.-General Sir James Chatterton, Bart. was the last General who commanded in Limerick.

[5] White's MSS.

[6] Ibid.

[7] He was executed at Gallows Green.—*White's MSS.*

passing of the act of Parliament.[1] In the local annals the nefarious execution of this clergyman was suppressed, as if even bigotry and prejudice had been ashamed to refer to so cruel a legalized murder.[2] Many a dark and fearful deed of blood and vengeance was perpetrated in these sad days[3] of religious intolerance and ascendancy, which have never seen the light.[4] As to corporate iniquity, however, there are some brief records of the spoliations of the orange faction. Prior to the change in the government caused by the Revolution, there were sixty-five leases executed by the Corporation to members of that body:[5]—

No.	Term of Years.	Date of first lease of each term.	Number of Leases.	Date of last lease of each term.	All prior to the year 1690.
1	21 years	or shorter terms	4		
2	31 years	10th Dec. 1670	6	10th Feb. 1698	
3	41 years	2nd March, 1694	2	21st Dec. 1694	
4	51 years	5th March, 1657	42	16th Aug. 1699	
5	61 years	6th Sept. 1672	2	13th Oct. 1685	
6	81 years	12th Jan. 1665	3	9th Sept. 1665	
7	99 years	28th Oct. 1675	6	19th Sept. 1676	
Total number of leases.			65	Executed in the 17th Century.	

The following leases were executed prior to 1746 (some twenty years after this time) at which period the greater portion of the Corporation Estates were granted in fee or for 999 years, to members of the then Council:—

No.	Term of Years.	Date of first lease of each term.	Number of Leases.	Date of last lease of each term.	
1	{31 yrs. &under}	14th July, 1703	8	16th July, 1705	
2	41 years	8th Feb. 1700	5	10th March, 1712	
3	51 years	16th Sept. 1700	17	26th Oct. 1724	
4	71 years	6th April, 1707	1	6th April, 1717	
5	99 years	2nd Sept. 1706	31	23d Feb. 1746	
Number of Leases.			57	Executed prior to 1746.	

added to which, during the above period, four leases only seem to be executed

[1] De Burgo (Hib. Dom., p. 716) states that several priests suffered for violating this law.

[2] In the first edition of Ferrar's History of Limerick, there are two lines referring to the fact. In the second edition there is no mention of it.

[3] White's MSS.

[4] This was a stain on the reputation of Lieutenant-General Pearce, who was the brother of the distinguished Sir Edward Lovet Pearce, the architect of the magnificent Irish Parliament House. Sir E. L. Pearce was at this time Engineer and Surveyor General of the King's works. He obtained a sum of £1,000 from the Commons, and an address from the House of Lords in Ireland, "for his true ability, skill, and good workmanship in building of the Parliament House in College Green," an edifice which was then, and which continues to be, the admiration of Europe. He had been a Captain in Nevill's regiment of Dragoons, and he sat in the Parliament of Ireland for the borough of Ratoath.

[5] Report of the late Robert Potter, Esq. sometime M.P. for Limerick city, and Solicitor to the Reformed Corporation.

for larger terms than those just out. Two of them were leases of pieces of the Strand—a third a lease of a Common, reserving to the Corporation and the citizens the right of using the same as they should think fit, and the fourth to Hugh Heney, Esq. of Clynoe, West Singland.[1]

Such was the system carried on by the followers of the great and good King William; and at each of their festive gatherings the charter toast was now "the glorious, pious, and immortal memory." But they had not, as we have seen, every thing their own way. They did not sleep on a bed of roses. On the 26th of May, 1727, and on the 1st of June, 6th of June, 23rd of June, and 9th of October, in the same year, several resolutions were entered into, by which it was declared that the assent of the citizens was necessary to the making of a Common Councilman, or the payment or disposal of corporate money, and that without such assent in a Court of D'Oyer Hundred, such election of Common Councilman was void, and no money could be paid or disposed of.[2]

In this year Father Thomas O'Gorman, a native of Munster, and who had entered the order of the Jesuit Fathers in Castile, in Spain, taught School in Limerick; he had previously taught in Clonmel and Cork also.[3]

CHAPTER XLI.

FURTHER ILLUSTRATIONS OF THE SPIRIT OF THE TIMES.—A GENERAL ELECTION.—GUILDS OF TRADE.—THE BATTLE OF THE MAYOR'S STONE.—THE THEATRE.

In recording the events of these dismal days, though an occasional gleam of sunshine may appear, its only effect is to bring out into more painful relief the gloomy and revolting features of the picture. Ever aggressive and busy, the dominant party in the state, as well as in the local governing bodies, lost no opportunity to show the Catholics their legal inferiority, and to impress upon them that they had nothing more than a permissive existence, which might be withdrawn at any moment it pleased the powers to do so. Pursuant to orders, in 1730 and 1731, returns were made to Parliament by the Protestant Archbishop of Armagh, the Protestant bishops of Meath, Clogher, Raphoe, Derry, Dromore, Down, Connor, Ardagh, &c., consisting of documents or papers taken from convents, friaries and houses where Catholic clergymen had resided. In 1731 a "report was made by the Protestant Primate, from the Lords' Committee appointed to inquire into the present state of Popery in Ireland, and to propose such heads of a Bill as they shall think most proper for explaining and amending the Acts to prevent

[1] Report of the late Robert Potter, Esq.

[2] This appeared in the Council Book produced to Parliament in 1761, but the Court of D'Oyer Hundred became an absolute mockery and delusion. It was filled with the prowling partizans of the dominant faction when it met, and things went on as usual.

[3] Jesuit Catalogue of 1752—Father O'Gorman was the teacher of the Rev. James White, compiler of White's MSS. and had him sent to Spain to study for the Church.—*White's MSS.*

the growth of Popery, and to secure the kingdom from any danger from the great number of papists in the nation."[1] In the preface of this extraordinary production it is said: "As leading perseverance in promoting and increasing Protestant seminaries (Protestant charter schools just invented) and due execution of the laws against the Popish clergy, will, it is hoped, in the next age root out that pestilent, restless, and idolatrous religion! !"

In this book it is stated that they (the Protestant informers) had discovered parcels of papers at the friaries of Boulay, near Portumna; of Kilconnell, near Aughrim; and of Kannalfish, near Loughrea; in convents near Athenry, Meelick, Clare, Galway, and Dunmore; and lastly in the house of Thady Glynn, a Popish priest in Dunmore, who kept a seminary there. Amongst these papers were copies of the Acts of the Chapters of Friar Minors held in Dublin, from 1717 to 1729, From those Acts it appeared, that the Franciscan order alone had, in 1717, 61 convents; that in 1724 they had increased to 62; and in 1727 and 1729, to 67 in Ireland." The abstract of the returns which this book contained is as follows: "26 dioceses; 664 mass houses, of which 229 had been built since the commencement of the reign of George I.; 1445 priests officiating; 51 friaries; 254 friars; 2 nunneries; 8 (*qr.* 4) nuns; 24 Popish chapels; 549 Popish schools."

It is impossible for language to describe the intense sufferings of the great body of the people in these times. Severities to the Catholics in this season of general distress must have horror-struck every man of feeling.[2] The whole population of Ireland at the time could not much exceed 1,700,000 souls, of whom 700,000 were Protestants.[3] In 1652, according to the survey of Sir William Petty, the Catholics amounted to 800,000 and the Protestants to 700,000 only, so that in the course of less than a century, by the fosterage of Government, the Protestants had more than doubled while the Catholics continued stationary. In the face of persecution, many of the exiled clergy, risking their lives, returned, and exposed to the merciless pursuit of priest-catchers, who were again sent on the chase, to the cold and damp and starvation of bogs and caverns.[4] When the rage of persecution had abated, they issued from their hiding places, bare-headed and bare-footed, half-naked, half-famished, proceeded from cabin to cabin, instructing the ignorant, consoling the unfortunate, infusing the balm of religion into the hearts of the wretched.

While these unheard of persecutions existed, French influence strange to say, predominated so strongly in the Councils of Great Britain that leave was allowed to recruit publicly in Limerick and in other cities in Ireland for the Irish Brigade then in France. Lieutenant-Colonel Hennessy of the Irish Brigade, and other officers of the French recruiting service, were recommended by the Duke of Newcastle and Sir Richard Walpole to the Irish Government; but Primate Boulter, the originator of the Charter Schools, was unfavourable to Colonel Hennessy.[5] An outcry was raised against this system, but it went on nevertheless until the defeat of the British army at Fontenoy, in 1745—and until the stir made by the Prentender in England and Scotland, when the impolicy of allowing the bone and sinew of Ireland to fight against England in foreign fields appeared but too plain to those who had hitherto encouraged the enlistment. But whilst this was going on

[1] To this was added an Appendix, containing original papers. Dublin, printed in 1741, and reprinted in London, by J. Oliver, in 1747.
[2] O'Connor's Dissertation on Irish Catholics. [3] Ibid. [4] Ibid.
[5] O'Connor's Dissertations on the Irish Catholics.

in 1733, in order the more effectually to banish Priests and deprive Catholics of any shred of landed property left them, a bill was brought in to annul all marriages celebrated by Popish priests and friars, and to illegitimize the issue—a measure which caused unusual consternation, and against which Lord Mountgarrett and Lord Cahir petitioned to be heard by counsel on their own behalf, and on that of the rest of the Catholics of Ireland; but whether owing to the remonstrances of the French court, or the shameless cruelty of the measure, the bill was withdrawn. Nearly all through this century up to a later period, the position of the Catholics was deplorable in the extreme.

To illustrate this state of things, a general election had occurred a little before this time (1731), and as usual on such occasions, excitement prevailed. The rival candidates for the city of Limerick were Mr. Charles Smyth, son of the Bishop, and a Mr. Rawson. Among the freemen who recorded their votes for Rawson was one David Parker, who was objected to because his wife was a papist.[1] Parker had offered to swear that he never knew his wife to be of any other than the Protestant persuasion; but the objection was insisted on, and it need hardly be added that it prevailed. George Howe, freeman, was objected to also, and his vote reserved for scrutiny, "he having a Popish wife." Robert Napper, freeman, was objected to for the same cause; and Jasper Chievers, freeman, was "reserved for the scrutiny for turning from ye Protestant to ye Popish religion;" whilst William Kelly, freeman, was equally objected to and ordered to attend the scrutiny, because "he went to mass, which he denied, but confessed that he read his recantation."[2] These were the happy times and enlightened days, when religion was made the stalking-horse of mere faction.[3]

It was a specific duty on the part of the candidate that he should enrol himself in the guilds of trade; and accordingly we find Mr. Charles Smyth admitted by "the Master, Wardens, and Elders of the Society of Victuallers of Limerick, to all the privileges, franchises, &c. of the Society."[4] He was also admitted a member of the Cordwayner's Society, of which Robert Wilson was the Master. It is scarcely necessary to add that these guilds were true blue, real Orange, and that they exercised powerful influence on the fate of

[1] Arthur Roche's Poll Book. [2] Ibid.

[3] It was the custom at this period with the mayors to appoint a deputy in writing, "or give a deputation," and written authority, during his (the mayor's) absence from the city. The following is a copy of an authority given by the Right Worshipful Charles Smyth, Mayor, to Alderman Robinson, to act for him:—

City of County } I do hereby constitute, nominate, and appoint James Robinson, Esq. of
of Limerick. } said city, Alderman, to be Deputy Mayor during my absence from ye said city, to hold Courts, and do other judicial acts for the speedy execution of justice in the city and the county of the city of Limerick aforesaid. Witness my hand and seal ye 25th day of October, 1732. CHARLES SMYTH.

[4] The following is a copy of the certificate which is written in a very admirable hand on vellum:—

"We, the Master, Wardens, and Elders of the Society of Vittulers in the cittie of Limerick, unanimously concurr'd and agreed together to admitt Charless Smith, of the said citty, Esq. into our Society as a free Brother and Member of the same, and by virtue of our Charter to enjoy all the Privileges, Franchisses, and Liberties, that we or any of the said Society, can or doth enjoy by the said Charter. In witness whereof, we, the Master and Wardens, have subscribed our hands, and affix the Company's seal the Eleventh day of October, 1731.

"GEORGE ALLISON, *Master.*
"PHILIP TOMLINSON, } *Wardens*"
"ROBERT SMITHSON, }
"WM. TOMLINSON, *Clark.*

The red wax seal of the Society is attached, bearing the arms of the Victuallers, on a shield, supported by winged bulls, a lamb on the crest over a helmet: two axes quartered on the shield. Legend—"The Company of Victuallers of the citty of Limerick." The policy of securing the co-operation of the guilds in Parliamentary elections was universal at this time.

elections. Mr. Charles Smyth was therefore returned. But the guilds did not at all times agree among themselves. On the contrary, they had several severe contests and bloody battles, one of which has been handed down to us in verse, which commemorates

THE BATTLE OF THE MAYOR'S STONE,[1]

And which from its graphic and illustrative character we admit to a place in the history, although by no means remarkable for poetical merit. It should be borne in mind that orange and blue were the colors of the Clothiers whatever their religion might be. Like the "Weavers' March," and the "Butcher's Quick-step," it was formerly very popular, but is now extremely scarce.

The only "various readings" we notice in this ballad, which from its mythological allusions would seem to have been written by a schoolmaster, and which as an orange ballad is *unique* as a Limerick production, are in the end of the fourth stanza, of which the last two lines in the colloquial verse, are sheer nonsense, and in the second line of the sixth, in which for "law's delay," which reads suspiciously Shakespearian, we find "dint of law," in which there is no rhyme, though there is very good reason.

We are bold Limerick Clothiers, we'll have you for to know us
That we must bear the sway wherever we shall go;
Though they were vast in number, we came on like claps of thunder,
And we made them to lie under with our warlike blows.
Though seven to one opposed us, we gave them hearty doses,
Cut heads and bloody noses, bruised bones and broken pates;
They found in time of battle that we were men of metal,
Our blows to them proved fatal and made them curse their fates.

Though Vulcan[2] with his weapons had sworn he'd kill the Weavers,
Assisted by the Carpenters, and by the Masons too—
There were Tinkers, Bricklayers, Glaziers with Stone Cutters and Braziers,
All joined against the Weavers, but all it would not do.
For as we sat merry boozing, the plot it was concluding,
Which spread a vast confusion outside of Thomond Gate,
But these dogs they were so footy, in us they had no booty,
We taught them then their duty and made them soon retreat.

When we received true tidings of their wicked base contrivings,
Thinking to beguile us while they in ambush lay,
Full closely then we tramped to where they were encamped,
And our stout and noble captain valiant Bennis led the way;—

[1] This stone was placed near the cross of Killeely, outside Thomond Gate, on the old road to Ennis, and it had the following inscription. It has been removed for several years:—

THIS PAVING WAS WH
OLY ENDED AT THE
CHARGES OF THE CORPO
RATION, IAMES WHIT
E FITZIAMES ESQVIR
BEING MAIOR ANNI DI
MDCXXXVIII.

[2] The Blacksmiths bore the arms of Vulcan.

Saying "Gentlemen be faithful, to us prove not ungrateful,
Though seven to one engage us, give not one inch away;—
Let it never be reported that they beat Limerick Clothiers,
In spite of their reproaches we'll bear the bell away."

For when first they did attack us with adzes keen and axes,
They stood as if already fixed our Clothiers to destroy;
But soon we did attack them, and nobly we did whack them
To our great satisfaction we worked them sore annoy:
"Come on, my boys," cries Bennis, we'll drive these dogs to Ennis,
How dare they fight against us? we'll make them be more meek,
We'll show them Limerick Clothiers are gentlemen and soldiers,
And if they want a licking they shall have it once a week.

Like unto sworn brothers they joined against our Clothiers,
Who behaved themselves like soldiers in the battle's fiery heat—
Like gentlemen of honor moving under Jason's banner,[1]
We marched to their dishonor though the rupture it was great;
For their daughters, wives and elders like poisoned Salamanders,
Laid on young Alexander with great sticks and stones,
But our undaunted heroes drove back the tribe of Neroes,
And soon applied an obstacle to our insulting foes.

Although they bred this faction they still sought satisfaction,
But not by noble action, but by the law's delay;
For these cowards base and arrant, they got a power of warrants,
Against the Blue and Orange that ever bore the sway.
But like grinning asses along the street they pass us,
Disdained even by their lasses who cry out at them shame,
But since its your own seeking and for law you lie a creeping,
Wait for our next merry meeting and then redeem your fame.

And to tell you their superior he was a butter taster,
An old insipid negur, that was whipped out of Cork,
For turning tallow chandler he ran a race with Randle,
And showed them all a gauntlope from South Gate to the North.
Then after this disaster he came to Limerick faster,
And now he's become master all over Vulcan's train,—
Which causes me to wonder, all, that such a base old scoundrel
Should be their chief commander, or ever bear that name.

For it's well known to all people that he was prone to evil,
To Belzebub the devil we may him well compare—
For a damzel brisk and airy he very fain would marry,
But soon he did miscarry all in the County Clare.
For his virtuous wife being living, this hot blooded old devil
Would fain have been a minion of his fair elected bride—
But of his hopes deprived this old rogue soon contrived
To cut his throat in private, all by the Shannon side.

[1] The Golden Fleece was the arms of the Clothiers.

Now Clothiers sit ye merry, drink brandy, wine, and sherry,
Malaga and canary, fill bumpers, do not spare,[1]
For equity and justice shall ever be amongst us,
Since his noble worship brave Franklin is the Mayor.
The Lord may bless his honor, and all to him belonging,
For he is worthy to be made a baronet or knight,
For quality and commons and Protestants and Romans,
And widows and poor orphans still bless him day and night.

The Lord may bless and prosper our good and noble master,
Who saved us from disaster, I mean brave Sheriff Vokes,—
For in the time of danger to us he proved no stranger,
Our rights he did maintain them and from us did ne'er revolt ;
But like a wise conductor he did us aid and succour,
His men above all others, their foes they did subdue,
For like a wise Apollo his enterprise did follow,
Till we made them all acknowledge that we were the True Blues.

In the midst of these proceedings, which throw greater light on the manners of the day than some of the facts recorded in much more dignified documents, projects were afloat for building Theatres in Dublin and Cork, and subsequently in Limerick. The Theatres of the three cities had been held by the same patentee for many years subsequent to these times. Sir Edward Lovet Pearce wrote to Charles Smyth, Esq., M.P., on the subject, a letter as follows :—

" Dublin, February 2nd, 17 32.

Sr,

I hear from others, and from your Brother, Sr. Thos., that you are at Cork, on a design of building a play house. As our schemes of that sort for this citty are just ripe, and many gentlemen of fortune are concerned with me in a project, which will in all probality take effect, I have been at a good deal of paines to enform myself of the necessary conveniencys, and to make such a designe as may best answer our intentions. At least we are a great number who are satisfied with it, or I would not venture to recommend it to you, who probably (as we do) propose some advantage to yr. self. The meaning of all this is to tell you, that if you realy are upon such a design, and send me a plan of ye ground, with the streets that lead to it, and mention the money you expect to lay out, I will as soon possible return you a plan fitted for yr. purpose, with our scheme at large by which we raise the money and secure ourselves. I am not a judge whether ye affairs will permitt you to stay so long from yr. town of Limerick, but *I hope they will*, because I think it would be for yr. advantage. I know Lt.-Genel. Pearce has writt to you lately, concerning the affair of the Gates and Walls, presented by yr. Grand Jury of the Citty, but that is a business will be more adviseable in you to post pone till the time of the assizes, because the Judges may probably have some directions there in, and you may like best to hear what they will say before you send yr. answer, which I know is not expected before the assizes. I hope you will believe I offer this in friendship to you, and with reguard to Sr. Thos., yr. Brother, and that I am,

Yr. most humble
and obedient servant,
Ed. Lo. Pearce."

To Charles Smyth, Esq.,
at Limerick.

[1] Claret and white wine were in general use. Mr. Stritch imported claret, which he sold at £55 a tun. Mr. Pierce Moroney was also a wine merchant. "A hogshead of white wine" sold for ten pounds. Imperial tea 4s. per lb. green tea 6s. per lb. in 1723; good coffee was sold in Mary-street by Mr. Holland Goddison, at 4s. per lb.

CHAPTER XLII.

CIVIC RIVALRY—ST. MICHAEL'S PARISH—THE GREAT FROST—FEARFUL SUFFERINGS OF THE PEOPLE—WHITEFIELD'S VISIT TO LIMERICK AND HIS OPINION OF THE INHABITANTS—THE LAND AND ITS CHANGES—MISDEEDS OF THE CORPORATORS AGAIN.

THE principal event in 1732, was a grand civic procession, which was made by Philip Rawson, Esq., the Mayor, who had been the defeated candidate a short time before, but was now desirous of showing his strength as father of the city. Accompanied by the entire corporation in costume, and the several guilds of trade, with banners, badges, &c., he went around the city—or as White quaintly expresses it, "rid the fringes,"[1] levelling such encroachments as had been made on the high roads and commons of the corporation. There had not been so brilliant a procession for many years, and its effect was long remembered.

The city was confined at the time principally to the English town and Irish town; the size and population of the parish of St. Michael may be judged of from a very simple fact. The parish had been joined to that of St. John in 1709; but in 1735, the Rev. Dr. Pierce Creagh, who had officiated as Catholic pastor of St. Mary's, afterwards for many years, arrived from Rome, where he had completed his studies, bringing with him a papal bull for the Catholic archdeaconship of the city, and the parish of St. Michael belonging to it.[2] On the 21st of February in that year, he took possession of the archdeaconship, but the parish of St. Michael being so extremely poor at the time, it was not able to support a clergyman, and Dr. Creagh heeded it not.[3] Not only was the parish poor, but throughout the city and country much misery prevailed, and bigotry and fanaticism had full fling. Depression, dearth, and famine were generally felt to act with galling severity on the masses; whilst a few years later, a dreadful frost—*the* great frost of 1739, which continued for forty days, and from which many memorable incidents have[4] been dated, was accompanied and followed by unparalleled

[1] White's MSS. [2] Ibid. [3] Ibid.

[4] For instance, in the Pedigree of General Maurice de Lacy of Grodno, in Russia, and of the County of Limerick, it is stated he was born the year of the great frost. He died at Grodno in 1820, and was the last male descendant direct of the great Hugh de Lacy, Governor of Ireland.

To the eminently warlike County of Limerick family of De Lacy, of which Maurice De Lacy was one of the most illustrious members, and to their kinsmen the Browns of Camas, we have briefly referred in a preceding chapter. But a more comprehensive notice of them and of their noble relations, the Herberts of Rathkeale, is demanded in this History.

The family of the De Lacys in the annals of history of the last eight centuries ranks high for military prowess, and sagacity in council, and deeds of daring and importance at the Norman Conquest, and it will be found that from that time, and throughout the eight centuries of great events which happened to England and Ireland, to the present age, and throughout the great military and political achievements on the continent of Europe—in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, by the Crusaders, the Knights Templars, the Confederated Barons, down to the Irish Confederacies, and the famous Irish Brigades; and in the Civil Wars of the Norman Kings, the Conquest of Ireland, of Scotland, of Wales, the struggle for Magna Charta, the Wars of the Roses, in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, down to the religious dissensions in England and Ireland, the Cromwellite Wars, the battles for religion which closed with the Treaty of Limerick, in 1691; or the military events in Spain and France, in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries; down to the Insurrection of 1817, when one of the Generals Lacy was sacrificed to the liberties of that country; and in the great wars of Germany, in the seventeenth and eighteenth cen-

miseries. Persons died of sheer starvation in the public streets, and their bodies lay unburied. The condition indeed of the people was so terrible, that

turies; the wars against Turkey, in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, those of the famous Irish Brigade, the wars by the French against Marlborough, with Catholic Germany against Sweden and Prussia, and the Russians against Turkey—in short, in every leading European event to the Treaty of Adrianople, in 1829, the family of De Lacy of Limerick has supplied a member, and achieved undying renown. From Walter De Lacy, whose daughters were married into the noble house of Fitzgerald, Earls of Desmond and Kildare, descended Hugh Lacy, Bishop of Limerick, in Queen Mary's time; the family rose and fell with the Fitzgeralds' intestine wars, in the fifteenth, sixteenth, and seventeenth centuries. In the seventeenth century there were three brothers of the family settled in the County Limerick—one in Ballingarry, one in Bruree, and one in Bruff; and from those descended the famous "Pierce Lacy" who was executed by the Justices in 1617; being one of the five exempted from the pardon of 1601. His descendant, Colonel Lacy, continued the wars in Munster in 1641, and treated with Ireton at the siege of Limerick in 1651, but was excluded from the amnesty. John Bourke, Lord of Brittas, half-brother of Pierce Lacy, was executed in 1607; and in 1618, his relative married to the daughter of the Earl of Inchiquin, was created Baron Brittas; in 1641 attainted, restored, 1688 attainted and lost their properties. Cromwell expelled the Lacys root and branch, and only one of the Bruff branch escaped the slaughter by dismounting a horseman. Pierce Lacy was conspicuously engaged in the siege of Limerick, 1691. From these branches sprung the Irish Brigaders, and the French, Spanish, Austrian, Polish and Russian warriors, Marshals and Generals De Lacy and Brown, whose exploits for a century, up to the close of the last century, filled Europe with their fame. In the list of English by descent at the end of the sixteenth century, in the county of Limerick, the Lacys of Ballingarry, of the Brouve (Bruff) and of Bruree, are ranked with "the gentlemen and freeholders" of the county, as contradistinguished from the "meere Irishe," and the factions in Munster, viz. the "McSwines and M'Shees, then in faction"—the latter gallowglasses,* though at the siege at Askeaton in 1641—"John Lacie of the Brouff" is denounced, with M'William Bourke, second son of Lord Brittas, and others, by St. Ledger, Lord President of Munster, as among "the Mounster Rebelles."† History teems with the achievements of the De Lacys in Russia and Austria. It was for his remarkable successes in the Council not less than in the Field, that the "famous Marshal De Lascy, the son of an Irish Exile from the county of Limerick, was loaded with so much honor by the rulers of Austria, and received from the Emperor Joseph a letter (written the day before the Emperor's death)" which is translated in his kinsman's "Cornet Pierse's Historical Researches," as follows:—"Vienna, 19th February, 1790. My dear marshal Lacy, I behold the moment which is to separate us approaching with hasty strides! I should be very ungrateful indeed if I left this world without assuring you, my dear friend, of that lively gratitude on which you have so many claims, and which I have had the pleasure of acknowledging in the face of the whole world! Yes! you created *my army*: to you it is indebted for its credit and its consideration. If I be any thing I owe it to you. The trust I could repose in your advice under every circumstance, your unbroken attachment to my person, which never varied, your success in the Field as well as in the Council, are so many grounds, my dear marshal, which render it impossible for me sufficiently to express my thanks. I have seen your tears flow for me! The tears of a great man and a sage are a high panegyric. Receive my adieus! I tenderly embrace you. I regret nothing in this world but the small number of my *friends*, among whom you certainly are the first! Remember me! remember your sincere and affectionate friend, JOSEPH." A magnificent monument, with his effigy in bronze, is raised to him in Vienna.

In April, 1799, the renowned Suvaroff, with the above mentioned General Maurice Lacy of Grodno, and the County of Limerick, opened the Campaign, and in the words of Thiers, "in three months the French lost all their possessions in Italy—the battle of Novi shut us definitively out of Italy after three years occupation." But Suvaroff left the Austrians and marched North to help Korsakoff at Zurich, but was too late and hastened home.

In the next year Napoleon "crossed the Alps," and after winning Marengo and Lombardy, he was within 50 miles of Venice when the peace of Amiens was concluded. In the war of 1805, General Maurice Lacy landed a Russian army to attack the French on their flank at Naples. But the French having won Austerlitz from the Austrians, the treaty of Presburg of December, 1805, ceded Venetia to the French, and after an Austrian occupation of 10 years it was given back to the "Kingdom of Italy."

In the succeeding wars, the Austrian army was successful against Padua and Vicenza, and threatened Venice, when the battle of Wagram followed in 1809. In 1810, another of the Lacy family landed a Spanish army at Cadiz to divert the French from Italy, by a demonstration on that flank. By the treaties of 1814–'15, France "returned to her limits of 1792," renounced Italy, and Venetia and Lombardy were reannexed to Austria.

In the Napoleon correspondence now publishing, is a remarkable letter from Napoleon to Count Lacy, taken from the memoirs of Cornet Pierce of the Russian service, in which Napoleon

* Carew MSS. in Lambeth Library. † Ibid.

when provisions were exhausted, they had recourse to every means to sustain life even to cats, dogs, mice, carrion, putrid meat, nettles, docking,

suggests the re-formation of an expedition to Ireland, to liberate the Catholics of that country, which he desires equally for the Catholics of Poland. It is dated from the place where the famous interview between him and Alexander took place, two days after that interview. The proposal fell through. He says,

"General—Your illustrious master permits me to address you—your country and your faith have all my sympathies. The noble devotion of Ireland's sons, which have produced such sacrifices through so many ages (generations), inspires the hope that you will seek to benefit your country and your faith, and to restore her proscribed sons. Your name will inspire confidence, thousands would flock to your banner, and the antient enemy of our common faith might be humbled to the wishes of both your royal master and myself. Think of this, and if favorably let me hear from you. Accept my high consideration of your renown and your ancestry, &c. &c. Napoleon.

General Maurice Lacy."

A Pedigree of this warlike race, written in Spanish, shows that members of the family of De Lacy served in the armies of Spain after the siege of Limerick, and that in 1796, the children of Anna Maria de Lacy, who married Timotheus O'Scanlan, resided in Madrid. The Right Rev. Robert Lacy, Catholic Bishop of Limerick, who died in 1761, was a member of and an ornament to the Bruree Branch of the De Lacy family. General Maurice de Lacy of Grodno in Russia, and of the County of Limerick, died in 1820.* Not less illustrious were their relatives the Browns—George Brown, Baron of Camas, and his descendants, of whom Ulysses or Ulick Brown of Camas, in the Co. of Limerick, Esq., was Colonel of a Regiment of Horse in the service of the Emperors Leopold and Joseph, created in 1716, by the Emperor Charles VI. a Count of the Holy Roman Empire, (his younger brother George receiving a like dignity at the same time, being General of Foot, Councillor of War, and Colonel of a Regiment of Infantry, under the said Emperors), was father of the deservedly famous Ulysses Maximilian Brown, Count of the Holy Roman Empire, one of their Imperial Majestys' Privy Counsellors, and Councillor of War, Field Marshal, Colonel of a Regiment of Foot, Commander of Prague, Commanding-General of the Kingdom of Bohemia, and Knight of the White Eagle of Poland. He was born in Germany in 1705, and began to serve in 1718, marched with his uncle after the peace of Passarvoviz in Hungary, to Italy, the war having begun that year in Sicily. In the years 1731-'2 he served in Corsica, and was grievously wounded at Callasana, which he took sword in hand. In the years 1733-'34 and '35, was Major-General in the wars of Italy, he behaved with great distinction in the battles of Parma and Guastalla.

In 1735-'38-39, in quality of Lieutenant-General, he commanded in Hungary, and in 1740 after the death of Charles VI., with a handful of men in Silicia, he opposed the King of Prussia, and though he had not 3,000 men, disputed that country with his Majesty and his numerous army, foot by foot, for the space of two months. In 1741, he was at the battle of Moliz, in Silicia, and the next year in that of Zalray in Bohemia, where he kept head of Marshal Broglio's army of 30,000 men, though he had not above 10,000, being the same year at the siege of Prague. In 1740, he attacked Prince Conti's army, at Deckendorff on the Danube, and after forcing seventeen forts from the French, and taking the town sword in hand, he passed that river and occasioned the route of the French out of all Bavaria; in perpetual memory of which glorious passage of the Danube, a marble pillar is there erected, with the following inscription:—Theresœ Austraciæ Augustæ Duce Exercitus Carolo Alexandro Lotharinguio, septemdecim superatis hostibilus Villis, captoque Deckendorfio, resistentibus undis, resistentibus Gallis, Duce Exercitus, Ludovico Borbonio Contio, transvit hic Danubium Ulysses Maximilianus, S. R. I. Comes de Broune. Locum tenens Campi Marshallis die 5° Junii 1743.

There are several other achievements recounted of this illustrious Limerick man, who in 1726, married Maria Philipina, Countess of Martinez in Bohemia, daughter of George Adam, Count Martinez, one of his Imperial Majesty's Privy Counsellors, sometime Ambassador at Rome, Vice-King of Naples and Knight of the Golden Fleece—and had issue two sons, Philip George Count Browne, one of their Imperial Majesty's Chamberlains, and Colonel of foot, and Ulysses, active Chamberlain, Colonel of Foot and Knight of Malta.

Field Marshal U. M. Brown called to Hungary by his uncle, was wounded at the battle of Prague, and died 1757. Count John Brown was killed at the siege of Prague; Count George Brown, who married the daughter of the Russian Duke Whittenhoof, was at Rathcahill, in the County Limerick, in 1792. Connected also with the De Lacys and Browns, as also with the Courtneys, Earls of Devon, were the Herberts of Rathkeale, in the County of Limerick, who descended from Sir William Herbert, Lord of Cardiff and Earl of Pembroke, the fifth of

* The Biographie Universelle—Michaud—A Paris—gives an interesting memoir of Count Peter Lacy and his son.

&c.[1] The streets, the highways, the fields were covered with the dead bodies where they remained unburied, a prey to birds and beasts, infecting the whole air with the putrid exhalations; 400,000 persons are computed to have perished of famine and sickness. Land fell 75 per cent. in value; Wool, which in the reign of Queen Anne, was 12s. to 15s. fell to 6s., whilst a boat load of best turf sold for 14s., and oats per stone was 5d.[2]

A man might walk "from John's gate to Thomond bridge" without meeting six persons then. The dead lay in the streets without interment; and when the victims of cold and its concomitant starvation became so numerous, that coffins could not be provided in sufficient quantities or with sufficient quickness, a bottomless coffin was provided, from which the corpse was thrown into the grave, and hundreds of the dead were interred in this way.

This calamity having reached the dominant classes, persecution, for a while, lost its intense rancour, and amid the horrors of general impending ruin, gave a respite to the Catholics. The state of things had an adverse effect even on the turnpike roads, which had become for some time such bad speculations for those who had engaged in them, that they gave no return.[3]

Edward VI. Edmond Herbert of Cahirmochill, County of Limerick, Esq., fourth son of Sir Edward Herbert of Poolcastle, County Mongomery, second son of the Earl of Pembroke, settled in Ireland in the reign of James I, and married Ellen, daughter of Richard Bourke of Lismolane, County Limerick, Esq., of the house of Castleconnell—his son was Maurice Herbert of Rathkeale, in the County Limerick, Esq., who married Margaret, daughter of Edmond Bourke of Ballinguard, County Limerick, Esq., who dying 10th of February, 1638, was buried in the Church of Rathkeale. Sir Thomas Herbert, created a Baronet on the 4th of August, 1662, fifteenth Charles II, was buried in Rathkeale—and was succeeded by his Grandson, (his daughter having married Edmond Southwell of Castlematress, County Limerick, Esq.,) created Baron Southwell of Castlematress, 4th September, 1717—fourth George I.

Among the gallant officers up to a very recent date in the Austrian service, descendants of the famous Irish Brigaders, is General Brown Herbert, of Rathkeale, Chamberlain to his Imperial Majesty. He, according to Mrs. De Lacy Nash's Historical Researches, is the son of General Peter Herbert, Count of the Holy Roman Empire, who distinguished himself as Ambassador of the Court of Austria to Constantinople at the close of the last century, and was descended from Maurice Herbert of Rathkeale in the County of Limerick, a county which gave so many warriors to European powers in the last century. Baron Peter, through the operation of the penal laws left Ireland to try his fortune with his grand-uncle by affinity, Marshal De Lacy, whose immense wealth fell to the Emperor of Austria.

General De Lacy Evans, M.P. is a worthy scion of this truly illustrious race.

[1] O'Connor's History of the Irish Catholics. [2] Ousley's notes to Ferrar.

[3] The returns of the Bruff or Limekiln Turnpike for the nine years ending in 1741, showed an average of about £62 per year; Ardskeagh Turnpike, £85, and Blackboy, £195. Out of this income, wages of collectors and other monies were deducted, leaving a very small comparative nett income. To afford an idea of the character and quantity of the traffic by the principal Trunkpike (the Blackboy) in this year, we give the subjoined return from the official document, for one week, in June, 1742:—

	£ s. d.	Per Week	£ s. d.
Coach and six horses, ...	0 1 0	... 2 ...	0 2 0
Do. and four do.	0 0 6	... 2 ...	0 1 0
Chair and one or two horses, ...	0 0 3	... 30 ...	0 7 6
Waggon of four wh.	0 0 1		
Carriage of two wh. and more than one horse	0 0 3		
Cart or truckle, one horse, ...	0 0. 1	... 120 ...	0 10 0
One horse, riden by one or more, ...	0 0 1	... 240 ...	1 0 0
Every backload, ...	0 0 ½	... 480 ...	1 0 0
Cattle, per score, ...	0 0 10	... 100 ...	0 4 2
Calves, hogs, sheep, and lambs, per score ...	0 0 5	... 200 ...	0 4 2
			£3 8 10
For 52 weeks, or a year, ...		...	£178 19 4
To pay		...	15 0 0
			10 0 0
			£203 19 4

From these domestic matters we are drawn for a moment by a startling and dreadful event, which occurred in the Limerick Regiment of the Irish Brigade, which was in Spain at the time, and which is told as we subjoin the particulars, in a contemporary publication :—[1]

Extract of a Letter from Naples, dated May 31.

"This Afternoon Captain Lynch and Adjutant-Major Macklain were beheaded on a Scaffold for the Murder of their Colonel Odeo[2] (Irish) in the Limerick Regiment which came from Spain, the Officers of which Regiment are all Irish or Scotch. These two unfortunate Gentlemen had been perpetually abused by their Colonel, who declared them disqualified for their Places ; and likewise by his endeavouring to bring in his Brother to be Major of the Regiment, under whom they could not serve, he having been declar'd infamous in Spain ; and the Colonel having refused to give them satisfaction, they were blinded with Passion, and as he was coming home at Night they drew on him, and he calling to the Guard and refusing to fight, Captain Lynch shot him through the Head. Their Action was not to be countenanced, but the Injuries they suffered are too long to be mentioned. They died with Courage and Resolution. Most of the Officers are under Confinement, and 'tis not known what may be their Fate."

In this year Mr. Whitefield arrived in Limerick from America, where he first preached the new doctrines of Methodism.[3] He reached Limerick from Fort Fergus, at two o'clock, p. m., and describes the city in his Journal as a large garrison town, with a Cathedral in it—the roads better than he had seen them on his journey, "but the people much more subtle and designing."[4] He saw many beggars, which he imputes to the want of Parish Provision. (!) He waited on Dr. Buscough, the Protestant Bishop, "preached in the Cathedral to a very numerous audience, who seemed universally affected," refused an invitation from the Mayor, having been pre-engaged by the Bishop, and left Limerick next day rather satisfied with his visit.[5] Whitefield, of course, saw but the outside of things, for a epedemic sickness prevailed in the city, and continued to strike down its victims during 1740 and 1741, when the Mayor, Joseph Roche, Esq., and several influential citizens, were attacked by the disease, and lost their lives. In this year, too, (1741) the Custom House of Limerick was burned ; and as if to destroy whatever traffic remained in the city, and to injure the country as much as possible, the harpies of the Corporation again commenced operations, and caused greater indignation among the highest as well as among the poorest classes, than had been at any previous period experienced or expressed. While they plundered, the city was in a fearfully neglected condition, and the outcry against them was limited to no party or persuasion.[6]

[1] *The General Evening Post* (London), from Tuesday, June 18th, to Thursday, June 20th, 1740. Page 1, col. 2.

[2] Odeo is a corruption for O'Dea, a very numerous family in Clare.

[3] White's MSS., in which it is added that Whitefield was the founder of the Swaddlers, or Methodists, "who take great head."

[4] Whitefield's Journal—an unwarrantable remark. [5] Ibid.

[6] The exactions by the Corporation in the way of tolls, and the fearfully neglected and wretched state of the streets may be judged of from the facts we subjoin :—*

Custom taken for Cloak bagg at John's Gate in July, 1745	4d.
The like for Boots and Shooes in August, 1745	3d.
Custom paid for Household goods, for every load	4d.
The like for Roots, Cabbage, Dead Fowl, &c., each	1d.
The like for washed linen, and everything coming to my house	1d.
The like for Potatoes each load, though seldom more than two bushels on a horse.	1d.
The like for my saddle horses last August coming from ye field in the suburbs	1d.

* From the papers of John O'Donnell, Esq., of Trough House, Grandfather of Lieut.-General Sir Charles Routledge O'Donnell, Colonel of the 18th Hussars.

But, superadded to the sufferings of the gentry, as well as of the people, persecution was soon again let loose by the Government, and became fierce and general. The Lord Lieutenant and Privy Council issued a proclamation, in which the rigors of the Penal Enactments were revived against Catholic Archbishops, Bishops, Vicars General, and all others exercising ecclesiastical jurisdiction, and against all who harboured or sheltered them. Almost contemporaneously with this edict came an order to the Revenue Collectors of the Province of Munster, to drive several lands for an arrear of Quit Rent, which arrear amounted in one collection—that of Cork—to over £6,000—lands for which patents had been passed in the 20th and 22nd of Charles II. to Sir George Hamilton and the Protestant Bishop of Ossory.[1]

To arrest the miseries consequent on the neglect of agriculture, a bill for the encouragement of tillage was introduced into the Irish Parliament in the sessions of 1741; but it was subjected to public criticism and animadversion, inasmuch as it did not grapple with evils which were then, as well as they now are, felt by those so deeply interested in the question. In a letter from a Mr. Wm. Jessopp, to Mr. Charles Smyth, then attending his Parliamentary duties in Dublin, Mr. Jessopp, under date Limerick, Dec. 4th, 1741, says:—

"It is Certain there are great Numbers of Acres in this Kingdom that in their Native State are not worth 2s., phaps not 1s. p. Acre, That by plowing, Burning, Liming, Sanding, or other manureing, with good draining & good Tillage for some years, may be made of 4 times, and possibly of 10 times that Vallue; And those Acres are for the Most part Moory, Boggy, and Heathy grounds, And to encourage the Improvemt. of such kind of Land the Act passd in 1731 gave the Tiller the Tyths for 7 years of Hemp, flax and Rape growing thereon, but of no other graine. Now it is certaine in my poore judgment that Such lands, After A Vast Expence to the Tiller, are not capable of Rape more than one year, or of flax or Hemp more than one year more, & after must be for Barley or Oats, so that the 7 years encouragemt, intended by the Act is by the Limitation reduced to 2 or 3 at the most,

The streets from Newgate lane to Thomond Gate in a shocking and scandalous condition, and at one time so filled with filth near the pen formerly held by Thomson, that there were stones in the middle of the street to step on for those passing through, the filth being so soft that it ran over the street. The Bridge so badly paved with large stones as to be dangerous for horses to pass. 2d. each taken for three cows passing through the town the 3rd of Nov. inst., and 1d. each for them ye next day, though not drove out of the suburbs.

These exactions continued to the destruction of trade, the persecution of the farmers, and the injury of the city. On the 22nd of June, 1749, Joseph Gabbett, Esq., of Doonstowne, in a letter addressed to Ambrose Wilson, Esq., at Cahirconlish, gives an account of the dispute he had in Limerick about these exactions, by which they took market toll, "just three times as much as they had a right to." He gave information of it, and had the extorters indicted, but was obliged to postpone the trial that assizes, because he had not the original docket, for which he applied against the assizes following, but could not obtain it without the expense of bringing down the clerk of the House of Commons, in whose hands it was! He also had the people who took illegal toll at John's Gate convicted before the Mayor, of extorting one penny for each horseload of potatoes, but had no other satisfaction given than making them return a halfpenny to each person who had so resisted them. It appears that Mr. Wilson had a law-suit at the same time, as Mr. Gabbett wishes him every success in his undertaking.

To show the enormous extent of the oppression caused by these corporate exactions at this period, William Monsell, Esq., on the 5th of November, 1749, in a letter addressed to "the Rev. Charles Massy, A.M., Dean of St. Mary's, Limerick," complains in bitter terms of the "robbery." The "oppression, practised by the freemen on the public in this citty, is but too well known to town and country, the latter being mostly sufferers in having exorbitant tolls taken off their corn by the iniquitous toll-men of this citty, and no remedy by applying to the magistrates." He goes on to show how he suffered, and he adds that "those violent proceedings made me and several others drop tillage, though our country wants cultivating." He expressed a hope that the Common Council of the city would take the matter into consideration in order to a redress of the infliction.

[1] The Smyth papers in the Corporation of Limerick.

and those lands that did not pay the Church 1d. p. acre before at the Expence of the Tiller, in 2 or 3 years time must pay 2 or 3 or 4d. p. acre, wd. most certainly discourage the bringing in of thousands that Woud be brought in if the encouragemt. had a reasonable Continuance. In such Case, if it be thought hard on the present Incumbent, let him have 2 pence or 3 pence or 4 pence p. acre for A reasonable time after the first year and no more, further I am satisfied there are great quantitys of Mountain lands that when plowd & burnd or Limed, where Lime can be had, or Marled where Marl is to be gott, they would be Tilld if the Encouragemt, extended to Corne as well as to Hemp, Hop or flax, wh. for want of Such encouragemt. will I fear lye in their native barren way, not producing one single ffarthing to the Church, nor anything to the Nation but the Rearing of a few stuntd Younge Cattle, a few Goats, and here and there a small Cabbin & Garden. There is also another Exception in that Act in favour of the Church, that I cannot think tends to its advantage. That any lands that did ever before pay Tyth for Hay shall be understood by that Act to have any abatment of Tyth for any terme. Now it is certain thruth that there are a great number of acres and such Moory sower Meadows that never was Tylld nor ever was worth in the best situation above 10s. p: acre, and yett for want of other meadowing have been mowd time out of mind and paid Tythe, and yet if those lands were once plowd and burnd and well Tylled for 3 or 4 years at most woud for ever after, if kept drained, be of 3 times Vallue, if the Tiller was encouraged by a Remittance of the Tyth for a time, or if that would not do, by limitting the Tyth to 12d. per acre for a term of years, and so the present Incumbent suffers nothing. And as to the premium allowd on Exportations, I do humbly apprehend and hope the House will think proper to Enlarge & allso to Extend it to Wheat, Oates, Oatmeal, & qury whether it woud not be proper to gaurd such Exportation, when grain is at a low price, from the Insolence of the populace by a Riott act or some other way, & I know no place needs it more than this you represent. Another thing I woud just mention in relation to the Linen Manufactures, so long the care of Our Nationall Councills, And I coud heartily wish you talkt to yr. Unkle Burgh about that affair, As he is quallifyed I believe to do a great deall both in the House and at the Board. It s Certain we have in the County of Limerick good Lands for Hemp and for flax, but by having no kind of demand for our Hemp seed, Nor any Tollerable good hands to be had for Watering and dressing our Hemp & our flax, I know too well the Tillage of it turns to a poor acct., So that if we had such a thing as by a County ffactory, or otherways A demand & Markett for our Hemp and flax Green, or I mean Ripe in the ffeild, Or had a proper person to direct or take care for us that out Hemp & flax were well handled, tho we paid him ourselves, it would be of good account, for the truth is our Hemp and our flax are most certainly more than half lost for the want of Skillful, honest hand to water and grass and dress it for us."

It is curious to find the citizens of Limerick in this very year, 1865, discovering a means of supplying those wants complained of upwards of a ycentur ago, viz. the want of markets, instructors, and factories.

Limerick having been provided with public lights under the Act 6th Geo. II. which also regulated the fighting of Dublin and Cork, some improvements, which had been loudly called for, were made in the Act in 1741.

CHAPTER XLIII.

EFFORTS OF THE CATHOLICS. — NEW CHAPELS BUILT. — PAINTINGS AND PAINTERS. — NEW PROJECTS. — GRANTS. — LIMERICK CEASES TO BE FORTIFIED. — REMOVAL OF THE GATES AND WALLS. — PETITIONS TO PARLIAMENT, AND INVESTIGATION. — CORPORATE INIQUITY EXPOSED. — NOBLE CONDUCT OF THE ANTI-CORPORATE PROTESTANTS.

THE efforts of the Catholics in these gloomy times to possess themselves of becoming houses of worship were untiring. Hitherto the Catholic parishioners of St. Munchin had no parish chapel, but had been accustomed to resort to St. Mary's chapel, which was placed outside Thomond Gate.[1] The parishioners of St. Munchin, therefore, were under the necessity of building a chapel for themselves in 1744, when they raised a small but convenient one near the same place—Thomond Gate—close by the strand. The Rev. Patrick Scanlan was the Parish Priest.[2] In the year following the Right Rev. Dr. Lacy, who had succeeded Dr. O'Keeffe as Catholic Bishop of Limerick, and who was a member of the illustrious family of De Lacy of Bruree, was appointed administrator of the diocese of Kilfenora by the Right Rev. Dr. Daly, Bishop of that see, who was residing at the time at Tournay in France;[3] and on the 19th of September in the succeeding year, the Rev. James White, Parish Priest of the Abbey of St. Francis, "fixed" a small chapel for the use of his parishioners in the Abbey.[4] It is a strange fact that while the Catholic religion was at this period extending itself in Limerick, great alarm prevailed in nearly every other corporate city and town throughout Ireland, in consequence of the powerful efforts which the young Pretender, the Chevalier Charles Stuart, had been making in Scotland and England to upset the Hanoverian dynasty in the person of the second George.[5]

But that the Corporators of Limerick took alarm there can be no doubt; and that they were making preparations for a wholesale onslaught on the property of the people, is indisputable. In the years 1747 and 1748, more than two-thirds of the estates of the Corporation, consisting of town-parks and premises, near and adjoining to the city, together with several plots of building ground and houses within the city, fell out of lease, and the Corporators demised amongst themselves the entire of these lands for nine hundred and

[1] White's MSS.

[2] This chapel went to ruin fifty years after this, and was entirely taken down in the year 1799, and a much better, larger and more convenient one built in the same place, which was blessed and the first Mass said in it in October.—*Dr. Young's Note in White's MSS.*

[3] White's MSS. [4] Ibid.

[5] At a meeting of the Corporation of Clonmel, held on the 1st of January, 1745, it was resolved, "in consequence of the rebellion of the Popish Pretender, that there be immediately an inspection made into all the walls, castles, gates, and fortifications of this town, in order immediately to fortify and repair the same, and put the same in a position of defence, at the expense of the Corporation, and that they do forthwith report the same to this Council, that the Corporation may immediately lay in a sufficient fund for carrying on the said work with all speed, and that the Mayor, as soon as such estimate be given in, do immediately call a council for this purpose."—*Minutes of Clonmel Corporation Book.*

ninety-nine years, at a total annual rent of thirty-six pounds two shillings and nine-pence; the particulars of which appear by the following table:—

No.	Denominations.	To whom demised.	Yearly Rent. £ s. d.	Acreable Contents. A. R. P.	Date.
1	Monegollah	Arthur Roche	...	40 1 15	
	Parcel of Lond adjoining to Monegallah	...	1 0 0	5 0 0	1747
	Part of Hospital land with several plots of building ground	...	...	10 0 0	
2	Field in Little Island	Robert Davis	1 2 9	1 1 0	1747
3	Latulla Fields	Arthur Roche	2 0 0	11 2 15	1747
4	Little Island, &c.	John Ingram	1 0 0	...	1747
5	M'Namara's holding	Henry Long	3 10 0	...	1747
6	Monabraher	John Wight	10 10 0	87 1 24	1747
7	Cloon and Monemuckey	Peter Sargent	12 0 0	8 3 7	
				11 3 6	
				0 1 12	1747
				9 1 9	
				0 9 37	
8	Cloon	Peter Sargent	5 0 0	2 0 0	1748
			36 2 9		

In the year 1748 the Common Council granted to Arthur Roche the entire of the lands demised to him in the year 1747, for a term of 999 years, with other lands, in fee simple; and in the same year executed two leases to John Wight, separating the lands of Monabraher from houses and premises in the city of Limerick, and dividing the rent to £5 15s. per annum for each denomination.[1]

Within the same period the following lots in the city were demised for the term of 999 years, or in fee, some of which are included in the leases already referred to, and others are held under separate leases:—

No.	Denomination.	To whom demised.	Yearly Rent. £ s. d.	Date.	Term.
1	Plots included in lease of ground outside John's Gate with cabins thereon:—Tenements eight in number, with ground behind same, inside John's-gate.—Ground within Water-gate.—Plot in Newgate-lane.—Ground near Little Island.—Ground without Island-gate.—Several pieces of ground within and without John's-gate and house in Thomond-gate	Arthur Roche, Esq.	...	1747	999
2	House in Quay lane	David Bindon	9 12 0	1747	999
3	Wm. Creagh's garden in West Watergate ...	Mary Sexton	0 10 0	1747	999
4	Ground North end of the Quay	Geo. Stamer, Esq.	5 0 0	1748	999
5	Part of Croaght adjoining John's-gate.—Parcel of land and stables without Thomond-gate, house adjoining Town Wall	John Wight, Esq.	5 5 9	1748	999
6	Ground leading from West Watergate to the Diocesan School-house	John Ingram	0 5 0	1748	999

These acts of spoliation elicited a vigorous remonstrance from the Protestant party, who, with the exception of those mixed up with the plunderers, were indignant at the misconduct of men who were impervious to reason and the dictates of justice, and who scorned whatever of public opinion existed

[1] The lands of Monabraher near Limerick, and which were leased at £5 15s. a year, contain 87 acres, besides what is called Spur, about three acres. Sixteen acres alone were set for a short period by the representatives of Mr. Wight at £100 per annum; seven acres more produced £100. In 1820 Mr. Wight Seymour, Solicitor, offered the property to Daniel Gabbett, Esq. for £7000.

at a time when there were little or no means among the oppositionists to give expression to their indignation. The liberal Protestants, however, persevered; and we shall shortly see the extent and character of their opposition, and the success with which it was attended. Amid the strife and din of this civic war, in which the Catholics, who had hoped for little social or political advantage, were increasing in numbers and wealth, serious riots had occurred in 1748, arising out of the sadly miserable condition of the humbler classes,[1] but their effect was transitory, and the succeeding year, a second Catholic chapel was built in the parish of St. Mary, where Dean Creagh had been parish priest for several years, but where he had had no house of worship. This chapel of St. Mary was accordingly built outside the walls, on the Little Island, and was ninety feet in length, by twenty-four feet six inches in breadth.[2] In the next year a dreadful storm caused the river to rise to an unexampled height, and the water was two feet over the flooring of the chapel. Four vessels on this occasion were driven up on the quay, and cattle, corn, hay, &c., were swept off through the country by the torrent. In this year was born John Fitzgibbon, one of the most remarkable men of his time, and one of the bitterest enemies of his country.

In 1750, chiefly through the piety and munificence of Richard Harold, Esq. of Pennywell, a chapel was built in St. Patrick's Parish, on Park Hill, above Pennywell. On this hill the Williamites had a battery during the last sieges. The chapel having become ruinous, a site on his property was offered free, by Mr. Harold's son (Richard Harold also), on which to raise another, but a more convenient place on the lands of Monamuckey,[3] nearer to the city, and on a line with the then new road to Dublin, was chosen in preference, where it was built.

Among the new buildings in 1750, was a gaol, which was erected in the middle of Mary-street, four stories high, with a large plain front close to the street, and nine barred windows in front, and an equal number in the rere. An arched-way led to a lane to St. Francis's Abbey, where the County Court House was built in 1732. The gaol had a separate entrance at the north-western side of the archway; a gloomy dungeon was placed beneath the lower story; and in this not only felons, but political prisoners were incarcerated, amid darkness, vermin, and noisomeness indescribable. In 1798, it was constantly crowded with the victims of suspicion and the men on the "black list."[4]

While the city to some extent was improving in spite of Corporate exaction and neglect, the condition of the country was by no means flourishing. Between landlord and tenant there was not a community of interest, which was clearly shown not many years after this period, when agrarian discontent partook of the characteristics of Whiteboyism. A remarkable circumstance is related to have taken place at this period

[1] Walker's Hibernian Magazine, vol. 18, p. 283.

[2] White's MSS.—This chapel was furnished with an elegant altar piece, consisting of the different orders of architecture, and a magnificent copy, by a first-rate Italian artist, of a celebrated picture by Michael Angelo, of the Crucifixion. These munificent gifts were bestowed by John Kelly, Esq., merchant, whose grand-nephew, the venerable John Kelly, Esq., Deputy Lieutenant of Limerick, bestowed in 1862, on the new Catholic Church of Kilfintinan, in the parish of Cratloe, county Clare, and diocese of Limerick, a magnificent marble altar.

[3] Monamuckey became the property of Mr. Henry O'Sullivan, an extensive tobacco merchant, who made a very fine street on the lands, which he called Clare Street, in compliment to John Fitz Gibbon, Earl of Clare. The houses, when built, sunk in the foundations, though they were admirably planned and in regular order. The Street has greatly fallen away in latter periods.

[4] The then fashionable promenade was Mary-street, between Quay Lane and the old gaol, and where crowds of belles and beauxs went each day to witness the relieving of the guard, during which a military band played. The old gaol is now well nigh a ruin. The roof is uncovered, and in one of the lower stories there is a nailor's shop.

in connection with agricultural affairs.[1] About noon, on the 18th of May, 1752, some thousands of persons passed through the streets of Limerick. The country labourers, cottiers, and husbandmen had established a new system of husbandry, and there were "great companies of distinction in the several degrees of agriculture;" common labourers walked first, the men in their shirts, in ranks; the women also with green corn and straw; the plough was driven along, and the harrow; the mowers had their scythes, the reapers, the gleaners, a great number of women, and a great number of men with flails, walked in the procession. Their object was to congratulate themselves on the probability of a good ensuing harvest. This exhibition was admittedly more important than the Corporation processions, accompanied by the several guilds of trade, in their palmiest displays.[2] On the next day the counties of Clare and Limerick joined, and were very particular in their representations of personating the several orders of husbandry in all the branches of it.[3]

On the 4th of May, the Prince of Wales' birth-day, the troops in Limerick lined the town walls and proceeded to hedge firing, the great guns also firing all round the walls.

The gentry were devotedly attached to field sports: fox hunting was universally indulged in by them; and one of the most famous fox-hunters of the day, was Edward Croker, Esq. of Rawleighstown, who had been High Sheriff of the County of Limerick, in 1735, and who in this year, (1753,) built a fine Mansion-house at Rawleighstown, at an expense of over £6000. On him was made the Popular Song of "By Y'r leave Larry Grogan," by Pierce Creagh of Dangan, Esq., which we give for the sake of its hunting lore and family history:—[4]

1 By your leave, Larry Grogan, enough has been spoken,
'Tis time to give over your sonnet, your sonnet,
Come listen to mine, sir, much truer than thine, sir,
For these very eyes were upon it, upon it,
'Tis of a buck slain, sir, this very campaign, sir,
To let him live longer, 'twere pity, 'twere pity,
For horns and for branches, for fat and for haunches,
He exceeded a Mayor of a City, a City.

[4] An account before us, of this period, shows the acreable rent of land, the value of cattle, sheep, turf, &c.:—

	Charged to Mr. Reading, March, 1750.
To the month of 21 acres, at £1 per acre	£21 10 0
To charges for mowing and saving the hay, per Furlong Smith ...	9 2 2
	£30 12 2
Deduct ye 8th part being since consumed	3 16 6
	£26 15 8
To Turf, by Furlong Smith's account	9 11 3
To 69 sheep, some bought in spring and some in autumn, prime cost one with another £6 10s. 0d. per acre	19 3 6
To 12 Bullocks 2 years old, at 16s. 6d. prime cost	9 18 0
To 3 Cows, one of them old, sold at	7 0 0
	£72 8 5
To 19 Cows at £2 10 0 each	47 10 0
To 6 do. at 2 2 0 each	12 12 0
To 1 Bull at	2 15 0
To a bay mare	10 0 0
	£145 5 5

Contemporaneous MSS.

[3] Ibid.

[4] Ralph Ousley's, Esq. MSS. notes to Ferrar's History of Limerick.

2 A Council assembled, (who'd think but he trembled),
Of lads of good spirit, well mounted, well mounted,
Each, his whip and cap on, and spurs made at Ripon,
The number full twenty, well counted, well counted,
But in legs he confiding, our efforts deriding,
He thought himself safe as in bed, sir, in bed, sir,
With a bounce off he goes, and tossed up his nose,
But Ringwood cried, Lord help your head, sir, your head, sir.

3 Off scores we went bounding, sweet horns were a sounding,
Each youth filled the grove with a whoop and a halloo;
Had Douburg been there, such music to hear,
He'd leave his Cremona and follow, and follow;
Knock-kiston, Knockany, and hills twice as many,
We scampered o'er stone walls, o'er hedges and ditches,
We skimm'd o'er the grounds, but to baffle our hounds,
Was ne'er yet in any buck breeches, buck breeches.

4 Four hours he held out, most surprisingly stout;
Till at length to his fate he submitted, submitted,
His throat being cut up, and poor culprit put up,
To the place where he first was remitted, remitted;
A place most enchanting, where nothing was wanting,
That poor hungry huntsmen could wish for, could wish for,
Off delicate fare, though numbers were there,
Yet every man, was a dish for, a dish for.

5 We fell to with fury, like a long famished jury,
Nor staid we for grace, to our *dinner, our dinner,*
The butlers a *sweating, the knives all a whetting,*
The edge of each *stomach was keener, was keener,*
The bumpers went round with a *beautiful sound,*
And clink, clink, like sweet bells, went the glasses, the glasses;
We dispatched King and Queen, and each other fine thing,
To bumper the beautiful lasses, sweet lasses.

6 There was sweet Sally Currey, and Singleton Cherry,
Miss Croker, Miss Bligh, and Miss Prittie, Miss Prittie,
And lovely Miss Pearce, that subject of verse,
Should not be forgot in my *ditty, my ditty,*
With numberless more, from *fifteen to a score,*
Oh, had you but seen them, together, together,
Such charms you'd discover, you'd pity the Louvre,
You'd pity the Louvre as a feather, a feather.

7 The man of the house, and his beautiful *spouse,*
May they live to give Claret, and venison, and venison,
And may honest Ned, there's no more to be said,
May he ne'er want the beggars' old benison, old benison.
Long prosper that country, the store house of bounty,
Where thus we indulge, and make merry, make merry,
For jovial as we are, we puff away all care
To poor busy Robin, and Fleury, and Fleury.[1]

In 1753, the Catholic parishioners of St. John's undertook the duty of building a parish chapel: the building, which for over one hundred years,

[1] Sir Robert Walpole and Cardinal Fleury, were at this time Prime Ministers of England and France.

was that in which the Catholic bishops of the diocese, chiefly ministered, was cruciform, and was taken down early in 1862, some months after the new cathedral of St. John had been opened in the same locality. The old chapel had an excellent painting of the Crucifixion, by Mr. Timothy Collopy, a native artist of distinguished merit, who also painted the Ascension for the Augustinian Friary Chapel, in Creagh-lane.[1]

In 1755, on the 5th of June, the Marquis of Harrington, Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, arrived in Limerick, where he was received by the authorities with the accustomed pomp and ceremony, and where he reviewed the troops on the King's Island on the 6th, and on the 8th attended Church service at St. Mary's Cathedral, where Dr. Arthur Smyth, Protestant Primate of Ireland, preached. He was the guest of the Protestant Bishop during his visit.

On the 19th of September, in the same year, eighty thatched houses at Thomond gate were consumed by fire, when a collection amounting to £300 was made for the sufferers by the accident.

[1] Timothy Collopy, a native of the City of Limerick, was originally a baker's apprentice, but his talents for sketching and painting, having been discovered by Father Walsh, an Augustinian Friar, whose convent at the time was in Creagh-lane; the Rev. gentleman appreciated his talents so highly, that he raised a subscription among the wealthy merchants of the city, and sent him to Rome to study the art, where he remained for some years. He returned home, a finished, first-rate artist, and having arrived in Limerick, thus accomplished, he was extensively patronised as a portrait painter by the nobility and gentry of city and county. Father Walter Aylmer, O.S.A., who lived in Limerick towards the close of the last, and at the beginning of the present century, knew him well, and often spoke to him. Collopy went to London, where, in the first instance, he established himself near, or in South Audley-street, and afterwards in South Molton-street, and where he became eminent as a portrait painter. He occasionally visited Limerick, where he painted portraits of the leading families, particularly of the Maunsells. He painted the Ascension for his old friend Father Walsh, in 1782;* that picture is now in the Augustinian Church, George's-street—it is a composition worthy of any of the Italian masters, exquisite both in effect and in colouring. He painted other pictures also, the above particularly, which was in St. John's Chapel, but which had been much damaged—St. John and the Blessed Virgin are painted at either side of the cross. His first sketch for the Ascension has been in the possession of Mr. E. J. Corbett, music seller, George's-street. His fellow students in Rome were Hugh Hamilton of Dublin, one of the most distinguished portrait painters of his day—fully equal to Sir Joshua Reynolds, and Henry Tresham, who wrote the critiques on Sir John Leicester's Gallery, who was one of the associates of Collopy. Collopy took very many of his models from the finely proportioned heads of turf porters on the Limerick quay—and the widow of one of them, was in the habit of bestowing abuse on Father Walsh, because he had induced her husband, who died some time before, to sit for his portrait to Collopy—she believing that it was unlucky (!) for any one to have his likeness taken. Timothy Collopy died in London about the year 1810, or 1811, and left his property to his son. His executors were Phillips, the Royal Academician, and Henry Tresham. He had but one son, George, who was illegitimate; George's mother was Jenny Madden the keeper of a public house, nearly opposite the old gaol in Mary-street. George became a reputed Orangeman—the Orange Lodge, and Freemasons' Lodge, No. 273, were kept in the house he occupied in Mary-street. Timothy Collopy had been always a Catholic. He gave directions for the cleaning of the picture of the Ascension, that it should be washed with warm water and a little soap, and the white of two eggs sponged over it after washing, no copel varnish, or varnish of any kind to be used. That Collopy, who never changed his creed or name, was not identical with John Singleton Copley, another greater portrait painter, and father of the late Lord Lyndhurst, whose mother, neè Miss Singleton, I have some proof. Miss Singleton was of the Quin, Co. Clare, family of that name. John Singleton Copley, according to his own statement to my informant, had never been in Ireland.

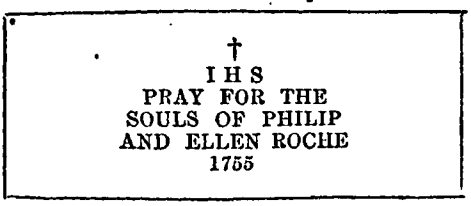
I have these particulars from Mr. John Gubbins, portrait painter, aged 80 years in 1864, who knew both men, heard Copley disclaim ever having been in Ireland, and who has given me an autograph letter of Collopy written to Miss Hamilton, daughter of Hugh Hamilton, in 1810, shortly before Collopy's death. Collopy was also much employed by the Earl of Bute in London, in cleaning that nobleman's famous collection of pictures, and realized much money in that branch of the art.

* In the books of the Augustinian Convent, the following entry appears:—
"November 10th, 1782.—Painting of the Ascension erected, drawn by Mr. Tim Collopey Native of this City of Limerick." An annual high mass is celebrated for the repose of the soul of the painter by the Augustinian Fathers, in whose chapel in Creagh-lane, he had in his youthful days often served mass.

Again the demon of persecution was unchained, on the introduction into the House of Lords by James Hamilton, Viscount Limerick, in 1756,[1] of a Bill, which contained nine clauses, all of a penal character; and principally relating to the registration of the Catholic clergy, and to the enforcement of the penalties contained in the Act of 1705, against such clergymen of the Catholic persuasion, as did not comply with the requirements of this enactment.[2]

The clergy were forced to hide for a time from the storm—and the people as usual remained true and faithful.

[In this year a slab was inserted in the wall which surrounds the cemetery of the ancient Church of St. Michael, which having being extramural, was destroyed during Ireton's siege. The slab contains the following inscription to the memory of the first members of the Catholic family of Roche, who had settled in Limerick after the revolutionary wars:—



While speaking of families, I may here note a curious discovery recently made in one of those very narrow and miserable lanes that run between Broad-street, and John-street, and Curry's-lane, of what had been some few hundred years ago a magnificent chimney-piece, made of richly grained red and white marble, massive and beautiful; it is now fixed over the fire-place in a room of one of the houses in this narrow lane. It is about ten feet in width; about five and a half in height: the architrave is nearly two feet in breadth; and on it are sculptured, in relief, on the extreme right, the arms of the Roche family on a floriated shield: a bird with outspread wings perched on a rock forms the crest and tops a shield—underneath, on the face of the shield, are three roches *nayants*—at either side of the crest are the letters C. R:—at the extreme left of the architrave are the arms of a family, which I am unable to indentify by reference to the contemporary matter written in the MSS of Dr. Thomas Arthur; but these arms also are beautifully sculptured in relief on a floriated shield likewise. The crest is formed, neither of bird or animal, but of something which appears to be a warlike weapon—underneath are the arms, a hound *passant*, and on either side are the words S. B. In the middle of the architrave, between the two floriated shields, are the initial letters I: H: S: a cross on the H is a French cross, tri-foliated, and the letters are foliated also. Underneath is the figure of the Sacred Heart pierced with three swords. The pillars on which the

[1] Now Viscount Clanbrassil—De Burgo Hib. Domin., p. 719.

[2] This Bill enacted the oath of allegiance, and the repudiation of any authority in the Pope to dispense with that oath, and the repudiation of any temporal or spiritual authority on the part of the Pope within the realm. A long and important debate ensued in reference to the terms of this oath, which De Burgo most justly calls atrocious. He adds that he was present *(incog)* while the question was discussing in the House of Lords, and that ultimately, owing to the proxies (only six) which Viscount Limerick had in his pocket, he was enabled to carry the measure in its original blackness, on the 6th of December, 1757. De Burgo states that the authors of this infamous Bill did not long survive its enactment—James Hamilton, Viscount Limerick (afterwards Clanbrassil) died on the 17th of March, 1758; Robert Clayton, Bishop of Clogher, died on 26th of February in the same year; and the Bishop of Elphin on the 29th of January, 1762. All died after a very short illness.—*Hib. Dom.* p. 725.

architrave rests, are fluted, and the top or mantel-piece is fluted in the same manner. It indicates the costly taste of the citizens at a time when Pyers Creagh Fitz Andrew was Mayor of the city, when "troupers were cessed" on the citizens at 15d. a day; when the civil war, which began in Limerick in 1641, was still raging, and a short time before Ireton's dreadful siege. There was an "Edmundus Roch, Corkagiensis"—an ancestor, most likely, of the Catholic Roches of Limerick in the city at this period; his name we find at p. 75 of Dr. Thomas Arthur's Diary, who says he cured his daughter of measles, for which he received a fee of £1, equal to a very considerable sum in our money.]

A want of employment was now severely felt, not only in Limerick, but throughout Munster. Several projects were launched, including the cutting of the Grand Canal, to afford the needed assistance to the labouring classes. The improvement of Limerick was projected by Mr. Edmund Sexton Pery, who had become a representative of the city. In 1757, a Bill was introduced by him to the Irish House of Commons for the purpose of widening Ball's Bridge, against which Mr. Coulston forwarded a memorial, alleging the ruin of his interests. These improvements, however, were effected. On the 13th of June, 1757, the workmen began to cut the canal at Bartlett's Bog, and in the following year it was opened up to the Shannon at Rebogue. It was mainly through Mr. Pery's influence and exertions that the following grants of public money were made to Limerick by the Irish Parliament:—

In 1755,	...	...	...	£8,000
„ 1759,	...	...	...	£3,500
„ 1760,	...	...	...	£3,500
„ 1761,	...	...	...	£4,500
„ 1761,	...	...	...	£8,000
Total,	...	...	...	£27,500

The first was for the canal, most of which was expended in cutting through the hill of Park; the second grant was for finishing the cut; the third for building "the new Bridge;[1] the fourth for improving the city and quays;

[1] This Bridge had been one of the greatest ornaments of the city, and was constructed by Mr. Uzuld at an expense of £1800. It connected the English town, by Quay Lane, with the then portion of the County Limerick which is now the principal part of the city—the new town. The first stone was laid on the 9th of June, 1761, and the Bridge was opened for traffic in the following September. This bridge was declared, in 1844, to be incommodious, owing to the fact that there was a considerable elevation in the only arch by which it spanned the river, when a new bridge was substituted, as appears by the following inscription on it. It is called the

MATHEW BRIDGE.*

CONTRACTED FOR IN THE YEAR 1844, DURING THE MAYORALTY OF THE RIGHT WORSHIPFUL WILLIAM J. GEARY, M.D.

THE EXPENSE OF ITS ERECTION BORNE BY THE CORPORATION AND BY PRESENTMENTS FROM THE COUNTY AND CITY GRAND JURIES.

OPENED IN THE MONTH JUNE, 1846.

THE RIGHT WORSHIPFUL E. F. G. RYAN, MAYOR.

JOHN F. RALEIGH, ESQ., TOWN CLERK.
FRANCIS J. O'NEILL, TREASURER.

W. H. OWENS, ARCHITECT.
JOHN DUGGAN, BUILDER.

* It is called by this name in honor of the late Very Rev. Theobald Mathew, the Apostle of Temperance.

the fifth for continuing the new canal from the Shannon at Rebogue up to Killaloe.

New roads were also made in 1757—one from Thomond Gate to the causeway of Parteen, which was a short cut, avoiding the round by "the Mayor's Stone"; another road was made from Eastwater Gate to Pennywell Road.

In consequence of an act of oppression on the part of Mr. Sweete, Mayor of Cork, the Catholic tradesmen of Limerick now took heart. Sweete having imprisoned a Catholic tradesman, because he would not pay certain exorbitant quarterage, which had been imposed upon him by the master of his trade; the tradesman in question, backed by the principal Roman Catholic merchants of that city, entered a law-suit against Sweete, for raising money contrary to law.[2] The action was tried in Dublin, and the Mayor of Cork was amerced in a fine and costs amounting to £800. "Quarterage" was at once refused by nearly all the tradesmen of the kingdom to the respective guilds or corporations of trade, and each person followed his trade without becoming a "quarter brother" or "freeman." The Catholic tradesmen of Limerick, who, up to this period, had been confined to St. Francis's Abbey, quitted the Abbey in considerable numbers, and set up their trades in the city—a movement on their part which gave great umbrage to the Orange guilds, who were as exclusive as the municipal corporation, and equally as exacting. Money was gathered by the guilds of trade, not only in Limerick, but throughout the kingdom, and their representatives in Parliament received instructions to exert their influence to obtain a legal sanction for the charters of the guilds, and power to raise money from Catholic tradesmen, by compelling them to become "quarter brothers of their respective companies."[3] Every city and corporate town in Ireland forwarded petitions for this unjust purpose. At length, a Parliamentary Committee, of which Mr. Edmond

[1] Travelling at this period was not only tedious, but dangerous and expensive. It took five days to travel from Dublin to Cork. The following is a copy of a traveller's bill, among the Smyth papers in the Corporation of Limerick:—

Travelling acct. to Cork.

1758			£	s.	d.
August 13th	To wash ball and case	...	0	0	6½
,,	To ale for servants in Dublin	...	0	0	8
,,	To Bill at Naas	...	0	15	8
,,	To Turnpike	...	0	3	9
,, 14th	To Bill at Kilcullen ...	...	1	18	2
,,	To man for taking horse ...	..	0	1	1
,,	To Bill at Castledermot ...	...	0	14	4½
,, 15th	Laughlin Bridge Bill ...	...	1	18	10½
,,	Turnpike	...	0	4	9
,,	Kilkenny Bill	...	0	19	6
,, 16th	Nine Mile House do. ...	...	1	4	9
,,	Clonmell do.	...	0	8	7
,,	Turnpike	...	0	5	0
,,	Clogheen do.	...	0	15	4
,, 17th	Killworth do.	...	1	1	8
,,	Rath Cormuck do. ...	...	0	5	9½
,,	Turnpike	...	0	1	5
,,	To helpet on road ...	...	0	1	1
,,	To 3 men 5 days boarding ...	...	1	4	4½
,,	To Fitzgerald do. ...	...	0	10	10
,,	To beggars in Cork ...	...	0	1	1
,,	To beggars on Roads ...	...	0	0	6½
			£12	11	0

[2] This tradesman's name was Mahony; he was father of the truly benevolent Mr. Francis Mahony of John's-square, who died on the 19th of June, 1841.

[3] White's MSS.

Sexton Pery, was Chairman, was appointed to investigate the matter. Many sittings were held, and many witnesses were examined. The Catholics, on their side, were not idle; they too forwarded their petitions, and pressed their claims with spirit and ability. The printed Limerick Petition was signed by Nicholas Mahon, woollen draper, Edmond Sexton, wine merchant, James Browne,[1] woollen draper, Philip Roche, "merchant and venturer,"[2] all of St. Mary's Parish, and by several others. The Protestants were defeated, and the Catholic tradesmen thenceforward were free.[3]

Pope Clement XIII. proclaimed an universal Jubilee in this year, which was opened in Limerick on the 29th of April, and continued for one fortnight. In this year also, the Right Hon. George Evans, Lord Baron of Carbery, died at his seat at Caherass, near Croom, county of Limerick. He was the only nobleman at this time who resided in or near the city.[4] On the 23rd of June, same year, the 1st battalion of the Royal Scots, or 1st regiment of foot, and Lord Forbes's regiment (the 76th) encamped near the Shannon two miles from Limerick, where immense numbers of persons were accustomed to walk each day to see the camp.[5]

In the year following (1760) Limerick ceased to be a fortified garrison; up to this period there had been seventeen gates to the city, which, commencing at Thomond Gate, and taking the circuit of the walls, may be named thus:—

1 Thomond Gate
2 Island Gate
3 Sally Port
4 Little Island
5 Abbey N. Gate
7 Fish Gate
8 Ball's Bridge
9 Eastwater Gate
10 John's Gate
11 Mungret Gate
12 West Water Gate
13 Creagh Gate
14 Quay Lane Gate
15 Bow Lane Gate
16 New Gate
17 And the Gate at the back of the Castle Barrack.

The destruction of the walls and gates was followed by the opening up of a road from the New Square near St. John's Church to Mungret Road, or Boher Buy, and a broad passage was made from Ball's Bridge to the Quay.[6]

Whilst these changes were taking place, the bitterest invectives continued to be poured out on the heads of the dominant faction in the Corporation by the liberal Protestants, who arraigned them in every shape and form for the

[1] The grand-daughter of this James Browne was afterwards Marchioness of Clanrickarde, and Mr. Browne's father's house was at Ballynacailleach, near Bruff.—*White's MSS.*

[2] White's MSS. Philip Roche became one of the greatest merchants in the South of Ireland. His father, two years before, fitted up the Catherine Letter of Marque, mounting fourteen sixteen-pounders,—the first ship of the kind ever seen in Limerick—for the West India trade.

[3] White's MSS.

[4] Ferrar, 1st Edition. [5] Ibid.

[6] In this year George III. was proclaimed in Limerick by the Mayor. The Corporation, guilds of trade, and a company of grenadiers attended the ceremony. The grenadiers fired three rounds each time the proclamation was read; the streets were lined with three regiments of infantry, who fired three rounds at the conclusion of the ceremony. White (MSS.) states that this year the city of Limerick began to shew much better than it had hitherto done, and to have a wholesome air circulating in it, and this by means of throwing down the old walls, and opening all the avenues leading to the city. The throwing down of the houses on the side of Ball's Bridge was of vast use, as were also the other public improvements they were making in and about the city. The castle and guard-house on Thomond Bridge were thrown down this year, in order to enlarge the passage of the bridge. At the head of Pump Lane a new pump, worked by machinery, was sunk to a depth of sixty feet at the expense of Mr. Pery; who also caused a canal to be cut nearly two miles in length, to convey the water from Drumbanny to the Irish-town, to cleanse the streets.

worst excesses. A sharp writer, who was called "PRINCE TELLTRUTH UPRIGHT,"[1] wrote two letters in 1759, to the freemen of the city, in which he inveighed in a vehement manner against the Corporation. These letters were printed and circulated, and in the second of them which we have before us, these questions are asked:—"Is there not a melancholy appearance of decay and neglect throughout the whole city in those several places, which were built and decently supported before him (the leader in the Corporation, Mr. Arthur Roche), when the revenues thereof were, by a considerable sum less than they are now, and no extortion was used by the collectors of these revenues to enhance them, and of consequence no murmurs were uttered against them? Witness the Market House, Exchange, 'Chimes,' Blue School and Alms House, and many other places and things, too tedious to relate. Also what has become of the revenues of the city, so greatly increased? since are not monstrous debts contracted by the Corporation? Is not the city credit sunk so low, that Corporation notes will scarcely yield fifty in the hundred, and large sums have been due on many of them for many years past to the great loss of the poor people they were passed to? What is become of the large sums borrowed by them? are houses or lands purchased with them?" Telltruth wrote many other bitter words, and compares "the man who thrives on the ruin of his country to *ascarides* in the human body, who adhere so closely to the intestines, till they at length destroy that being which affords them nourishment, if they are not timely ejected by strong purges and emeticks."

Mr. John O'Donnell[2] of Liberty Hall, outside Thomond Gate, was Secretary to the Free Citizens, and energetically and ably did he perform his duties. Herman Jacob, a native of Bremen and naturalized in Great Britain, now resided in Limerick, "where he followed merchandize," and tendered twenty shillings to the Mayor and Council, praying to be admitted to the freedom of the city. The Mayor and twenty-eight of the Common Council rejected the claim; but Mr. Jacob memorialed the Lords Justices, and when the Mayor had found that the alien had some friends, who were determined to have his petition forwarded, they thought proper to admit him to his freedom. It was mainly through the instrumentality of the "Free Citizens" that Jacob obtained what he sought. "The Free Citizens" not only pulled together to obtain a release from the oppressions of taxation and monopoly, but they had their social reunions, banquets, &c. They worked with wonderful energy.[3] Catholics interfered only by sympathy in these demonstrations.

1 Papers of John O'Donnell, Esq. of Liberty Hall.

2 This gentleman was, as before stated, the grandfather of Major-General Sir Charles O'Donnell, Colonel of the 18th Royal Dragoons.

3 They dined together often, and their list of toasts is a curiosity:—

"The King."

"The Free Citizens of Limerick and their Candidates—Pery and Massy."

"The Glorious Memory."

"The Lords Justices and the minority of the Privy Council."

"May the Commons of Ireland ever hold the purse of the nation."

"A Patriot Parliament."

"William Pitt the father of Free Citizens."

"The Linen Manufacture of Ireland and the promoters of it."

"The Corner-Stone of the new Quay."

"May the Electors of Ireland have a constitutional right of judging of the conduct of their representatives every seven years."

"The Author of the Corn Bill."

The most stirring appeals were made to the independent citizens by the free citizens, to shake off the incubus of Corporate monopoly and plunder, to act as became men; to show "that all public spirit was not lost; to let other cities know that the freemen of Limerick were not biassed by the influence of the great or mighty, or misled by narrow party views; that they scorned the base practices of selling their votes for a dinner.[1] "A lover of Liberty" came out in a powerful letter (1760) "to the gentlemen, clergy, and freemen of Limerick," in which he asserts the independence of the city, and suggests that young Mr. Massy, the son of Dean Massy, should be selected with Mr. Pery as a candidate on the independent interest for the city. Mr. Pery at the election of 1670 was the favourite. The exertions of Dean Massy in favor of the free citizens, and his anxiety to rescue the charities from the harpy grasp of the Corporation, caused him to be esteemed. That the son of so deserving a man should be well received by the citizens was not surprising; but the Smyth interest was dominant. Many however who were induced to divide their votes, voted for Mr. Pery and Mr. Massy, while others of them, voted for Mr. Massy and Mr. Smyth.[2] The toll collectors pursued their detestable vocation with

"The Man who relieved the citizens from the embezzlement of Treasurers and oppressions of long taxes."

"May the Independent Electors of Ireland be always represented by those they love."

"Speedy restoration to the just rights and privileges of the citizens of Limerick."

"May all those who desert their friends fall into the hands of their enemies."

"A firmer tenure to the Judges of Ireland."

"May young patriots fill the places of old courtiers"

[1] Papers of John O'Donnell, Esq. of Liberty Hall.

[2] Among those who voted for Massy and Smyth we find the names of Gough, Rawlins, Copley, Mac Adam, Kendal, Wastecoat, Brimmer, Stritch, Bluet, &c., whilst the names of Frankin, Wright, Monsell, Miles, &c., appear on the independent side also. Mr. Pery and Mr. Smyth were returned.

The Corporation Memorial against the Bill for inquiry and reform contained these names:—

The Mayor (weigh master), Francis Sargent and John Monsell, Sheriffs (the former under influence), Alderman Sexton (a lease), Alderman Wight (ditto), Alderman Jones (comptroller), Alderman John Shepherd (would not vote for until he had known the contents), Alderman Peter Sargeant (a lease), Richard Graves (do), Geo. Stammer (do), Robert Hallam (Town Clerk and Scavengerer), John Bull (son-in-law to Alderman —— the Mayor), Jos. Crips (son to Alderman), Wm. Wakeley, Jos. Barrington (Treasurer), Christopher Carr Christopher (step-son to Peter), Geo. Sexton, jun. (son to Alderman Sexton), Jos. Johns (a large sum due to him) Exham Vincent (a lease), Wm. Gubbins.

Against the memorial of the Corporation were:—

Alderman Maunsell, Alderman Long, Alderman Baylee, Robert Davis, Geo. Waller, Richard Maunsell, Jun., Henry Holland, John Samuel Taverner, Andrew Welsh, Christopher Bridson, Thomas Pearce. Papers of John O'Donnell, Esq. of Liberty Hall.

"The Corporation of Clothiers," a very prominent and important body, were mixed up in the proceedings of these times, and having been called upon to give a character of one James Lombard, who, we must believe, had rendered himself obnoxious to some parties, and who was a ready man at the side to which the Clothiers were opposed, gave him a certificate, which for plain speaking is a model composition.*

* "We, the Master and Wardens of the Corporation of Clothiers, and the undernamed inhabitants of the City of Limerick, do hereby declare and certifie, that we know James Lombard of the sd. City, who was bred to the Clothing trade, and now a Common and notorious bum, to be a person of a bad reputation, and a very infamous character, and do really believe he would swear the greatest falsehood if importuned to do so for a Consideration, so he thought he could do it with impunity, or secure from the punishment of the Law.

"Dated this 16th of May, 1761.

Daniel Widenham, Master.		
Francis Russell,	Wardens.	William Alley.
Giles Powell,		Richard Dillon.
Zachary Miles,	Elders.	John Cherry.
Jacob Davies,		John Bernard.
Samuel Hart,		John Deane.
Michael Pinchins,		Joshua Unthank.
		James Lynch.

such unscrupulous rapacity that they defied every effort to make things in any degree tolerable to the neighbouring farmers and gentlemen, whom, in many cases, they deterred from growing corn at all, there being no other market but Limerick, and the exactions being so insufferable that the agriculturists could not sustain them.[1] This state of things continuing, and the oppressions becoming more intolerable and cruel every day, the Protestants resolved to appeal to Parliament for redress. A curious correspondence took place between Mr. O'Donnell, secretary to the free citizens, and Dan. Hayes, Esq.[2] In a letter to Hayes, the secretary

Isaac Jaques,	}	Henry Fowles.
Joseph Jaques,	} Elders.	Maurice Reddy.
James Greene,	}	John Sanders.
Thomas Hopkins.		Andrew Gardner.
Edward Casey.		Thomas Harrold.
James Hill.		George Powell.
Robert Davis, 1761.		William Canny."
Thomas Alley.		

[1] Mr. Richard Parsons, writing to Dean Massy, from Carrigogunnell, October 30th, 1761, states, that the act of Parliament which was intended for the protection and the good of the farmers, they (the Corporation vampires) have turned to oppression—"in short, they have made me tired of farming, for I can assure you on oath, that these twenty years back except the last two years, that I sent into Limerick upwards of five hundred barrels of corn, but I was so oppressed with the usage I got in Limerick that I would not be any longer in their power, and have entirely quit tillage, nor have I sent one barrel of corn into Limerick those two years past, or ever will till the times alter."

[2] Daniel Hayes, Esq. was a native of the county of Limerick, and was gifted with very superior talents. He published a volume of poems which went to a second edition—the latter rarely to be met with, was printed by A. Watson, in Mary-street. Hayes's "Farewell to Limerick" is a powerful Satire on the state of society in the city in 1751, when it was written. He was a Fellow Commoner of Trinity College, Dublin. He died in London, on the 20th July, 1767, having giving directions in his will that his remains should be conveyed to St. Mary's Cathedral, Limerick, for interment. He bequeathed the greater part of his property to the county of Limerick hospital, which, however, never received the benefit of the bequest. His monument consists of a plain, white marble slab, affixed to a pillar in the south transept of St. Mary's Cathedral, with the following inscription:—

DAN. HAYES AN HONEST
MAN AND A LOVER OF HIS
COUNTRY.

Hayes's letter to Mr. O'Donnell is characteristic:—

Chelsea, April 6th, 1762.

DEAR JACK,

Your letter surprised me not a little, when I found that you had so far succeeded against my old friends the Corporation. But what in the name of wonder could suggest to you that I had, or could have, any intercourse with, or access to, Lord Bute. He is, believe me, too great a personage for any Irishman in this kingdom to address as you mention; except Lord Shelburne. I could, perhaps, get a written memorial delivered to him, or inscribe him a book, or get now and then to the foot of his table. But to attempt influencing his voice, and that too in the Privy Council! Good God, Jack, what an idea you must have of a Prime Minister! I could indeed point out a very easy channel for your agent to come at the other Secretary; but as the Corporation of Limerick, the magistracy in particular, behaved to me with such unparalleled lenity and friendship in my last and greatest distresses; it would be the basest ingratitude to attempt (however feebly) to subvert their interests."

Besides, good Jack, believe me, that a partizan is of all officers the soonest forgot, and the least thanked or rewarded. If the agent for your Corporation has cleverness enough to procure Sir Harry Erskine (who has the greatest influence with Lord Bute; being his near relative, and having recently married his cousin), he may do you infinite disservice. For to my knowledge Sir Harry gratefully remembers the freedom of the city conferred upon him. This, upon my honour, I never hinted to any man; and I suppose you can keep your own secrets. The future maxim of my life shall be, to steer wide of all parties, ruptures, and dissentions; you are sure of enemies, who will engrave your actions on a table of brass; of friends who will commit them to a rotten cabbage leaf.

to the free citizens enters into many subjects, and particularly recommends him to use his influence with Lord Bute and the members of the Privy Council to have justice done to the aggrieved and plundered citizens of Limerick.[1] It should be stated that previously to this correspondence, they had framed a petition to Parliament, in the name of John O'Donnell, their independent secretary, containing all their complaints, and signed by upwards of five hundred persons of all ranks of city and country, but not signed by any Catholics. The petition was presented to Parliament on the first day of its sitting by the city representative, Counsellor Edmond Sexton Pery, and was backed by other representatives of Limerick and Clare. A committee was appointed by Parliament to examine into the causes of complaint, and Mr. E. Sexton Pery was appointed chairman of the committee. Many members of the Corporation were summoned to Parliament for the sixth of November, that being the day the committee was to sit, as were also many of the other inhabitants of all ranks and stations. The grievances which the citizens suffered from the Corporation, and on which they were chiefly examined, were the unreasonable practice of quartering the soldiery on Catholics, and on those whom the Corporation did not like, without ever paying for such quarterage, though the Government allowed payment; the dirty manner in which the streets and city were kept; the exacting of customs at the gates, double what the law allowed, and for articles which were not liable to custom; and for exacting tolls in the market, treble what the laws and Parliamentary schedule allowed; the partial administration of justice between party and party, and the neglect of magistrates in the administration of justice, and visiting and regulating the markets; the demanding and misapplication of the revenues of the city for over thirty years previously, and the Corporation farming to each other for ever the city lands for a crown or twenty shillings a year, which were worth to each individual £200 or £300 per annum; the depriving the freemen and free citizens of their rights in the electing of Mayors, Sheriffs, &c., and not granting them a common speaker, or calling a court of D'Oyer Hundred; the selling for life, in some particulars, employments in the Corporation, which were to be elected for every year—these and many other charges against the Corporation were evidently proved before the committee, and the consequence was a new law for the better regulation of the City of Limerick was enacted on the 21st of December, the committee unanimously agreeing to 31 resolutions, which, on the 23rd of December were reported to the whole House, and on the 24th, the House, according to order, took into consideration the report made on the 23rd relative to the petitions of John O'Donnell and others, and the resolutions of the committee were read and agreed to by the whole House.[2] The injurious power

I have not seen either of the agents who have come over, but hope to have that pleasure before long; and after all that has been or that will be said upon this matter, my humble opinion is, that Lord Halifax's pleasure will direct the Committee-table; they say he is much admired amongst you; he is very much so here; and I believe there is not an abler or better man in England. You do not mention what party he espouses, or whether he meddles at all. I should, however, conjecture he is with you, as the Bill passed in Ireland. If so, you may almost depend upon success; nay, the Bills having past, and touching (I suppose) nothing upon the Crown's prerogative, should in my conception, ensure its stability; for it can hardly be supposed that the memorial of any single body should countervail the two great councils of the kingdom. I should be excessively glad to serve James, and perhaps may before I die. My best respects to your wife, and believe me, Your's very truly,

John O'Donnell, Esq Liberty Hall, Limerick. D. HAYES.

Write to me the news of the country without minding politics, or the want of franks.

[1] O'Donnell's Papers. [2] White's MSS.

exercised by Arthur Roche was particularly condemned by the resolutions of the House—he was declared unfit to hold any office in the city—and it was ordered that leave be given to bring in the heads of a bill for the better regulation of the Corporation of the City of Limerick, and for redressing the several grievances under which the citizens and inhabitants labour, and that Mr. Pery, Mr. Charles Smyth, Mr. Recorder, Dr. Lucas, Mr. Sergeant Paterson, and Mr. Lucius O'Brien, do prepare and bring in the same—Ordered that the same report be printed. We give the sequel in the language of White.[1]

1762.—1. The act for the better regulation of the Corporation and City of Limerick, having, with some amendments, passed the Privy Council of Ireland, was brought over to England for the purpose of passing there by Mr. Nicholas Smyth, agent to the freemen, but it was opposed there by Mr. Andrew Shepherd, agent to the Corporation, who represented to the Council of England that the freemen of Limerick were entirely influenced by the papists; that it was a Popish faction which introduced said bill; that there were near one hundred priests and friars in Limerick;[2] and that said bill was contrary to law, and an infringement on the Royal Prerogative from which the charter derived. The Solicitor-General and Attorney-General for England represented the bill in this false and odious light, and therefore, it was thrown out and not passed into law.

2. Counsellor Edmond Sexton Pery foreseeing that the bill would meet with this opposition in England, did very wisely introduce into other acts of Parliament clauses for the better redress of the many grievances and abuses under which the citizens of Limerick did labour, and which answered the purpose almost as well as if the bill did pass, that the customs on the gates and the tolls in the markets should be taken from them, tolls alone which are mentioned in the dockett, ratified by Parliament in the year 1723–4, and that no more should be taken than what is there specified, and that under the severest penalty on the exaction of said tolls and customs, and on the chief magistrate, if he should neglect punishing according to law such exaction. By this clause the tolls and customs which are usually exacted are lessened by more than one half. By another clause in another act, the levying of public taxes and rates which were formerly assessed on the inhabitants by some members of the Corporation, according to their arbitrary pleasure, and by which the Catholics were greatly depressed, I say, these taxes and rates are so lessened by so many of the respective parishioners as are appointed by a vestry held for the purpose, and that assessment to be laid proportionally on all the parishioners, who, in another vestry, were to approve of the same, and then said assessment to be given to the treasurer of the Corporation, who must levy said money from every inhabitant according to said assessment, and who is to get a shilling for each pound so raised, for his trouble. By this law Protestants and Corporation men are liable to be equally taxed as Catholics which was never done before. By another law, the lamp money which was hitherto raised by the Corporation by exacting a crown a year out of every house in the street, must now be raised by a vestry in like manner as the public rates; by another law, all disputes with the Corporation must not be tried in the city, but in and by a jury of twelve men in any other county.

3. By an order of the barrack board, no soldiers are to be quartered on the inhabitants, save on their march, and that to be done in an equal manner,

[1] White's MSS. [2] A notorious lie, whereas there were but sixteen.—White's MSS.

and if there should be a necessity of quartering any soldiers on the city, their lodgings are to be paid for by the commanding officer.

4. The Roman-Catholic merchants this year refused paying Cockett duties to the Corporation, on compounding for them by paying to the Corporation £5 every year, and they judged such duties to be an unlawful exaction, and to which no one was liable but foreigners alone who followed trade in Limerick.

5. On the 5th of May, the Corporation party in the Council made 150 freemen, chiefly strangers, in order to have a majority among the freemen in the Court of D'Oyer Hundred.

This movement was a heavy blow to the Corporation; and that it was inflicted by the hands of honest Protestants must be ever a cause of sincere congratulation to the citizens of Limerick.[1]

As we have already stated, the state of feeling between landlord and tenant was becoming unpleasant in the extreme. About the month of January, 1762, some persons, who called themselves levellers or Whiteboys,[2] to the amount of some hundreds, some say thousands, did much mischief by night, levelling hedges of those who had encroached on any of the commons, by digging up the lay rich ground of those who would not set land to the poor for tillage, burning the barns and haggarts, &c. By degrees they spread over Munster, did incredible mischief in the counties of Waterford, Tipperary, and Cork, as also in the county of Limerick, and in the parish of Kilfinnane, where, in one night, they dug up twelve acres of rich fattening ground belonging to a Mr. Maxwell, houghed some cattle, &c. White[2] says, "there is no knowing where this will stop; but the Government has given orders to the respective Governors of the counties to inspect into the causes of these evils, and for that purpose to assemble the justices of the peace; it is surprising that though there are such numbers, none of them discover on their companions, that they are never seen by day, and that they damage, indiscriminately, both Catholics and Protestants, and even punish the Priests who exert themselves against them. Our Bishop has sent his mandate to his Parish Priests to speak against them."

It was proved on the trials for these offences that in almost every instance the promoters and instigators of them were Protestants—Protestant tenants who had resolved to wring justice from the lords of the soil. At a Special Commission held in June of this year, 1762, two men named Banyart and Carthy, were tried, found guilty, and executed at Gallows Green on the 19th of that month. In reference to some of the causes of these disturbances, Mr. Lucius O'Brien, member for Clare, made a remarkably bold and telling speech, in his place in Parliament, in which he lamented the deplorable condition of the inhabitants of the county in which he lived (Clare.) "arising from the total neglect of those who had nominally the care of their souls, and the tythe of their property (the Protestant clergy) in Clare, he continued to say, there were seventy-six parishes and no more than fourteen churches, so that sixty-two parishes were sinecures, . . . Who can suppose that men will patiently suffer the extortion of a tythe monger, where no duty for which the tythe is paid has been performed in the memory of man. . . . It has been said that to prevent opposition to such demands we should put in force our penal laws against those that have opposed them already, but give me leave, Sir, to say that no penal law, however sanguinary in itself, and however rigorously executed, will subdue the natives of a free country into a tame and patient acquiescence in what must appear to be the

[1] In this year, 1762, Cornelius Magrath, an Irish giant, who was born in the Silver Mines, Co. Tipperary, in 1736, died in College Green, Dublin, He was seen in Cork by Dr. Smith.—*Smith's MSS. in Royal Irish Academy.*

[2] White's MSS.

most flagitious injustice and the most cruel oppression. The insurrections against which we are so eager to carry out the terrors of the law, are no more than branches, of which the shameful negligence of our clergy, and the defects in our religious institutions, constitute the root."[1]

These causes operated on the people for a long time, and continued to produce the most fearful results, as we shall see as we proceed.

In this year, on the 5th of August, Dr. Laurence Nihill, afterwards Bishop of Kilfenora,[2] was appointed parish priest of Rathkeale. In 1764, White[3] marks the following incidents:—

"This year a sumptuous City Courthouse was commenced on the ground where the old Courthouse stood in Quay Lane, opposite to the Mayoralty House. The first assize held in it in the summer of 1765, and the Quay was finished from the East side of Ball's Bridge, and joined the bank of the canal. This year also was finished the famous mill on the north side of the canal above the lock nearest the city; therein six pair of mill-stones for corn, four boulting mills, four tucking mills, and all loads were raised to the top of the house, and all that performed by two water-wheels and at the same time. Famous stores were likewise built for the reception of corn over the mill dam."

These mills were erected by Mr. Andrew Welsh and Mr. Uzuld at a cost of £6000

One of the most memorable civic demonstrations was made on the occasion of the riding of the franchises of the city of Limerick on the 5th and 6th of September, 1765. This demonstration is described so graphically and clearly by White,[4] that we give the facts as they appear in his MSS.:—

The Order of Franchises of Limerick rode the 5th and 6th of September, 1765.

"On Thursday, the 5th of September, Thomas Smyth, Esq., being Mayor, Alexander Franklin and Counsellor John Tunnadine being Sheriffs, the Franchises of the city and liberties of Limerick were rode. Servants, Bailiffs, and Mayor's Sergeants preceded on horseback, with blue cockades in their hats; then the bands of music belonging to the army, the sword bearer, and water bailiff, with their proper ensigns, the two sheriffs with their rods, the Mayor, richly dressed, with the rod in his hand, rode after; then followed the rest of the Corporation, John Quin, Esq., carrying the blue Corporation standard, and then followed numbers of other gentlemen well mounted, all having blue cockades in their hats. Then fourteen of the Trades or Corporations rode after them, each trade according to the antiquity of their charters, and each trade was headed by their respective masters and wardens. Each trade had a standard according to the colour of their trade, with the arms of the trade in the centre, and cockades peculiar to the trade, and after their masters, and wardens followed the principal of each trade, all well dressed, well mounted and accompanied with drums and music. On Thursday they rode from the King's island through the city, and visited the S. E. liberties of the city. On Friday they,

1 Debates in the Irish Parliament, reported by an officer, 2 vols.

2 White's MSS., which add that the Rev. Laurence Nihill was inducted P.P. of Rathkeale on the 5th of August, 1762. He exchanged afterwards with the Rev. Denis Conway, who succeeded the Rev. James White in the Parish of St. Nicholas, Limerick, whence he was promoted, in the year 1784, to the see of Kilfenora.—*Dr. Young's Note.*

3 White's MSS. contain in this year the following remarks and incidents:—

The Rev. Timothy Flynn, on whom Priesthood was conferred by the Right Rev. Dr. Kearney, in St. John's Chapel of Limerick, on the 7th of April, 1764, was Doctor of Nantz, Professor of Theology, returned to Ireland in the year 1794, or 5, was curate of St. John's under the Right Rev. Doctor Conway, succeeded the Right Rev. Dr. John Young in the Parish of St. Mary, 1796, as Dean and Parish Priest, was translated thence to St. Michael's in the year 1805, and died 17th April, 1813. He was succeeded in St. Michael's Parish by the Rev. Patrick Hogan, inducted 24th of April, 1813, by the Rev. Charles Hanrahan, P.P. of St. Mary's, under the special mandate of the Right Rev. Dr. Young, who forthwith made him Vicar General. *The Rev. P. Hogan's Note.* The Very Rev. P. Hogan died Parish Priest of St. Michael's in 1839, and a beautiful monument was raised to his memory in St. Michael's Church. 4 White's MSS.

in like manner, visited the S. W. liberties, returned through the city, and visited the N. liberties, but they never broke down any walls, or regulated any encroachments. On Friday, the 8th of September, the Corporation and the aforesaid trades, with their standards, and cockades in their hats, walked with the Mayor from the square behind St. John's Church to St. Mary's Church, and returned with him, in the said order, to said square, where he treated them with wine, and had the masters or wardens of each trade to dine with them that day. On Thursday, the 10th of September, the Mayor, Sheriffs, and rest of the Corporation, in the King's yachts, went down the river, in order to assert and make good his right of being admiral of the river Shannon. On Thursday, the 12th of September, the Mayor held a Court of Admiralty on the island of Inis Scattery, and on Friday, the 13th, he sailed to the mouth of the Shannon, where, between the heads, he threw a dart into the sea to point out the limits of his jurisdiction; at the same time it happened that a sloop of war entered the river, whom the Mayor compelled to lower her colours and her foretop sail in acknowledgement of his Power of Admiralty in said river Shannon. The Mayor and Corporation returned to Limerick on Saturday, the 14th, by ringing of bells, &c."

In 1765, the revenue of the port began to increase, and a very handsome and commodious Custom House was built from a design by an engineer named Davis Dukart. Caleb Powell, Esq., an ancestor of Caleb Powell, Esq., of Clonshavoy, ex-M.P. of the county of Limerick,[1] was appointed collector of the Port, and was the first who inhabited the Custom House.[2]

In the following year a return was made in Parliament of the number of Protestants and "Papist" families in Limerick, Tipperary, and Clare, by which appeared that the Catholics trebled in number the Protestants in these counties. There were then 38 priests, and 8 friars in the county of Limerick.

[1] Caleb Powell, of Clonshavoy, Esq., in the Parish of Abingdon and County of Limerick, who represented the County in Parliament from 1841 to 1847—in which year he contested the seat with the Right Hon. Wm. Monsell and the late Wm. Smith O'Brien, Esq., and was defeated by twenty-four votes—Caleb Powell is descended from Robert Powell, a Cromwellian officer, who, with his brother, Giles Powell, supposed to have been derived from a Shropshire family, settled in the County of Limerick in the year 1649. The latter obtained large grants of land in the barony of Costlea, and served the office of High Sheriff of the County, in 1676. Robert Powell married Barbara, and had issue Robert, married to a daughter of Hugh Massy, of Duntryleague, and had a son, Richard, a Captain in the Limerick Militia at the Siege of Limerick in 1691. He married Martha, daughter of Robert Minnitt, of Knigh, in the Co. Tipperary, and had an only child, Robert, born in 1694, and married, in 1717, Anne, daughter of Colonel Samuel Eyre M.P. for the town of Galway, by whom he had issue sons and daughters. Caleb, the fifth son of Robert Powell and Anne Eyre, was born in 1730, served in India under Clive and Forde, to whom he acted as aide-de-Camp; he retired from military service in 1760, and same year married Frances, daughter of John Bowen, of Taghmon, in the County Westmeath, and was appointed Collector of the Revenue for Trim and Athboy. In 1765, he was made Collector of the Port of Limerick, and was the first occupant of the present Custom House. He had issue by Frances Bowen, Stratford, born in 1761, died unmarried in 1790, an officer in the East India Company's Military Service; Samuel, died in America; Eyre Burton, born in 1767, married in 1792 Henrietta Magill, daughter of John Magill, of Tullycairne, in the County of Down, male representative of the Viscounts Oxenford, of Scotland. Eyre Burton Powell was called to the Bar, and practised successfully; O'Connell, who was some years junior to him, used to relate many instances of his zeal and self-possession in advocating the cases of his clients. Having had a professional dispute with his first cousin, George Powell, many years his senior, they had a hostile meeting, in conformity with the code of honor of the day, and Eyre Burton Powell was mortally wounded in a duel, by his cousin, leaving a widow and four children. The eldest was called to the Bar; married, in 1838, Georgina Frances, daughter of George Waller, of Prior Park, Co. Tipperary, and has issue a son, born in 1839. Stratford Powell, second son of Eyre Burton Powell and Henrietta Magill, entered the East India Company Service, and became Adjutant General of the Bombay Residency. Eyre Burton, third son, was Comptroller of Stamp Duties in Ireland, and left a son Director of Public Instruction at Madras, who married Miss Langley, and has issue.

[2] This building cost about £8,000. The revenue of the Port in 1765 was £31,099, having nearly doubled within six years, from 1759. The Post Office department has been carried on for several years in a portion of the Custom House, where also the Inland Revenue department has its offices, and where, in 1864, the District Probate Office was also placed.

Reports of a sinister character were now being industriously propagated arising ostensibly out of the continued excesses of Whiteboyism, but as many strongly suspected, really originating in the efforts of the ascendancy party to throw all manner of obloquy on the people, in order to justify the legalised oppressions of the day. These reports went to show that the Catholics of Ireland had agreed to rise on a certain fixed night in order to massacre all the Protestants in the kingdom; and that the houses of certain Protestants in Kilkenny, Waterford, and other cities, were chalked at night to show that they were destined victims. A letter was sent to the Mayor and Corporation of Limerick, threatening to make the streets of the city flow with Protestant blood; but when a reward of £500 was offered for the discovery of the writer, and when, at length, it was found that he was a zealous instrument of the dominant faction, his influential relatives interfered, and he was suffered to escape.[1] Among those stated to have been marked out for destruction near Clonmel, was the Lord Dunboyne, who afterwards abjured the faith of his fathers, after he had been Catholic Archbishop of Cashel. Such was the fierce spirit of the times, that the Rev. Nicholas Sheehy, Parish Priest of Clogheen, had to fly from the storm, to his cousin's residence, in the county of Limerick; but he was ultimately taken, and on evidence confessedly perjured, tried, condemned, and publicly executed in Clonmel, for a crime which was never perpetrated.[3] Turning away for the moment from these terrible scenes and events, we may take a passing glance at the improvements which spirited citizens were now making in Limerick, as an evidence of the anxiety to avail themselves of the advantages which had been extended by the demolition of the walls, and the opening up of new roads.[4]

[1] Amyas Griffith's Tracts.

[2] The Rev. Nicholas Sheehy when hunted by the minions of the law, proceeded to the county of Limerick, to the residence of his cousin, Roger Sheehy, Esq., of Appletown, where he left a suit of satin crimson vestments fringed with gold. Mr. Roger Sheehy was grandfather of Bryan Keating Sheehy, Esq., J.P. of Garbally, Newcastle, West, who has these vestments yet in his possession, and who values them highly.* These Sheehys descended from the ancient Sheehy family of Ballyallinan, near the river Deel, in the barony of Connelloe, Co. Limerick, whose descendants also were the Sheehys of Drumcolleher and Ballintubber, Co. Limerick. The Rev. Nicholas Sheehy was son of Francis Sheehy, Esq., of Glenahira, near the Cummeragh mountains, Co. Waterford—whose brothers were Roger of Dromculloher, who died without issue; Bryan of Gardenfield, the father of Roger who lived at Appletown; and William of Corbally, Co. Cork, who was grandfather of William Sheehy, Esq. of the same place. From the Cummeragh branch descended "Buck" Sheehy, who was executed at Clogheen, in 1772, and who was father of Colonel Sheehy, a distinguished officer of the French Service, who became aide-de-camp to Wolfe Tone, and also father of Mrs. Power, wife of Michael Power, Esq., J.P. of Clonmel, who had two daughters, Margaret and Ellen, both very beautiful; the first became Countess of Blessington, and the other the wife the Rt. Hon. Charles Manners Sutton, afterwards Lord Canterbury. The gifted Countess was fond of tracing her descent from the Earls of Desmond maternally through the Sheehys.

[3] Amyas Griffith's Tracts.

[4] Mr. John Creagh, re-erected in Broad-street, in the Irishtown, the ancient buildings which in 1640 had been built by his ancestor Pierce Creagh, and which had been known in the last century as the Bear Inn. These houses were seventy feet in front, and were considered the oldest in the Irishtown. On a chimney-piece in these buildings was this inscription:—

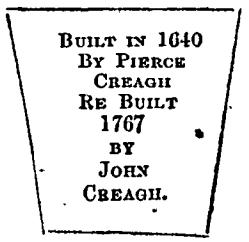
PETRUS CREAGH FILII ANDRÆ &
ELIONORA RICE UXOR EJUS
CURARUNT EXTRUI HAS ŒDES
A SUIS HÆRIDIBUS IN TIMORE
AMORE ET FAVORE NUMINIS DIU POS
SIDENDAS VICENTIBUS.

†
I. H. S.
1640.

* By some it is stated that the vestments were brought to Appletown by "Buck" Sheehy when he was on the run, and who valued them as the vestments in which his uncle, Father Nicholas Sheehy, last celebrated mass.

Mr. Pery, ever active in charitable deeds, gave a small plot of ground in St. Francis's Abbey, to Mr. Charles Smyth and the Rev. Dean Hoare, at a pepper-corn rent, on which an hospital, containing forty beds, was built; and as this hospital was outside the walls, and in the county, the act, which had just come into existence, in reference to county hospitals, was applied to it; subscriptions were obtained, not only from the city and county of Limerick, but from Tipperary, Clare, and Kerry, and at a general meeting of the subscribers it was unanimously resolved—that the benefits arising from the Act should be extended to the Limerick county hospital. In 1750, Surgeon Giles Vandeleur had made an unavailing endeavour to establish, at his own expense, a Hospital in the Little Island. In 1761, a charity sermon was preached at St. Mary's Cathedral, and a play was acted to revive the charity, to which surgeon Sylvester O'Halloran gave his gratuitous professional services. Other improvements were made about this period. A Deanery House had been already built off Bow-lane, in 1764.[1] A flourishing paper mill existed at this time, under the proprietorship of Mr. Joseph Sexton;[2] and as if to manifest the active progress of civilization, an Assembly House was soon afterwards begun on the South Mall—subsequently called the Assembly Mall.[3] Other projects also were now afloat; though political

On the occasion of the re-edification of these buildings, the following inscription was cut in relief on the Key Stone of an arch, through which there is an entry to a lane that leads from the Broad Street to Curry's Lane:—



In one of the houses on the north-east side of the arch, Alderman James Quinn has at present a Grocery establishment.

[1] The Deanery House was afterwards taken down, and on its site a portion of the city gaol was built at Crosby's-row, so called from the Hon. and Very Rev. Dean Crosby who occupied the Deanery House. The present Deanery House is on the north side of George's-street in the new town.

[2] Mr. Sexton had been patronized by Lord Chesterfield, Lord Lieutenant of Ireland: his mills made 30,000 reams of paper yearly. He supplied the local newspapers (of which in 1766 there were but three in the province of Munster) with paper—and amassed a considerable fortune—he died in 1782.

[3] Prior to the year 1768, the want of a large public room for assemblies had been very much felt by the gentry of Limerick and the surrounding counties, so much so, that it was suggested to build an Assembly House of such dimensions as would amply supply the want so much felt at the time. At a meeting of those interested, it was resolved—that a society consisting of twenty gentlemen be formed for the purpose; and at a subsequent meeting, held in the Grand Jury Room of the City Court House, on the 30th September, 1768, John Prendergast, Esq. in the chair, It was resolved—that the following gentlemen be formed into a society for building and maintaining a Public Assembly House in the city of Limerick, on a capital stock of £2,000; and that each member should bear an equal proportion of the expense, viz.:—Charles Smyth, Esq., Thomas Vereker, Esq., mayor; George Smyth, recorder; Thomas Symth, Esq., alderman; David Roche, Esq., alderman; Robert Hallam, Esq., alderman; William Monsell, Esq., burgess; John Prendergast, Esq., burgess; John Tunnadine, Esq., burgess; Alexander Franklin, Esq., burgess; Sir Henry Hartstonge, baronet; Silver Oliver, Esq., John Bateman, Esq., Rev. Mr. Dean Hoare, Rev. Mr. Jaques Ingram, Alexander Sheares, Esq., William Blood, Esq., John Minchin, Esq., Norcot D'Estere, Esq., and Patrick Mahony, Esq. Charles Smyth, Esq., having proposed to accommodate this society with a convenient lot of ground for building thereon such Assembly House,—It was resolved to take a lease of the plot of ground, as described in a plan

objects, including the agitation about the law for the electing of members of Parliament every eight years,—the Octennial Bill,—contributed to occupy the minds of all classes.

CHAPTER XLIV.

ELECTIONS UNDER THE OCTENNIAL BILL—PROGRESS OF LIMERICK.

THE excited state of society in the city and county of Limerick during the agitation caused by the Octennial Bill, showed the high degree of importance attached to that measure; hence during its passage through Parliament, Limerick was the constant scene of electioneering intrigues. Among the candidates for the city, the favourites, for the two seats, were Mr. Charles Smyth and Mr. Pery. Mr. Smyth was the favourite of the masters and wardens of the several guilds of trade. Mr. Villiers[1] of Kilpeacon, was a candidate; but

presented by the Rev. Dean Hoare, which was approved of, from Charles Smyth, Esq., for the term of 999 years, at the yearly rent of five shillings. The ground was on what afterwards went by the name of the Assembly Mall, in a line with Charlotte's Quay. A committee of five was appointed to carry on the work forthwith; and on the 24th October, steps were taken to commence the foundation of the house. The house was finished in August, 1770, and by the following extract from the original minute book of the society, it was resolved, at a meeting held 1st August, 1770—"That the house be opened for the reception of company on Tuesday, 11th September, and shall be opened every night during the assizes, at an English half-crown each ticket." (2s. 8½d.) The arrangements of the assemblies and "drums," were carried out by the members, and the gentlemen in their turn took the tickets at the door, and acted as stewards in the rooms. This building cost the proprietors £3208 2s. 11d., and the house was well supported by the public for many years. In 1772 it was set to Mr. Bowen, for the purpose of assemblies, &c., to be carried on by him, under the control of the company; and he agreed to pay £300 per annum for the purpose, at a lease of 31 years. Before the expiration of Mr. Bowen's lease, balls and suppers became less frequent; and in the year 1790, the principal room was converted into a theatre by Sir Vere Hunt, Bart., Mr. Clinch, principal manager; and on the 31st of January was opened with Shakespere's comedy of "As You Like It." It continued a theatre for several years. In 1818, the Christian Brothers, for the first time in Limerick, opened school in the upper rooms of the house; and paid £75 per annum for the part they occupied as school-rooms, for the gratuitous education of the poor, and remained there until more convenient schools were opened in 1824. A Mechanics' Institute was first opened in this house in the year 1825. The large ball and supper rooms now became the theatre of Limerick, and some of the best actors of the day, performed here. It was in this house that Edmund Kean first made his appearance in Limerick; here too, all the celebrated singers of the period, that came to the city, appeared before crowded audiences. In was used as a theatre until 1834 or 1836, when it was suffered to go out of repair; and in 1838, by order of the Sheriff, it having become dangerous, it was taken down. The site of this once beautiful building with part of the walls only now remain, and is the property of Mr. Stephen Hastings, T.C., who holds the books and papers of this very interesting old place, to which many of the older citizens look back to agreeable evenings spent in happier days, unequalled in the present time in Limerick.*

* It was only when the Assembly House was completed (1770), that a parapet wall was built as a protection on Charlotte's Quay, before this time it was an open quay.

[1] In a postscript to a letter on the subject the writer adds his belief, "that Villers will not stand it," and sends a notification to this effect:—

The Free Citizens of Limerick, who met on Monday, the 29th of February last at Mr John Boyce's;* request their friends who mean to be true friends to liberty, and the Protestant interest, to meet at said John Boyce's on Monday, the seventh day of March inst., at five o'clock in the afternoon, to keep up a friendly union, and to consider what may be for the honour, credit, and advantage of the City of Limerick, for the cause of liberty, and the service of the Friendly and United Club.

REV. DANL. WIDENHAM, in the Chair.

* Mr. John Boyce was an active solicitor—father of the late Alderman John Boyce, Mayor of Limerick in 1849, and grandfather of Thomas Boyce, Esq., J.P., Spring Fort, near Limerick.

though each coffee house[1] was full of rumours as to who would be his supporters, it was quite clear that against the powerful influence of Smyth and Pery, he had no chance of success. Ladies took a warm interest in these elections, and did not fail to mingle in discussions even at the Oyster Clubs, as to the relative merits of the respective candidates.[2] With such aids and exertions, it was no difficult matter to foresee in whose favour fortune was most likely to declare. Accordingly, on the 1st of August, 1768, Mr. Charles Smyth was again elected, and with him Mr. Edmond Sexton Pery; whilst on the same day, Mr. Silver Oliver and Mr. Hugh Massy were elected members for the County of Limerick.[3]

[1] Gough's in Quay-lane, was the fashionable coffee house.—O'Keefe, and after him Fitzpatrick, kept the Royal coffee-house in the same lane.—There was also a celebrated coffee-house at the corner of Palmerstown, in old Francis-street.

[2] This is made plain by a rather characteristic letter written by Mrs. Julia Vereker to her father, which shows a curious state of society at this time in Limerick:—

'My Dearest Sir,

You are very happy about the Bill having past, but for my share I wish every thing had remained as it was—how dreadfull it must be, for a year and a half together, to have every body in hot water, and their purses open for that time, to the ruin of all Trade, for the people will get such a habit of drinking and idleness, that they never will be good for anything after—but I keep my mind to myself. I delivered the letter to Tom as you desired. He gave an entertainment at Graves's to about twenty gentlemen; all the rest of the Town was at an oyster Club at Gough's, I amongst the rest. Mr. Billy Pery and Mr. Mounsell were making great interest for Mr. Pery in the City, and Sir Henry Harstongue in the County, so I think you should loose no time, tho' you may be sure when solicitations were going about, we were not Idle, but every one seems to expect you down immediately. Mr. Pery I hear, leaves Dublin to-day; they talk as if he had a very bad chance, for they say none of the traids will take for him. Mr. Mounsell asked Mr. Ingram for his vote for Sir Harry in the County; and Mr. Ingram told him he would not promise it till he saw you. Mr. Mounsell said, he believed you would not interfere in the County, upon which Mr. Ingram said, that he did not doubt but you would set up for the City, and Tom Smyth for the County; when Mr. Ingram told me this, I said, that he might do you a great deal of ingery by speaking in that manner, as for him I have not spoken a word to him this fortnight, nor do I think I ever will, for he behaved in a most villanous manner to Tom Vereker, I suppose you have heard of it, as it made a great noise in Town, and every one speaks of him as he deserved; he is a vile incendiary, and a most dangerous companion I find Tom Vereker has wrote a long letter to you, so I may shorten mine. I hope soon to have the pleasure of seeing my dearest Father. To-morrow's post will let me know, I suppose when. Adieu, my dear Sir, and believe me to be

Your sincerely affect.,
Julia Vereker."

We give the above as it is in the MSS. of the writer, and as illustrative of the habits and manners of the times.

[3] Sir Henry Hartstonge's candidature for the county was postponed to 1776, when he and the Right. Hon. Silver Oliver were returned. Among the supporters of Mr. Smyth in 1768, was Edward Lloyd, Esq. of Eyon, who writing to offer him his vote and interest says, he saw an account of the passing of the Octennial Bill in the *Munster Journal*, a venerable broad sheet, with which, and its immediate successors, several curious associations are connected, that throw light on the journalistic and dramatic history of the day. The *Munster Journal* was said to be the oldest Journal in the province of Munster. The proprietor was Mr. Andrew Welsh, ancestor of the respectable family of Welsh of Newtown House, county Clare, and a gentleman of enterprise and ability. Mr. Welsh also published the *Magazine of Magazines*, which appears to have been a reprint of Exshaw's *London and Dublin Magazine*, with a Limerick title-page. The *Munster Journal* was succeeded, about 1787, by the *Limerick Journal*, of which Mr. Edward Flinn was the proprietor; this Journal enjoyed the patronage of Lord Clare, to whom the owner of it was agent, and reaped a harvest by the publication of the Castle Proclamations. Mr. Flinn who was a Catholic, resided in Mary-street, opposite Quay-lane; Athlunkard-street not having been made for many years afterwards. His fellow-citizens and neighbours in Mary-street were Mr. William Goggin, the great Chap Book and Ballad Printer, whose shop at the corner of Quay-lane, was known by the sign of Shakespear. Alderman Andrew Watson, the successor of Mr. John Ferrar, in the proprietorship of the *Limerick Chronicle*, had his office and residence near the office of the *Limerick Journal*, whilst "Charley Keating," as he was familiarly called, who rejoiced

Soon after this election—namely, on the 10th of August, Lord Viscount Townshend, Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, arrived in Limerick, and was received with great hospitality. The triumphant party were in the best spirits and met his Excellency in the most cordial manner. The Smyth, Perry, and Vereker families vied with each other to do him honor. He was entertained at a grand banquet, in the Mayoralty House; the chair was ably filled by Thomas Vereker, Esq., who was Mayor this year, and the freedom of the city was presented to Lord Townshend, in a gold box.

At this time the local trades were in rather a flourishing condition, and Limerick exhibited unquestionable symptoms of progress.[1] Every profession and every branch of trade were represented, whilst commerce employed

in the dignity of "Seneschal of Parteen"—had a small ware shop at the opposite corner. Andrew Cherry, the comedian, and author of the "Soldier's Daughter," and the "Travellers," to which Dibdin wrote the songs, &c., served his time as an apprentice in the printing-office of the *Limerick Journal*. Cherry often printed the play bills for his own poor strolling company; and underwent many trials, having been reduced to the verge of starvation on some occasions. In "Familiar Epistles" to Edward Jones, Esq.,* who succeeded Mr. Richard Daly, the successor of Mr. Heaphy, as Patentee of the Theatres Royal of Limerick, Cork, and Dublin, (after Daly had realized a profit of £5,000 a year by them)—Cherry's plays are thus uncomplimentarily referred to by the Satirist:—

"There is a burning chauldron's blaze
Through Reynolds's and Morton's plays,
Each page of Allingham's and Cobbs's,
And heavy Boaden's clumsy jobs;
Cherry's sad mess of mirth and groans,
Insipid hash of Murphy's bones."

It is related of Cherry, that, having been offered an engagement by a manager who had previously forgotten to pay him, he wrote:—

"Sir,—You have bitten me once, and I am resolved you shall not *make two bites* of

A. CHERRY."

Cherry was one of the leading comedians at Covent Garden Theatre for several years; his portrait was painted by De Wylde, and printed in the *Monthly Memoir*. Mr. John Gubbins, a successful portrait painter, also served his time in the *Limerick Journal* office.

[1] The following from *Ferrar's Directory* of 1769, is a list of the fifteen corporations which were in that year in existence, with the names of the masters and wardens of each guild:—

MASTERS AND WARDENS OF THE FIFTEEN CORPORATIONS.

SMITHS	Richard Bennis	Master
	Samuel Johns, Thomas Carr	Wardens
CARPENTERS	George Russell	Master
	John Byrum, Thomas Brehon	Wardens
WEAVERS	Thomas Pincheon	Master
	Giles Powell, Thomas Kendall	Wardens
SHOEMAKERS	George Fivens	Master
	Thomas Farquhar, Thos. Burrowes	Wardens
TAYLORS	George Evans	Master
	Laurence Bluett, Wm. Ryan	Wardens
SADLERS	Mitchel Bennis	Master
	MauriceO'Donnell, Robert Carr	Wardens
MASONS	Michael Dobbs	Master
	Phillip Dollard, Jas. Charleton	Wardens
BAKERS	Wm. Walker	Master
	James Allison, Thos. Bourke	Wardens
COOPERS	James Clowden	Master
	David Jones, Wm. Gilmer	Wardens
SURGEON BARBERS.	Jacob Bennis	Master
	Francis Downes, John Fitzgerald	Wardens
BUTCHERS	James Allison	Master
	John Dick, George Coonerty	Wardens
TOBACCONISTS	Thomas Mason	Master
	Patrick Martin, John Robinson	Wardens
TALLOW CHANDLERS	Thomas Alley, Jun.	Master
	Raleigh James, Jacob Rinrose	Wardens
HATTERS	John Kincaid	Master
	Henry Lee, James Ryan	Wardens
BREWERS	———	Master
	John Bryan, Edmond Casey	Wardens

* Familiar Epistles to E. Jones, Esq, by John Wilson Croker.—Edition, 1806.

twenty-six first-class merchants, principally Catholics, who at length enjoyed ample means, if not freedom, political and social.[1]

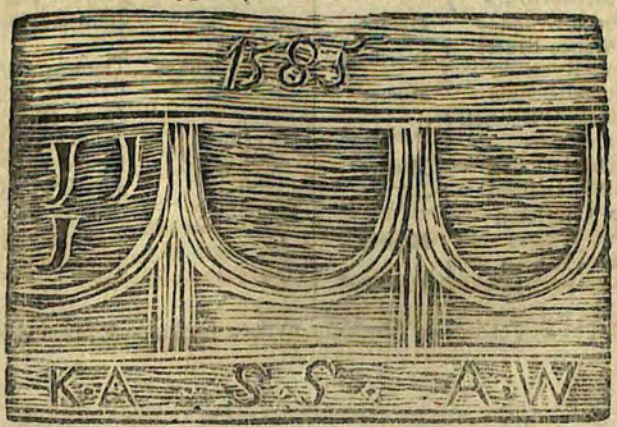
On the 20th of January, 1767, Standish O'Grady of Mount Prospect, afterwards Chief Baron, was born.[2]

1 An Analysis of the various trades, professions, &c. in the city at this time is interesting. We classify them alphabetically :—

Architect	...	...	1
Apothecaries	...	...	7
Auctioneer	...	...	1
Attornies	...	...	22
(nine of whom were sworn for the Tholsel court.)			
Bakers ...	...	...	12
Brewers	...	...	6
Butchers	...	...	6
Barristers-at-law	...	...	5
Brass Founders	...	...	3
Brush Makers	...	...	2
Booksellers	...	...	2
Chandlers	...	...	15
Carpenters	...	...	10
Carpet Maker	...	...	1
Card Makers	...	...	2
Clothiers	...	...	14
Cheque Manufacturers	...	...	1
Linen Bleachers	...	...	1
Cutlers	...	...	2
Cabinet Makers	...	...	4
Coopers	...	...	2
Coach Makers	...	...	2
Coach Spring Maker	...	...	1
Confectioners	...	...	4
Copper Smith	...	...	1
Dancing Masters	...	...	4
Dyers ...	...	...	4
Engraver	...	...	1
Fruiterer	...	...	1
French Master	...	...	1
Grocers	...	...	48
(one also sold China, Earthenware, &c.)			
Gun Smiths	...	...	2
Glover	...	...	1
(Lyons who made the celebrated "Limerick Gloves.")			
Glaziers	...	...	5
Hosiers	...	...	3
Hardware sellers	...	...	6
Hatters	...	...	2
Hair Dresser	...	...	1
Haberdashers	...	...	14
Harpsichord Teachers	...	...	3
Innholders	...	...	6
Jeweller	...	...	1
Linen Bleachers	...	...	2
Latin Teachers	...	...	3
Merchants	...	...	26
Malsters	...	...	2
Milliners	...	...	10
Notaries Public	...	...	3
Nailors	...	...	3
Pewterers	...	...	2
Peruke Makers	...	...	14
Printers	...	...	4
(Cherry, Ferrar, and the Welshes—Andrew and Thomas.)			
Plumbers	...	...	2
Publicans	...	...	10
Paper Maker	...	...	1
Painters	...	...	4
Paper Stamper...		...	1
Pipe Makers	...	...	2
Stay Makers	...	...	2
Sadlers	...	...	3
Shoemakers	...	...	13
(The house of Joseph and William Worrall continued to be represented in the trade by the late Mr. Worrall of Shannon-street)			
Salt Boiler	...	...	1
Smiths	...	...	3
Toyman	...	...	1
Tobacconists	...	...	12
Farmers	...	...	4
Vintners	...	...	2
Woollen Drapers	...	...	28
Writing Masters	...	...	6
Wine Merchants	...	...	7
Watch Makers	...	...	4

2 This remarkable man and distinguished judge was appointed Attorney-General on the 10th of June, 1803, vice the Hon. John Steward, resigned; a Privy Councillor same date; October 19th, 1806, he was appointed Chief Baron of the Exchequer, vice Lord Viscount Avonmore, deceased.

On a large stone chimney-piece in the old Town Fish House pulled down in September this year were the following dates and cyphers, with three coats of arms :—



Further improvements were projected in the year 1768, and a spirited subscription was raised by "a Company of Undertakers" to make the Shannon navigable.[1]

In this year the Rev. Mr. Dean Hoare being Rector of Killeedy, designed and built a handsome house on the glebe grounds for the Incumbents. The house is in the North Liberties and commands a fine view of the Shannon, Salmon-weir, King's Island, Corbally, &c. &c.

[1] This Company was incorporated by Act of Parliament, and a sum of £10,000, in pursuance of the Act, was subscribed as follows:—

Sir Henry Hartstonge, Bart.	£1000
Sir Lucius O'Brien, Bart.	500
Edmund Sexton Pery, Esq.	500
R. William Pery, Esq.	500
Hugh Dillon Massy, Esq.	500
Anthony Parker, Esq.	500
William Maunsell, Esq.	500
Thomas Maunsell, Jun. Esq.	500
Richard Maunsell, Esq.	1000
Rev. William Maunsell	250
Eaton Maunsell, Esq.	250
John Tunnadine, Esq.	250
John Thomas Waller, Esq.	250
John Dowdall Hammond, Esq.	250
Andrew Welsh	250
John Martin, M.D.	250
James Guthrie, Merchant	250
Stephen Roche John, Merchant	500
Phil. Roche John, Merchant	500
Edmond Sexton, Merchant	250
James Browne, Merchant	250
Thomas Casey, Merchant	250
Michael Rochford, Merchant	250
James Lyons, Merchant	250
Thomas Mark, Merchant	250
Total	£10,000

There were several lodges of freemasons in these times, the names of the Masters and Wardens of which are set forth in the Directory, and the places of meeting. Peter's Cell was a favorite place of residence with professional men, and in that locality Madame O'Dell had a fine residence and gardens; the town walls affording a shelter to the fruit trees, and in the garden was a spring well which supplied the neighbourhood with water. This well belonged to the ancient Abbey of St. Francis, and is at present closed off from the highway by the wall of a tan-yard.

1769. Names of the Jury (in the county of Limerick) to try an issue of great importance between Ambrose Cuffe, Plaintiff, and James Hewson, Defendant, of a plea of trespass:—

1 Sir Henry Hartstonge, of Bruff, Bart.
2 Thomas Lloyd, of Kildrummin, Esq.
3 Launcelot Gubbins, of Maidstown, Esq.
4 James Godsell, of Sunville, Esq.
5 John Maunsell, of Ballybrood, Esq.
6 John Langford of Kells, Esq.
7 Michael Furnell, of Ballyclough, Esq.
8 Francis Green, of Graigue, Esq.
9 Robert Hewson, of Ballyengland, Esq.
10 Maurice Studdert, of Enniscough, Esq.
11 John Bouchier, of Attaville, Esq.
12 Percivall Harte, of Coolrusse, Esq.
13 Joseph Gubbins, of Kilfrush, Esq.
14 Michael Bevan, of Ballinlander, Esq.
15 Eyre Evans Powell, of Bilboa, Esq.
16 William Lloyd, of Tower Hill, Esq.
17 Cole Maxwell, of Garranscullabeen, gent.
18 James Bourchier, of Baggotstown, gent.
19 Robert Holmes, of Cleigh, gent.
20 James Casey, of Ballyneety, gent.
21 William Bennett, of Ballincallow, gent.
22 William Smithwick, of Kilduff, gent.
23 Standish Grady, of Lodge, gent.
24 Philip Elrisey, of Moigue, gent.
25 Richard Nash, of Dunwyllan, gent.
26 Henry Drew, of Drew's Court, gent.
27 Richard Dickson, of Ballybronogue, gent.
28 Richard Tuthill, of Ballyanrahan, gent.
29 Henry Touchstone, of Ballybeg, gent.
30 William Mason, of Derawling, gent.
31 Edward Nash, of Ballyteague, gent.
32 James Bourchier, of Kilcullane, gent.
33 William Glisson, of Ballyvodin, gent.
34 Robert Bradshaw, of Ballyvodin, gent.
35 Edmund Burke, of Maddabue, gent.
36 Richd. Plummer, of Mount Plummer, Esq.
37 James Gubbins, of Hospital, gent.
38 James Ware, of Loughgur, gent.
39 Wm. Wilkinson, of Cahirelly, gent.
40 Francis Wilkinson, of the Same, gent.

Each of the Jurors is attached separately by his pledge.

Anno 1769. STANDISH O'GRADY, *Sheriff.* | Jo. Doe.
T. & P. PLUMTRE. | Rd. Roe.

Some trades and occupations which a century ago were in being, have ceased to exist with alternating phases of fashion.[1] A theatre was built in Cornwallis-street in 1770, under the auspices of Mr. Tottenham Heaphy, at a cost of £600, which sum was contributed by twenty-four gentlemen, who had free tickets.[2]

Consideration for the poor went hand in hand with these improvements; and in 1771, the Pery Charitable Loan Fund was established for the relief of tradesmen by loans of three guineas to each, to be paid in instalments of 1s. 4d. per week. Mrs. Pery, until her death, was the chief patroness of this Institution, which in times of very great distress, contributed to the relief of a large number of distressed artizans. In this year, the Hon. Dean Crosbie revived the Craven and the Widow Virgin charities, the latter for the distribution of a certain quantity of bread on Christmas day to the poor of St. Mary's parish, for which purpose a house in Quay-lane had been bequeathed in 1732, by the Widow Virgin. In this year, too, an Act of Parliament was established for the Locks on the Grand Canal; and to the great joy of the citizens of all classes, the navigation of the canal was opened to Newtown Bog.[3] Though improvements were thus actively going forward, distress and misery had not altogether disappeared from among the people, and on the 12th of May in the same year, the great mills on the north bank

[1] The peruke makers are all but extinct—whilst the chairmen, whose usual stand was at the Exchange, have become beings of the past. William Hamilton was a fashionable wig maker of the day, in Mary-street—his charge per week, for dressing the wig of a wealthy customer was the moderate sum of 1s. 2d.

[2] This was a celebrated theatre in its time. The box entrance was in the street now called Cornwallis-street, and the pit passage was at the corner of Play House Lane. Mr. Edward Gubbins, a coach builder, occupied the front of the theatre as a workshop and showroom for carriages. For a long time, the holders of box tickets were obliged to go through Mr. Gubbins' kitchen, to their places in the boxes. Celebrated actors, viz., Garrick, Mossop, Barry, Ryder, &c., all acted in the old theatre. More recently George Frederick Cooke, Kemble, Macklin, Mrs. Siddons, Miss Farren (afterwards the Countess of Derby) acted here also; and in comic operas, Mrs. Billington, Miss Brett, and Mrs. Creswell frequently appeared in *Love in a Village*—Miss Stephens, the vocalist, at a later period, also sung here to crowded houses. Ned Williams, Richard Jones, Johnson, and others who are satirized by Wilson Croker in his *Familiar Epistles to Edward Jones, Esq.*, were also actors in this theatre, the successive managers of which, were Mr. Heaphy, Mr. Richard Daly, an excellent light comedy actor, and Mr. Frederick Edward Jones. The amateurs also played in this theatre, and drew crowded houses—among them were Sir Mathew, (then Mr. Mathew) Barrington, Mr. John M'Auliff, Mr. Pierce Brett, Mr. George Hogan, Mr. Thomas Gromwell, Mr. Hewett, Mr. Andrew Tracy, Mr. John Gubbins, Mr. William Glover, &c. The three last mentioned are alive in 1864. The amateurs played in support of the public charities, particularly the House of Industry, and the receipts were considerable. Near the theatre was the principal hotel of Limerick, which was a well conducted establishment, and in this hotel (the house though dilapidated is still in existence, about the lower part of Cornwallis-street, and is recognisable by its stone-front and flight of steps), Mrs. Siddons is said to have lodged during her visit to Limerick. The other leading actors generally lodged in the house of a Mr. Williams in the same street. It was from this theatre that George Frederick Cooke, the celebrated comedian, went out one night, his head full of the fumes of a little keg of whiskey to which he had been paying attention, and arrayed in the broad-brimmed hat and whimsical dress of *Petruchio*, which character he had been playing, stumbled into the house of some poor people, from which the wail of woe was dolefully issuing, chaunting as the inmates were in full chorus over a dead body. Plunging sword in hand into the midst of the group, Cooke advanced towards the bed, on which the corpse of an old woman lay, and suiting the action to the word—exclaimed,

"How now, ye secret, black, and midnight hags, what is't ye do?"*

The result may be imagined, it cannot be described.

James Vaughan, whose sister Miss Vaughan, was the heroine of a memorable trial in Ennis, for abduction, in which she acquitted herself with the utmost honour, should not be forgotten among the amateur corps of the old theatre.

[3] *Walker's Magazine*: The bog of Newtown is now in a great measure reclaimed—and the land of fair quality.

* *Knight's Dramatic Table Talk.*

of the canal, to which we have already referred, were attacked for bread by a famishing crowd, during the Mayoralty of Mr. Christopher Carr, (Fitz Christopher). Mr. Carr called out the soldiery, and had the mill occupied by a serjeant's guard, who fired on the exasperated people, when three men were killed on the opposite side of the canal, and on the following day the military were again called out, when three more persons were killed in the Irishtown.[1]

The House of Industry was founded on the North Strand in 1774, by Grand Jury Presentments on the County and City, to which was added £200 by Dr. Edward Smyth of Dublin, towards providing thirteen cells for the insane.[2]

The condition of Ball's Bridge had been for some time rather dangerous; but a high tide on the 4th of February, 1775, did considerable damage to that ancient structure.[3] On the 1st of February, 1776, a loyal corps, called the Limerick Union, the uniform of which was blue faced with buff, and the motto, "Amicitia Juncta" was formed by Mr. Thomas Smyth; a troop of horse and a company of foot were raised; and enrolled in this corps, were the principal citizens—all of the Protestant persuasion. The exigencies of the times caused the regular soldiery to be called away to more active and stirring duties abroad, and the Union did garrison duty in the city.

On the 27th of August in the same year, the Duke and Duchess of Leinster arrived at the house of the Right Hon. Edward Sexton Pery, speaker of the House of Commons, in Newtown-Pery, as the new portion of the City was now called, and which Twiss, the traveller, in his visits to the city a year afterwards, describes as containing a few straggling brick houses, and from which he went to view the remarkable lake and antiquities of Lough Gur, within ten miles of the city.[4]

In the next year, the first stone of the Exchange was laid by Thomas Smyth, Esq. on the 25th of June, and a civic jubilee was held in Limerick, which attracted very general interest.[5] It commenced on the 12th of August, the Prince of Wales' birth day, with a fancy ball, which was attended by the *elite* of the four conterminous counties, viz., Limerick, Tipperary, Clare and Kerry. On the 13th there was a play at the old Theatre; on the 14th a "Venitian" breakfast in the gardens of Mr. Davis;[6] after the breakfast a

[1] To this day the above lamentable occurrence is spoken of, to the condemnation of Mr. Christopher Carr; among those killed was a poor woman—a milk woman—who was sitting at the time at her can of milk in Broad-street.

[2] On the 26th of March, in 1774, the Stamp Duty came into operation in Limerick.

[3] Several of the houses on Ball's bridge fell in consequence, and a Mr. Berry who was sitting in one of them, fell through the floor, and was borne down the stream to the New bridge, and was rescued by the intrepidity of a sailor named John Fitzgerald.

In this year fire engines were given to St. John's, St. Mary's, and St. Munchin's parishes by the Right Hon. E. Sexton Pery, Charles Smyth and Thomas Smyth, Esqrs.

In this year also Sir Boyle Roche, Bart., beat up for recruits in Limerick with great success, in consequence of war between England and America, Lord Kenmare gave half-a-guinea bounty to each recruit.

[4] Loughgur gave title to the family of Fane. Charles Fane, Esq., of Bassilden, a cadet of the Earl of Westmoreland's family, being created in 1718, Baron of Loughgur, and Viscount Fane. His only son Charles died without issue in 1782, when his estates in the county of Limerick devolved on his sister's descendants, of whom, Mary had married Jerome Count De Salis in Switzerland, and Dorothy married John Earl of Sandwich.

[5] *Walker's Magazine* gives a long account of this jubilee.

[6] Limerick has been famous for its gardens. There were Carr's Gardens, &c. Roche's Gardens, or the Hanging Gardens of Limerick, as they have been called, bore testimony also to the taste of their projector and proprietor, the late William Roche, Esq., M.P. Those gardens which are now in a very ruinous condition, were at one period a principal attraction of the new town, and extend from the rere of the house, No. 99, George's-street, to

regatta; on the 15th an oratorio in St. Mary's Cathedral; in the evening a grand ball at the Assembly Rooms, at which the ladies appeared in Irish manufacture; on the 16th a concert of vocal and instrumental music; and between these displays, viz., on the 12th, the most imposing display that had hitherto been made by the Corporation and the guilds of trade, was that which took place on the riding of the bounds, or franchises—the rendezvous was on the King's Island, from which they went all over the city and county of the city. This memorable jubilee originated with Colonel Thomas Smyth, whose corps, the Limerck Union, took also, a prominent part in the procession. This corps, in the year after, with their president, Colonel Smyth, and the Friendly Knot, with their president, John Prendergast Smyth, met at the Assembly Rooms, and entered into resolutions to form the Loyal Limerick Volunteers, of which Mr. Thomas Smyth was unanimously chosen colonel. In a month afterwards they assembled in their becoming uniform of red, faced with white, at a grand civic ceremony commemorating the accession of the Hanoverian dynasty; and on the 7th of August in the next year, they were presented by the Government with 500 stand of arms; and to the county of Limerick a present of arms to the same amount was given at the same time. The times were stirring. A new spirit had begun to operate in the midst of the people. The new town of Limerick was now assuming a shape, notwithstanding the absurd sneer of Richard Twiss, so ludicrously punished by the wits of Cork. Men of enterprise had already begun to take ground and to build; one was Mr. Patrick Arthur, merchant,[1] who built a Quay, which soon became the most fashionable part of the city, ("Arthur's Quay" is now, 1865, occupied only

Henry-street, and occupy about an acre of ground; they are formed on arches varying in height from 25 to 40 feet. Flights of steps lead from one elevation to another—the side terraces are 150 feet long, by 30 wide—the central one 180 feet long, by 40 wide, and the lower 200 feet long, and 100 feet wide, exclusive of what had been the melon and cucumber ground, which is 80 feet square. The top of the highest terrace wall is 70 feet above the street, and commands an extensive view of the Shannon, the Clare Hills, Tervoe, the residence of the Right Hon. William Monsell, M.P., Farranshone, the estate of the Marquis of Lansdowne, &c., &c. The redundant moisture is conveyed away through tubes concealed in the butments of the arches to the main sewer. The tubes are stopped in summer to retain the moisture. The damp is prevented from penetrating to the extensive stores under the gardens by flags cemented together. Those stores are rented by the crown on a very long lease, at a large sum per annum, and have been used as bonding stores for many years by the Customs. The House which had been the Banking House, and residence of Mr. Roche, has been rented since 1858 to the Limerick Institution, which removed from the house No. 49, on the south side of the street. The Institution was established in 1809, with reading and news rooms, and library. The admission is by ballot, and payment of an annual subscription, or the purchase of a life membership.

[1] With this ancient name of Arthur in connection with Limerick, the reader of this History must be already perfectly familiar. But the name claims a more special notice than we have hitherto devoted to it; there were no less than forty-eight Arthurs, mayors, &c. of the city; commencing at a very early date, and proceeding downwards, in rapid succession, until the change brought about in and after the days of Queen Elizabeth, since which period, the name has appeared, "few and far between," on the Municipal Roll. In the Catholic Church too, the Arthurs flourished as bishops and priests, and they gave many an illustrious member to both orders in the ministry, and several who have reflected credit on our country. Dr. Thomas Fitz William Arthur, from whose MSS. I have so frequently quoted in the course of this work, gives, what he designates a genealogical idyll, which occupies some pages of his most interesting MSS., and in which he traces up the family to a remote antiquity, stating that Arthur is a Latin name in Juvenal, drawn from the goodly fixed star, Arcturus, and that from Arctus, which is the bear, as Ursinus amongst the Romans. Learnedly quoting Camden, Usher, Mathew Paris, &c., he gives the names of ancestors so far back as the year 1066; and states, that the first of the name who came to Ireland, arrived with the invader, Henry II., in 1170—who conferred high honors on him in 1178, as well as great quantities of land—and having related the achievements of Thomas Arthur, who died about A.D. 1204, aged 76 years, he proceeds to narrate the actions of others of the race and name, including Nicholas, who died about A.D. 1246, aged 72—John, who died, about A.D. 1274, aged 74—of Thomas, who died, aged 73, about A.D.

by petty dealers and turf-vendors), and a line of streets branching therefrom, with excellent houses. Amongst those who followed the example set by

1326—of John, who distinguished himself highly as mayor, in A.D. 1340, and who died about A.D. 1352, aged about 64—of Martin, who was wealthy and powerful, and who built a magnificent peristyle of marble to the Church of St. Saviour (the Dominican), and who died about the year A.D. 1362, aged 66 years—of Thomas, who was raised to the Episcopacy, by Bull of Pope Boniface, dated at Rome, 2nd of April, A.D. 1400—of William and Richard, the former of whom died 4th of March, A.D. 1483, and the latter in A.D. 1484. The Latin metre proceeds at further length in reference to this family, and as a specimen of the matter and manner of this curious family idyll, we subjoin the following which we have translated:—

Thomas, whom the Mayor's retinue distinguish, had raised the pinnacles of your ancient house. As Mayor, he fortified Limerick where it extends to the south, with lofty tower walls; at his expense, was built to the Blessed Virgin, the elaborate façade of the choir, of lofty marble. Hence, it bears the escutcheon of the family of Arthur, on the outward door, and near it a work is distinguished, with the pedigree of his wife:—she was Johanna Muryagh, ancestrally descended from Cork, the noble heiress of her sires. To her, being his kinswoman, Thomas, surnamed Kildare, gave at Rebog, meadows, lands, tillage fields and houses. These lands acquired by the valor and might of ancestors, you presently get O'Nicholas,* and many

* I translate from the quaint Latin of the Arthur MSS. a statement of curious facts, over which John Banim or Gerald Griffin would have rejoiced, as furnishing abundant materials for the basis of many a life-like national story, certain passages in the life of the above Nicholas. The person respecting whom these romantic details have been recorded by Doctor Arthur seems to have been a leading citizen of Limerick, and one of a class, whose adventures some four hundred years ago, give us a vivid idea of the manners and of the troublesome character of the times in which he lived. The piratical event to which it refers took place about six years after the commencement of the building of the walls of the southern suburbs of Limerick, and two years after the gate dedicated to John the Baptist and the eastern walls had begun. The Duke de Bretagne, who is spoken of in the extract, must have been Jean the V. so remarkable for his vacillating or perfidous policy, which attached him at one time to French, at another to English interests, but which enabled him to save his Duchy until two years preceding the adventure of Mr. Arthur, at which time the Duke of Bedford, Regent of France for the English party, devastated his territory. The early felt importance of the salmon fishery at Limerick is indicated in this family history:—

"The life of Nicholas Arthur, my great grandfather's grandsire, the first of his name.

Nicholas Thomas Arthur, born at Limerick, about the year 1405, was a man capable of undertaking high and difficult enterprises, and engaged in respectable mercantile transactions. He was in the habit of exporting for the use of the King of England, its princes and nobles, horses of generous breed, hounds, falcons of powerful wing, scarlet mantles, and the skins of otters, martens,* squirrels, and other soft-furred animals; besides pillars and tables made of polished (dolato) and variegated marble, whereby he acquired high favour and no little wealth.

Now about the 10th of the Calends of July (June 22nd), A.D. 1428, sailing out the port of Limerick in a hired vessel belonging to one John Chirch, a citizen of London, as he was crossing over to England with merchandise of the above kind, he fell in with certain pirates, who were subjects of the Duke of Armoric Brittany, at that time a bitter enemy of our sovereign.—These pirates having plundered all his property, which amounted in value to 700 marks, put into St. Malo with the skipper, vessel and crew, and there they sold the ship and the whole cargo by public auction, detaining himself moreover in a state of captivity in the Mount called St. Michael's for the space of two years, until he at last recovered his liberty by the payment of 400 marks.

As soon as ever he had recovered from these distressing reverses he proceeded to wait upon his Majesty, the King, to whom he perseveringly complained of the loss sustained by himself and his friend, John Chirch, and did not cease to press his claims until he obtained letters patent from the King, dated London, 29th July, 1430, authorising him to make reprisals to the value of £5,332 13s. 4d. sterling, from the property of the subjects of that Duke wherever found within the dominions of the King of England, whether by land or sea. Which reprisals he bravely, energetically, and perseveringly levied even to the last farthing, and wrested from them perforce.

Nor did the munificence of his most Serene Highness, King Henry the VI., confine itself within these limits. For as a further token of his gracious disposition towards Nicholas, worthy of the everlasting gratitude of posterity, he gave him license to construct a fishery suitable for the taking of salmon and other fish on the bank of his farm at Castle Blath,† to the mid channel of the river Shannon (but in such a way that free passage was left for all vessels sailing to and from the port of Limerick), confirmed by his seal on the 26th of Feb., 1430.

* Martens are said to have been rarely met with in the woods of Clare up to a recent period.

† Quere Castle Beagh.

Mr. Patrick Arthur, were Sir Harry Hartstonge, who made an embankment at Sluice Island, at a great outlay of money, and built a mall, and several

more acquire. The celebrated firmness of your renowned race, and the probity of your character, and the integrity of your heart, had restored thee, who, wast dear to King Henry, surnamed the 6th, to his paternal uncles and princes, to whom you had presented gifts suitable to his rank, fair tokens of your grateful mind, falcons, and large dogs fit for hunting, and black marble, sculptured with a team of leopards—now Spanish steeds ambling with equal steps, now pearls, which "Eleaunius" had produced. Hence the Royal Castle of Limerick was committed to thy faith—a great trust at a doubtful time, which thou didst discharge, conspicuous with war-cloak, sword, shield and gleaming helm. The honour of the Mayoralty presently sought thee, and the purple worn through unnumbered years, boasts of clothing thee. Catherine Skyddy of Cork found thee a match, and at the same time added immense wealth. Her parents endowed her with all their manors, houses and wealth. Thee too she blesses with a numerous progeny.

[Thomas Arthur, above referred to, made his will on the 18th of March, 1426. Johanna Moryagh, was heiress of David Moryagh, senator of Cork, who survived him as widow, at least twelve years, dying about the year 1439.]

For he (Nicholas) begot six sons, of whom the third was deemed worthy of the Episcopal honor of the city of Limerick, four obtained the rank of city procession (Mayor), and the sixth was bailiff by the voice of the people. One of these brothers shall be celebrated with a dirge of ours—Peter, O! my great, great grandfather, my muse shall sing thee for ever—that John Budstone, whose bells resound in the shrine of the Virgin, had chosen thee for a son-in-law. Alas! thou wert presently torn from the chaste arms of Margaret, leaving thee two sons as pledges, whom to be brought up for nine lustres (45 years) their careful mother attended to, loving them like a widowed turtle; and Catherine, the Countess of Kildare, who was given in marriage to Purdon, withdrew them from their mother. And the patrimony which your father Budstone left to his widow, these, your gentle parent, made over to thee, O William,* some houses at Kilmallock, before the doors of the church, situated at the right, as you go to the sacred shrines, and had given thee two monuments of her ancestors, both bearing the name of Budstone, and presenting, added, a fair [just] part of the Chapel which represents the name and aid of Magdalen. In truth, she wisely loved genius and the arts, and the splendid tokens of intelligence which you manifested. Though knewest right skilfully to touch lyre and harp; thou didst open thy hospitable house to princely men. Hence the mightiest of Earls, the renowned hero of Desmond, bound thee to himself by the tie of friendship. Anon civic honors rejoiced to repose upon thy shoulders—thou wast bailiff by the voice of the people. Nor did the Nymph, whom Galway first gave to light, blush at soliciting thy nuptual torch. Ellen Dathy, born of the great John, whom your love drove far from your country.

Thomas died on the 15th December, 1581; he had been married to Johanna Creagh.

Of this wife he begat seven sons and three daughters; and he left two of both sexes alive, and dying cherishes with the ashes and the monuments of his great grandfather, of his brothers, and parents and wife. The younger Thomas, who was a merchant on the Spanish coast, died unmarried, being a bold and opulent man. Ellen Johanna, who was married to long Cromwell, sustained both the rights and the honour of a nation. Thou next, by no means unworthy of so great ancestors, eldest born of thy father, O William, my father.† He died on the 14th of March, 1622, at the age of sixty years. Thy person was handsome, symmetrical and upright thy form—a long beard graced thy cheeks; courteous and polite, mild of eyes, of voice, of aspect, thou wert munificent, clement and kind—the prayers of all bless thee; and thou wert first chosen bailiff, the honour pays thee the meed of merit. Thine old age was venerable; far from thee was wrath, treachery, malice, and the crime of odious avarice. Grave, dignified in merit and aspect, a worshipper of faith and of God, and estimable for thy guileless simplicity. Hence your generous house was open in hospitality to foreign exiles. Anastatia Ryce enjoyed in firm wedlock thee and thy hand for thirty-five years, who rendered thee happy by a numerous offspring. She long abstained from meat and wine; and on the 1st of March, 1640, died at the age of 70 years.

Edmund died on the 15th of November, 1651. Here ends the idyll.

After experiencing with unaltered spirit these vicissitudes of adverse and favourable fortune, Nicholas, intent upon the preservation and propagation of his family having been pressed to procure a suitable match in the person of a lady of rank, at length entered into a nupital alliance with the family of John Skiddy "Senator" of Cork, with whose daughter and heiress, Catherine, he obtained a fortune of 40 (quere 400?) marks, Oct. 30, 9 Henry VI. A.D. 1431, after an interval of one year, having first obtained a dispensation from the Sovereign Pontiff, on account of his being doubly related to the bride in the fourth degree of consanguinity.

But after the due celebration and consummation of the marriage, it appearing upon closer enquiry on the part of their friends that they were bound in the hitherto latent and closer tie of

* William published his will in August, 1533.

† This William was the father of Dr. Thomas Arthur.

fine houses,[1] which, being without the walls, were free at the time from Corporate claims, or other city taxes. Mr. Thomas Mark, a Quaker merchant, built some very fine stores, which were called Marks's buildings, near the new bridge. Houses were built in various parts of the new town, by individuals, who, though they consulted their peculiar tastes, preserved uniformity in their construction, and thus early began to show what the new town was destined to become—one of the handsomest cities in the British Empire—with a noble street leading through from east to west, intersected to the north by several good streets leading to the river, and admitting pure air from the Clare hills, which might be seen from every portion of them—and intersected to the south, by an equal number of streets uniform

consanguinity in the third and fourth degree, they had recourse as soon as possible to the clemency of the Apostolic See for the dissolution of the marriage, from Fondanns, Bishop of Sardes, Penitentiary of the Supreme Pontiff, and succeeded in obtaining a dispensation, given at St. Peter's, Rome, on the nones (7th) of May, in the second year of the pontificate of Eugene the Fourth, and of our Lord's incarnation 1432. From this marriage there was a numerous issue, who arrived at the years of maturity and discretion, and obtained sundry civil dignities. For the eldest, John, became the dignified heir of the family honors as well as possessions; and the others, Peter, George and Robert, became men of senatorial rank; and the sixth and youngest, David, Duumvir or Bailiff of Limerick—a position not to be despised; and lastly, the third, Thomas, being dedicated to God, became a Canon of the Cathedral Church of Limerick, and afterwards Prior of the house of St. Mary and St. Edward the King, in the same city, being subsequently Treasurer of the Church of Limerick, and finally orthodox Bishop of Limerick in the year 1469.

This Nicholas, following the example of his forefathers, devoted his exertions to the increase of his property, and he received by bequest of Nicholas Creagh, a citizen of Limerick, in his will, published on the Monday next before the Feast of St. Catherine, Virgin and Martyr, A.D. 1435, two messuages adjacent to each other in Limerick, in the parish of St. Nicholas, between the tenements of Patrick Long, on the south side, and Thomas Comyn, on the north; and two other messuages in the same city, lying in Pullmanagh, between the tenements formerly held by Gilbert Overy and Thomas Spicer, on the south, and the passage leading to the manor of the Church of St. Mary of Limerick on the north; (which last two tenements Nicholas gave to his second son, Peter Arthur, who built the same into lofty houses of stone). He also got from Johanna Flowre, the aforesaid (?) widow of Robert Gardiner, a messuage in the city of Cork, next to the house of his father-in-law, John Skyddy, on the north side, and of John Nangle, on the south, which (messuage) also reaches to the western walls of the said city, 4th Feb. 1443, 22 of Henry VI., and on the 12th of March, next ensuing, appointed his son, John Arthur, to obtain seizin and possession of that messuage from John Muyriagh and Richard Skyddy, to whom the aforesaid Johanna Balflowre previously granted that power, which they honestly and justly discharged.

That noble and powerful man, Thomas Geraldine, second son of the Earl of Desmond, to whose safeguard and fidelity His Most Serene Highness King Henry VI. committed the care of the Castle of Limerick, reposed such confidence in this Nicholas that he appointed him his substitute for the discharge of this duty, and gave him an equal division of the Royal salary thence accruing, according to an arrangement made between them on the 3rd of November, 1461, in presence of Thomas, Bishop of "Kilmacduagh," (sic.) and William, Bishop of Limerick, and Patrick Torger, at that time Mayor of Limerick. To him the government of the city of Limerick was thrice entrusted; for he was Mayor for the first time 1436; second time 1446; third, in the year 1452.

At length yielding to fatal necessity, having made his will on the vigil of the nativity of the Blessed Virgin Mary, A.D. 1465, and having received the holy viaticum of our Lord's body, and being fortified by the Sacrament of Extreme Unction, he fell asleep in the Lord. Catherine survived him full ten years and seven days, devoted to works of piety and mercy, and at length departed this life for a better on the feast of the exaltation of the holy cross, on the 13th calends of October (14th September), in the year of our Lord's incarnation 1475; and her body was laid with that of her husband in the ancestral monument at the left wing of the altar of St. Catherine, "Virgin and Martyr," (in the Church of St. Mary's Limerick.")

We fear that not a few of our readers may be of opinion that in giving some of the above details, which we have translated word for word from the original, we have laid as great a stress on trifles as Dr. Burnet in Pope's impersonations of that historian, in the celebrated memoirs of "P. P., Clerk of the Parish." But such *minutiæ* give us a better insight into the character of our ancestors than much more imposing generalities.

Till within the last few years martens, squirrels, and Badgers were not uncommon in the woods of Clare (Cullane, for instance) and Limerick.

[1] Called Sir Harry's Mall—now gone to complete ruin—the site of its fine houses utterly neglected.

John Reilly, a blacksmith, who died in the year 1782, left a house in Mungret-street to the Blue School, which, in 1818 produced £21 per annum.—*MSS. Notes of Mr. Ouseley*

in breadth with those to the north—and equally well circumstanced in every particular. Indeed it already became apparent that the new town, or as it had been called, South Prior's Land, which had been granted, as we have already seen, to an ancestor of the Earl of Limerick, would, in the course of a few years, supplant the old, and that the seat of trade and commerce, as well as of fashion and wealth, would be changed to the one, to the detriment, and ultimate decay, if not ruin, of the other and the more historic town. To name the streets of Newtown Pery was an object which, was soon accomplished.[1] A palace for the Protestant Bishop, and a mansion house for the Earl of Limerick, were built close to each other, as early as 1784, in an open place, called Henry-street, which was speedily built on at either side, and which enjoyed a desirable situation parallel to the river, with noble views northward and westward.[2]

But we anticipate events: in 1780, Lady Hartstonge having resolved to bring fever, which now prevailed, under one roof, laid the ground work of one of the most useful charities of which the city of Limerick has had to boast viz., the Fever Hospital, by converting a small house which had been a guard-house to the citadel of St. John, into a temporary hospital. An association was immediately formed—subscriptions poured in; the families of Hartstonge and Pery gave large sums; and in 1781, an act of Parliament was passed in sustainment of this invaluable institution.[3] In the midst of the turmoil and excitement of the times, the Dominican Friars, whose order had been in the city for many centuries—indeed since the days of St. Dominic,

[1] Few streets of Limerick (new) had particular names before the year 1786, in which year Sir Christopher Knight, Mayor, made many useful regulations for the city. In his mayoralty the city (old) was paved and lighted with globe lamps, flagged the footways, caused the ancient projecting windows, pent houses and signs to be taken down, most of the streets to be named and boarded labels fixed with the name of the street at each corner. The following are the dates of some of the names of the streets:—

William Street, N. end, July 1st, 1789
Do. S. end, June 2nd, 1789, } On Stone.
Both, 1789.
Crosbie Row, 1791.
Cornwallis Street, August 7, 1799 (called from Lord Cornwallis).
George's Street, 1770 (from King George).
Denmark Street, 1770.
Ellen Street, 1805. On Stone. (From Miss Ellen Arthur).
Francis Street, no date. (Mr. Francis Arthur).
Thomas Street, ditto.
Nelson Street, 1804. (Lord Nelson).
Kelly's Lane, no date.
Stephen's Alley, no date.
Barrack Alley, no date.
Bedford Row, no date. (Duke of Bedford).
Sexton Street, 1797.
Patrick Street, 1780. (Mr. Patrick Arthur).

In July and August, 1811, new Board Labels with the names of the streets, were put up through the entire of the new town by order of the Commissioners, for paving, lighting, and watching, &c.

[2] The Bishop's palace continues to be the residence of the Protestant Bishop—the Mansion House of the Earls of Limerick has been purchased by Messrs. J. N. Russell and Sons as a store or warehouse in connection with their great linen factory on the North Strand, in which this enterprising firm give employment to great numbers of males and females.

[3] This Hospital is capable of containing 500 patients, including convalescent wards, and has attached to it nearly three statute acres of land, airing ground for the patients; it continued to be of essential advantage to the poor of Limerick, until the year 1864, when the Corporation, which, since the enactment of the Improvement Act of 1853, has been the taxing body of the city, and which performs the functions of a Grand Jury in that particular, withdrew the sum which it had annually contributed, in continuation of the Grand Jury grant, for the support of this charity. Six members of the Corporation had been placed on the Hospital Committee some time before, but they withdrew when the grant ceased. In 1846, the Hospital was greatly enlarged, chiefly through the exertions of William John Geary, Esq., M.D. and J.P., lately one of the Medical Inspectors under the Poor Law Act. In times of epidemic it had been of much public service. The County of Limerick Grand Jury continues its support to the Hospital, which receives county patients; and a few patients from the city are also received, in consequence of

according to the ancient Book of the Friars Preachers of Limerick, preserved in the British Museum, rented a house in Fish-lane, off Mary-street[1] which in 1780 they converted into a chapel. The Augustinian Friars built an excel-

certain bequests made for that purpose. The following are the particulars of estated property and funds for 1864:—

Annual Parliamentary Grant for 1863,	...	...	£86 10 0
Daniel Gabbett's Bequest, per annum,	...	...	12 10 0
Mrs. Banks' do. do.	...	...	29 19 10
Miss White's do. do.	...	...	43 10 3
Cash invested in new 3 per Cent. Stock,	...	...	400 0 0
Interest on above £427 6s. 8d., new 3 per Cent. Stock,	...	...	12 7 10
Rent of small houses purchased, ...	...	...	11 4 0

There were eighteen Governors for life in 1864. The Committee is composed of the following:—The Protestant Bishop of Limerick; Edward Bernard, Esq., J.P.; Richard Russell, Esq., J.P.; Joseph Gabbett, Esq.; Reuben Harvey, Esq.; Rev. David Wilson; Rev. John Elmes; John Wilkinson, Esq., M.D.; W. J. Geary, Esq., M.D., and J.P.; Patrick M'Namara, Esq.

I have been furnished with the following interesting statistics of the number of patients that have gone through this Hospital for forty-five years to December, 1864. There was no record kept before the year 1820:—

In		In	
1820	1164	1843	1311
1821	944	1844	1593
1822	1645	1845	5228
1823	1368	1846	2204
1824	1658	1847	3525
1825	1923	1848	2922
1826	2783	1849	5097
1827	2980	1850	3334
1828	951	1851	2992
1829	689	1852	1165
1830	994	1853	967
1831	1217	1854	745
1832	1219	1855	864
1833	1031	1856	633
1834	1121	1857.	475
1835	1671	1858	439
1836	3269	1859	337
1837	2846	1860	352
1838	1783	1861	563
1839	2184	1862	452
1840	2449	1863	417
1841	1877	1864 to December	248
1842	1713		

On stones in the wall of a house built in addition to the Hospital, are the following inscriptions:—

H. S. Baker
Architect
T.' O Brien
M Gearin
Builders
A D 1828

Hughes Russel
Esqr
Treasurer A. D 1828

The following inscriptions on stones which appear to have been picked up from the ruins of the old walls, or those of St. John's Gate, are inserted in the walls of the Hospital, opposite to the gateway, being the first portion of the Hospital that was built:—

N
P Y

I· H· S
16 45

[1] The chapel, or what had been the chapel, may yet be seen in Fish Lane, and the pillars which propped the galleries, &c. remain in 1865, as they had been, though the chapel has been for some time used as a store; and rooms over it, in which the friars lived, are occupied by poor artizans.

lent chapel in Creagh-lane—two years before—which they opened on the 6th of December, 1778. St. Michael's Parochial Chapel was opened in Denmark-street, on the 29th of September, 1781; and the Franciscans opened their new chapel in Newgate-lane, on Christmas day, 1782. These events show that the Catholics were at length assuming their place after unheard-of sufferings, cruelties, and horrors, which came in rapid succession after the violation of the Treaty of 1691, and that a spirit of toleration had begun to prevail very generally.

CHAPTER XLV.

A RETROSPECT.—HOW THE PENAL LAWS OPERATED.—LISTS OF CONFORMISTS.

WHILE recording the social, material, and political progress of Limerick, we cannot omit an important element in the construction of the frame-work of society, which has hitherto not received the attention to which it has a just claim for the effects which it has produced in the domestic relations, the position of families, and the transfer of property from one line to another. It is a curious fact in this age of exhaustive enquiry and patient investigation, that except a passing reference to changes of religion, we have nothing that at all resembles an account of how or when many of our principal Irish families changed their faith from the Catholic to the Protestant, although it is well known that change was in many cases attended by very important consequences, not only to the parties immediately concerned, but to the society to which they belonged; for not to multiply examples, the adoption of the new creed in several instances occasioned the substitution of the junior for the elder branches in some of our great Irish houses; and the intermarriages into Protestant families by the new conformist, gave a completely different colour to the tastes, the feelings, the habits, the politics, and the social status of the descendants of the original conformist, who from being more Irish than the Irish themselves, was often, or rather always converted into a most determined stickler for English interests, and for the promotion of his newly adopted views. Until we enjoy what England already in a great degree possesses, the advantage of county and family histories, we do not expect that this original and interesting department of history will receive any particular attention, more especially as the subject is what is generally considered a delicate one, and unless for those who have access to family memorials and public libraries, one which is attended with very considerable difficulty. The following documents will, we are convinced, possess a very high degree of interest for the general as well as the local reader. They have been obtained from the Egerton MSS. in the British Museum, and may be received with undoubting faith as the legalised and authentic records of the chief conformists in the counties of Limerick, Clare, and Tipperary, as well as in other localities with which these counties have been associated by intermarriage and other means. We are not aware that any similar document has ever been published, or even exists in a collective form, and we hope that any of our readers who may have occasion to avail themselves of it will acknowledge the source from which they have derived their information. From the reign of Queen Anne to the time at which we are now arrived,

viz., about the year 1782—the following are the principal local conformists, with the places to which they severally belonged, and the dates at which they conformed. Earlier occurrences of the same kind are freely noticed in a few of our local annals, but in more recent times some hesitation was felt to open up what began to be regarded as family secrets, and to disturb the pleasing notion that certain families had been Protestants from the earliest period of the Reformation. My object in giving these particulars, is solely to add to the historical interest of this work, and I am convinced that so far from feeling offended at such details, such of my readers as are descended from the latest conformists among the local families, will do justice to my motives in publishing these unquestionable facts.

EGERTON MSS. 77 IN BRITISH MUSEUM—LIST OF CONVERTS AND PROTESTANT SETTLERS IN IRELAND.

1. *Alphabetical List of Converts from Popery to Protestant Religion in Ireland, from Commencement of Reign of Queen Anne, to* 1772.—*P.* 1 *to* 153, *filed in Rolls Office, Dublin*

The P. seems to mean Parish—D. Diocese.

There are *Limerick* names so far as *Counties* stated, but many of the names have no Counties, and many *Country* people came up to *Dublin* to perfect their papers, and are *so described* as of *Dublin*. A County Limerick man can read the names easily.

A.

Arthur, A—, of Ennis, Co. Clare. May 26, 1754
Audly, and Castlehaven, Lord. July, 21, 1758

B.

Browne, Vall. of Ellestrin, Dio. Tuam. Dec. 24, 1726
Bernard, alias Pierce Mary, of Tralee. March 31, 1728
Burke, Lucy, Daughter of Lord Riverston, wife to Doragan Burke. January 12, 1734
Butler, John, of Kilcash, Co. Tipp. July 15, 1739
Brenan, Bridget, alias D'Lacy, wife to John D'Lacy, of Kilkenny, Gent. Feb. 24, 1739
Browne, John, of Elinogery, Co. Limerick. June 21, 1721
Butler, Wm., Co. Tipperary. Feb. 9, 1744
Bourke, Wm., of Bruff, Dio. Limerick. Dec. 7, 1746
Barry, Frances, of Limerick, Spinster. Sept. 13, 1747
Brien, Michael, of Cloheen, Co. Tipperary, and
Brien, Catherine, his wife. Sept. 27, 1747
Bourke, M'Michael, now of Dublin. May 24, 1761
Bourke, Walter, P. St. Mary, Limerick, Gent. July 6, 1760
Bourke, Edmund, P. St. Munchin, Limerick. Dec. 18, 1763
Boland, M. Anthony, of Limerick. May 20, 1765
Barry, David, of Rath, Co. Limerick, Farmer. July 10, 1766
Bourke, David, Co. Mayo. July 18, 1767
Barnewall, Thos. Lord Tremlestown, May 2, 1767
Blewitt, Anne, of Limerick, Spinster, Oct. 30, 1770

C.

Connor, John, a Priest. April, 29, 1739
Cave, Thos., of Tullybraky, Co. Limerick. March 21, 1741
Callaghan, Jeremy, of Ballysalagh, Cahercon-lish, Co. Galway. Jan. 5, 1745
Cantillon, John, P. Croom, D. Lim., Gent. March 1, 1746
Creagh, Bridget, of Lk., Spinster. July 15, 1750
Croker, M. Pierce, P. Whitechurch. July 7, 1751
Comane, John, of Drew's Court, Lk., Farmer. August 2, 1752
Conloghty, John, P. Fedamore, Lk. July 18, 1753
Onsiden, Daniel, of Limerick, Merchant. Sept. 26, 1756
Canny, Miss Jane, of Limerick. April 1, 1759
Cholmondeley, Hon. Mrs. Mary. July 23, 1760
Creagh, Miss Mary, of Coonagh, Co. Limerick, Spinster. April 22, 1760
Corban, Martin, of Nenagh, Co. Tipperary, Farmer. January 1, 1764
Carpenter, Elinor, wife of Joseph Carpenter, of Limerick, Gentleman. June 25, 1769
Collipy, Edmond, of Clahane, D. Limerick. Sept. 17, 1769
Cullen, M., of Nenagh, Co. Tipp. *Wig Maker.* Nov. 5, 1769
Cahane, alias Keane, Robt., of Tullybrackey, Co. Limerick, now of Dublin. Jan. 8, 1771

D.

Dalton, Edmund, Gent., of Killeshenally, Co. Tipperary. Oct. 10, 1731
Donnell, Jeremiah, Gent., of Clonmell, Co. Tipperary, Dio. Lismore. April 21, 1734
Dobbins, Elinor, wife to John Dobbins, of Limerick, Merchant. Nov. 26, 1732
Duhigg, Arthur, of Tuorin, Co. Limerick, Gent. May 20, 1744
Dowdall, Humphry, Dio. Ardagh } Nov. 19, 1758
" Magery, " }
Dwyer, Mat. P. Abbington, Co. Lk. May 29, 1763

E.

Eustace, John, of Ballynuna, Co. Limerick. May 18, 1746

F.

Fitzgerald, Maurice, of Rosslevan, Co. Clare, and Joan, his wife. Nov. 6, 1713, & Oct. 17, 1714
Fitzgerald, John, Gent., Eldest Son of Thomas Fitzgerald, of Glyn, Co. Limerick, Knight of the Glyn. August 23, 1730
Fitzgibbon, Thos., of Limerick. Nov. 1, 1736

Furnell, John, of Kilkerilly, Co. Limerick, Gent. Sept. 10, 1737
Fitzgerald, Richard, of Glynn, Co. Limerick. July 17, 1740
„ Edmond, Gent. of Glynn, Co. Lk. Oct. 18, 1741
Fitzgibbon, Mrs. Margt., D. Lk. July 4, 1743
„ Elizabeth, P. St. Nicholas, D. Lk., Spinster. May 4, 1746
Fitzgibbon, Mary, P. Adair, D. Lk., Spinster. July 29, 1750
Fulham, Joan, wife of Isaac Fulham, of Lk., Shoemaker. Oct. 20, 1751
Fulham, Joane, wife of Isaac Fulham, of Lk., Cordwainer, certify receiving the Sacrament only. Nov. 3, 1751
Fitzgerald, Catherine, P. Adair, D. Limerick. March 10, 1753
„ Gerald, of Lk., Gent. Dec. 5, 1756
Farrell, John, of Limerick. Feb. 4, 1759
Fitzgibbon, John, Co. Lk., Gent. July 17, 1763
Friend, Mary, alias D'Arcy, wife of George Friend, of Co. Limerick, Gent. April 9, 1766
Furnell, Thos., of Killdery, Co. Limerick, Gent. July 20, 1766
Fullerton, Elinor, P. Tullebracky, D. Limerick. Sept. 17, 1769

G.

Greatrakes, Edmond, late of Co. Limerick, now of Dublin. March 18, 1759
Gough, Mary, alias Clarke, wife of Thos. Gough, of Toureen, Co. Liberties of Limerick, Gent. January 20, 1765

H.

Herbert, Frances, alias Browne, of Kilcow. Sept. 6, 1724
Hussey, Ignatius, Gent., late of the Middle Temple, now of Dublin, received into the Church by the Bp. of London. Aug. 10, 1740
Hill, Mary, wife to John Hill of Ardee, Co. Limerick. May 8th, 1734
Hoar, Maurice, Dio. Limerick. April 23, 1732
Hartney, Patk. of Limerick, Sadler. June 25, 1782
Hierlihy, David, of Ballintobber, Co. Limerick, Gent. July 1, 1744
Hayes, Edward, of Lim. glazier Oct. 28, 1753
Hanrahan, Margt. P. Shanagolden, D. Lk., Spinster. Jan. 27, 1754
Hourigan, alias Bradshaw, Mary, Daughter of David Hourigan, and wife of Griffith Bradshaw, Gent., both of Ballyadden, Co. Limerick. February 4, 1770

K.

Kenny, Mary, of Limerick. June 1, 1760
Keane, Robt. P. Tullebracky, D. Lk. Nov. 3, 1754
Kirby, Patrick, of Glanogra, Co. Limerick. August 28, 1763

L.

Lacy, Mr. Michael, of Ballinderry, now of Dublin. February 2, 1733
Lacy, Edmond, P. Monegai, D. Lk. Aug. 20, 1738
Leake, Mary, alias Yeoman, late of P. St. John, Limerick. July 24, 1757
Loyd, Mr. Francis, late of Limerick, now of P. St. John, Dublin. Nov. 20, 1761
Lyons, Patrick, of Limerick weaver Nov. 1, 1761
Lynch, Mrs. Mary, late of Galway, now of Castleconnell, Co. Limerick. July 11, 1762
Leary, alias Marret, Anne, of Lk. July 26, 1767

M.

Moore, Amb., Gent. D. Limerick. Mar. 23, 1717
M'Donnell, alias O'Brien, of Ennistymon, wife to Christopher M'Donnell, Gent. Nov. 23, 1718
Mason, Fran. alias Lacy, of Knockarnane. April 5, 1730
Mahon, James, Gent. D. Limerick. July 8, 1733
M'Nemara, John, of Limerick. Mar. 17, 1733
Mullins, Bryan, of Limerick, Gent. June 18, 1738
M'Nemara, Mrs. Elizab., D. Lk. Aug. 13, 1738
Magrath, Mr. Jas. of Limerick. Aug. 20, 1749
M'Sweeney, Owen, Romish Priest, D. Meath. July 30, 1749
M'Duff, Hannah, alias Russell, wife to Peter M'Duff, of Limerick, Gent. Sept. 24, 1749
Martin, Daniel, P. Newcastle, D. Limerick. Feb. 3, 1750
M'Namara, Mary, late of Limerick wo., now wife to Edmond Cotter Lieut., of General Otway's Fort. August 18, 1751
Moore, Jane, of Limerick, Spinster. Jan. 20, 1754
Mahony, James, of Mount Collins, P. Killeedy, Co. Limerick, Gent. June 7, 1752
MacKenna, Edward, Captain in the Dutch Service, now in Dublin. Jan. 22, 1757
Mangane, Thomas, of Rathkeale, Co. Limerick, Farmer. April 8, 1764
Murphy, Mary, of St. Francis' Abbey, D. Limerick. Jan. 14, 1767

N.

Nagle, Daniel, of Clogher. May 23, 1703
Napper, Mrs. Margaret, wife to Mr. Thomas Napper, of Limerick. Jan. 27, 1711
Netterville, Nicholas, *Lord Vt.* Oct. 27, 1728
Nugent, *Lady*, Riverston. Oct. 21, 1731
Nugent, Lord, Riverston. Jan. 28, 1738
Nash, Mr. James. April 21, 1745
Neale, Mary, of Limerick, Spinster. May 18, 1746
Nash, Frances, of Ballycullen, Spinster. June 21, 1747
Neagh, Garrett, of Gortgarrold, P. Fedamore, D. Limerick. April 7, 1754
Nash, Mary, P. of Mary, Limerick. April 2, 1752
Nihell, Cathe P., Kilmurry, D. Limerick. May 13, 1760
Nugents—plenty of.
Nagles, do.
Nunan, P.W., Pluly, D. Limerick. July 9, 1771

O.

O'Bryen, Michael, a Popish Priest, P. of Toghenna and Killegerill, Co. Galway. Dec. 28, 1718
O'Briens—Plenty.
O'Neal, Chas. of Cloneduff, Co. Limerick, Gent. Oct. 1, 1752
O'Brien, Mathew, of Newcastle, Limerick Co., Gent. Nov. 5, 1752
O'Sullivan More. July 7, 1755
O'Loghlin, Jeremy, of Limerick, Priest. August 14, 1766
O'Hurly, Murtough, a Priest, D. Cashell. June 4, 1769
O'Callaghan, Danl., of Lk., Esq., Oct. 20, 1771

P.

Powers—Plenty.
Peppard, Mr. Patrick, of Kilmacow, Co. Lk. March 14, 1739

Pierse, Dorothy, P. Ballingarry, D. Limerick, Spinster. May 26, 1765
Piers, Garrot, of Tralee. Nov. 3, 1745
Pierse, Richard, of Foxhall, Co. Limerick, Gent. Dec. 30, 1753
„ Mrs. Anne, of same. March 10, 1754
„ John, of Limerick, Gent. April 9, 1758
„ Anne, of Foxhall, Wd. April 6, 1760
„ Barbara, of same, Spinster. Apr. 6, 1760
„ Honora. July 18, 1762
Power, Revd. John, now of Tallow. Jan. 9, 1763
Potter, H, of Lissnemurk, P. Creagh. Sept. 30, 1764
Purcell, Pierse, of Dublin. Nov. 16, 1765

Q.

Quinn, James, of Limerick, Slater. May 6, 1759

R.

Rice, Ellen, of Limerick. March 7, 1729
Roche, Dominick, of Limerick. March 27, 1739
Rice, Thos., late of Co. Kerry. March 19, 1749
Ryan, Matthew, late of Tipperary, now of Dublin, Gent. June 10, 1754
Reilly, Cathe, of Ballytarsney. Sept. 4, 1787
Redden, John, Gent. P. St. Mary, Limerick. Dec. 9, 1759
Reval, Jane, D. Limerick. April 6, 1764

S.

Supple, Elizabeth. April 18, 1718
Sheehy, Roger, of Dublin. June 15, 1732
Scanlan, Honora, alias Burgh, D. Limerick. April 15, 1739
Sarsfield, Dominick. May 4, 1740
St. Alban, M. Victor, a French Gent. Aug. 28, 1763
Supple, Thos. Gent., D. Limerick. Oct. 28, 1764
Sweeny, *Rev.* Patk., D. Kilmore. Mar. 25, 1770
Swyny, Edmond, of Limerick, Gent. Oct. 18, 1771
„ „ late of Thurles, now of Dublin, Gent. March 29, 1772

T.

Townsend, Helena, wife to Philip Townsend, and daughter to John Galway, of Cork. August 20, 1709
Touchett, Coll. James. Oct. 21, 1710
Taaffe, Thos. Dillon, now of Dublin. March 22, 1770

V.

Vandelure, Elinor, of Garrane. March 19, 1737

W.

Walsh, Mr. Richard, of Ballentubber, Co. Lk. May 7, 1710
White, John, of Rossgownan, Co. Limerick. April 21, 1736
„ John, of do. „ „
Walthoe, Bridget, alias M'Mahon, *Wd.* of Edward Walthor, late of Annagh, Co. Limerick, Gent. May 3, 1741
Warren, Sir Peter, *K.B.* July 9, 1752
Westmeath, Thos., *Earl of.* August 9, 1754
Welsh, Michael, of Limerick, Grocer, and Ellinor, his wife. June 17, 1746

Y.

Yelverton, Francis, of Dublin. April 13, 1772

2. *Certificates of Converts having taken the Oaths of Conformity, filed in Rolls Office Dub.*—153 *to* 231.

B.

Byrne, Sir John, *Baronet.* 1727
Butler, Hon. Edmond. 1736
„ Edmond, his son. 1746
Bourke, Wm. of Bruffe, Co. Limerick, Chandler. 1747
Buckly, John, of Limerick, Baker 1750
Bourke, Edmond, of Madabuy, Co. Limerick, Gent. 1761
Barnewall, Mat., son of Ld. Tremleston. 1763
Bellew, Patrick, Ensign 1st Rgt. Guards. 1766
Bindon, Mrs. Anne, wife of Henry Bindon, of Limerick, Esq. 1771

C.

Creagh, Pierce, jun., Esq., of Dangan. 1738
Connor, John, *a Priest*, Cahir. 1739
Commane, John, of Drew's Court. 1752
Crowley, Rev. Cornelius, Tralee. 1753
Considine, Daniel, of Limerick, Brewer. 1756
Castlehaven, James, *Earl of.* 1758
Collapey, Edmond, P. Tallabrakey, Co. Limerick, Farmer. 1769
Cahane, Owen Kean, R.M., Gent., heretofore of Tullybrakey, Co. Limerick, now in Dublin. 1771

D.

Darcy, Rev. Francis, in Dublin. 1739
Dwyer, John, of Limerick, who was formerly an apothecary. 1763
Dwyer, Mathew, P. Abbington. 1763

F.

Fitzgerald, John, of Glynn, Gent. Lk. 1730
Fitzgibbon, Thos., of Limerick, Gent. 1736
Fitzgerald, Gerald, of Limerick, Gent. 1756
Furnell, John, of Killderry, Gent. 1750
Fitzgibbon, Gibbon, of Limerick, Esq. 1763
„ Thos. late of St. Nicholas, Lk. 1763
Furnell, Thos., of Kilderry, Gent. 1766
Fitzgerald, Gerald, of Limerick, Gent. 1766
Fullerton, Elinor, P. Tullybrakey, Co. Lk. 1769

G.

Goonan, Cornelius, of Limerick, Innkeeper. 1742
Garrett, Rev. John, Co. Galway. 1744
Grady, Joseph, of Grange, Esq. 1773

H.

Hierlihy, David, of Ballintubber, Co. Limerick, Gent. 1744
Hogan, James, Ennis. 1758
Hare, Rev. Patrick. 1769

K.

Kenny, Mrs. Mary, P. St. John, Limerick. 1760
Kirby, Mr. Patrick, of Glanogera Co. Lim. 1764
Kenedy, Daniel, of Aghaculare, Co. Limerick, Farmer. 1767
Kearney, Ml. of Killmalloch 1767
Kenney, Rev. Jas. Clerk, A.B. Ennis 1773

L.

Lacy, Joan 1730
This is a certificate only of the Curate, or a Justice of the Peace, that they frequently attended Church in the year 1714
Lacy, Edmund, Lh. 1788
Loftus, Nichs. Cornet in Genl. Conky's Regt. 1753

Lowth, Countess of 1763
Lacy, Henry, of Dublin, gent. 1770

M.

Mayo, Vt. 1709
Mahony, Mr. of Mount Collins, Lk. gent. 1755
Mungan, Thos. of Shanagolden 1763
Macnemara, Maria, now Lady Dunboyne 1773

N.

Nugent, Wm. Lord Riverstown 1738
Nash, Jas. Esqr. of Killmorey 1756
Nash, Jas. 1745
Nugent, Edward, Col.?1st Guards 1763
Nugent, John, Capt. 32nd Foot 1764

O.

O'Bryen, Rev. Michael, Co. Galway 1718
O'Brien, Mattw. of Neweastle, Co. Limk., M.D. 1753
O'Hurly, Murtogh, Priest 1769
O'Callaghan, Dl. of Limk., Esq. 1772
O'Callaghan, Edwd. of Limk., now of Dublin 1772

P.

Peppard, Patk. of Kilmacow, gent. 1740
Pierse, Rd. of Foxhall, gent. 1754
Pierse, Hannah, Do. spinster 1762
Power, Rev. John, Tallow 1763

R.

Reddan, John, Jun. of Limk., gent. 1760

S.

Sexton, otherwise Creagh, wife of George Sexton, of Louth, Burgess 1760
Skinner, Wm. of Cahirconlish 1769

W.

Walshe, Bridgid W. of Annagh 1741
Walsh, Michael, of Limk., groom 1764

Y.

Yelverton, Thos. of Portland, Co. Tipp. 1773

List of Protestants who under act 13 *Car.* 2, *took the oath of allegiance and supremacy, &c.*—*P.* 231 *to end.*

CLARE AND TIPPERARY NAMES AND ADDRESSES, &c.

A.

Angier, Mary, Dioc, Cashell 1735
Aylmer, Mrs. Anne, of Ennis, spinster 1741
Arthur, Thos., of Clonyconry, Clare 1750
Archer, Jas., late Co. Tipperary 1751
Arthur, Catherine, Ennis, spinster 1754
Audly, Lord. 1758

B.

Butler, Jas., of Castlekeale, Clare 1714
Burke, Wm., Ennis 1728
" " " 1733-1734
Butler, John, of Kilcash, Tipperary 1739
Butler, Wm., Co. Tipperary 1744
Bradshaw, Rob., Shanbally, Tipperary } 1747
" Mary, wife }
Burnett, Jas., of Shanbally, farmer } 1747
Burnett, Ellinor }
Brien, Michael, of Cloheen } 1747
" Catherine }
Bolton, Peter, of Ennis 1750
Bryan, Honor, P., Abbey, Tipperary 1753
Bellew, Mrs. Mary, of Ennis, wife of Rchd. Bellew, Esq. 1753
Bourke, Jas, of Killeen, Clare 1756
Brudenell, Patk., of Ballyvaughan, Clare 1758
Burke, Anne, of Feacle, Clare, spinster 1759
Butler, John, of Garryriken, heir of Walter Butler, of Cashell 1764-5
Bourke, Dd. Co. Mayo 1767
Barnwall, Ld., Trimelston 1767
Buckly, John, Cullen, Tipperary 1768
Barnes, D., of Griegeloyhy, Tipperary 1769

C.

Cunningham, Matthew, of Ennis 1715
Carroll, Jas., of Tulla, Tipperary 1706-9
Cunningham, W. of Crebal, Clare 1736
Creagh, Pierce, J. of Dangan, Clare 1738
Casey, Mrs., of Mountscof, Clare 1739
Connelly, Timothy, of Cashell 1740
Clanchy, George, of Caherbane, Co. Clare 1740
Clanchy, George, of Cratloe, Clare 1743
Curtin, Dl., of Shanbally, Tipperary } 1747
" Ellenor, his wife }
Corkery, Dl., of Clogheen, T. mercht. 1747
Crowley, Rev. Cornelius 1751-1754
Connell, Richard, of Knockaninane, Clare, gentleman 1754
Considine, Barthomlow, of Dromedrehed, Clare, gent. 1754
Cormack, Anne, Cashell 1754
Carroll, Wm., Ennis 1758
Comyn, Laurence, of Caherblonyg, Co. Clare, gent., jr. 1758
Creagh, Michael, of Ennis, gent. 1760
Carroll, of Ambuglin, Co. Clare, gent. 1762
Clewen, Patk., of Burrisasakan, Co. Tip. 1763
Corban, Martin, of Nenagh, farmer 1764
Cronin, Wm., Cashell 1764
Carey, Mary 1765
Carmudy, Walter 1765
Comyn, Michael, of Doolen, Clare, gent. 1767
Connolly, Thos., of Derrymore, Clare 1768
Cleary, Dl., Cashell 1768
Connell, Jas., " 1769
" " Fethard, Tipperary 1769
Conner, Catherine, Cashell 1769
Crafford, Pat, of Smithstowne, Clare 1770
Cullin, Jno., of Nenagh, wig maker 1769

D.

Daniel, Pierce, of Derregrath, Tipperary, and Mary his wife 1725
Dalton, Edmund, gent., of Kellishenall, Tipperary 1731
Donnell, Jeremiah, of Clonmell 1734
Daly, Dl., Cashell 1734
Donnell, Rd., Carrick, D. Lismore 1743
Dwyer, Denis, Cashell 1744
Dannel, W. Rev., Clonmell 1747
Dawe, John, D Cashell 1748
Danton, Joseph, Carrick Lennon 1749
Davett, Domk., of Ogonnello, Clare 1759
Dowling, Maurice, Cashell 1758
Dalton, Michael, Kelmur, Tipperary, gent. 1758
Daniel, James, of Abbey, Tipperary 1761
Dunn, Catherine, Rathnonan, Tipperary 1762
Danniel, Peter, Clonmell, Tipperary 1763

Davoran James, Killelagh, Clare 1765
Darcy, Domk., Rockvale, Clare, gent. 1768

E.

Ellis, George of Ennis 1708
Egan, John, son of Cornelius Egan, of Carowle, Tipperary, gent., "conformity 6 years ago" 1722
Egan, Mr. Carbery, of Clooninihy, Tippy. 1736
Egan, Constance, of Broadford, Clare, Cloathier 1757
England, John Michael, of Cahircalloe, Clare, Esq. 1761
Ellott, Rose, of Garrangibbon, Tipperary 1768
Egan, Darby, of Burrisokane, Tipperary 1770

F.

Fitzwilliam, Lord Viscount 1710
Fogarty, Timothy, of Garane, Tipperary 1709
Fitzgerald, Maurice, of Rosslevan, Clare, 6 Nov., 1713, married Joan Prendergast, of Racaghan, and said Joan conformed 1714-1718
Fitzgerald, Chas., of Castlekeal, Clare, gent. 1740
Foster, Patrick, of Bankeell, Clare, gent. 1744
Fenesy, Richard, of Shanbally, Tipperary, farmer, and Catherine his wife 1747
Fitzgibbon, Andw., of Cloheen, Tipperary, shoemaker 1847
Fitzgerald, Garrett, of Carrakeale, Clare, gent. 1754
Fitzgerald, Cath., of Ennis, Clare, spinster 1757
Finucane, Bryan, of Ennis, gent. 1758
Fitzgerald, Charles, of Castlekeal, gent. 1763
Foster, Patrick, of Corrofin, Clare, gent. 1763
Flanery, Michael, of Gortinagy, Clare, yeoman 1764
Fitzgerald, John, of Fethard, Tipperary, Mary, alias Taylor his wife 1766
Foster, Patrick, of Kells, Clare, gent. 1768
Fitzgerald, Maurice, of Ballynairavn, Clare, gent. 1768
Fogerty, James, of Castlefogerty, Esq. 1770
Fay, Mr. Patrick, parish curate of Navan 1771

G.

Grace, W. Oliver, son to James Grace, of Cassistown, Tipperary 1704
Glison, Edward, Co. Tipperary 1763
Glysson, Daniel, of Kirekilly, Tipperary, farmer 1769
Gorman, Silvester, of Drummillehy, Co. Clare 1750
Gorman, Jas., of Kilelahane, Clare, gent. 1758
Guinane, Michael, of Cloheen, Tipperary 1759
" Catherine his wife "
Gray, Patrick, otherwise Kane, of Clifden Co. Clare 1763
Gilfoyle, Wm., of Lessmacken, Co. Tippy., farmer 1765
Griffith, Esq., Tubrit, Co. Tipperary 1765
Gorman, Thady, of Shyan, Co. Clare, gent. 1766
Griffith, Elsth., of Burgess, Tubird, Tippy. 1766
Geerce, Wm., P. Clonmell, Tipperary 1767
Glisson, Roger, of Nenagh, carpenter 1769
Gleeson, Edmund, son of Morgan Gleeson, of Lisduff, Co. Tipperary, farmer 1771

H.

Hickie, John, of Six-Mile-Bridge, Clare, gent. 1715
Hogan, Wm. of Reneroe, Clare 1709
Hart, Elizth. wife to Rd. Hart, of Lislofin, Co. Clare, gent. 1729
Holland, Ellen, wife to Geo. Holland of Erebnl, Co. Clare, gent. 1729
Harte, Elizth. wife to Rd. Harte 1728
Hinshy, Peter, of Finagh, Clare, gent. 1735
Hickey, Maurice, of Clogheen, Tip. peruke-maker 1747
Hogan, Elizth. of Killadangan, Co. Tip. 1749
Hays, Morgan, of Shanrahan, Tip. 1749
Hogan, Edmd. of Cragmohullen, gent. 1752
Hanly, Pat. of Nenagh, Co. Tipp. 1756
Hare, Pat. of Ennis, Clare 1756
Hehir, Joseph, of Knocknamucke, Clare 1757
Hogan, Jas. of Ennis, M.D. 1758
Hogan, Mrs. Bridget, of Ennis, wife 1763
Henessy, Jno. of Temple Etny, Tipp. 1764

J.

Ievers, Mary, wife of John Jevers, of Drimellan 1748
Ievers, Chas. of Moyne, Clare, gent. 1749

K.

Kearin, Terence, P. Ennis, gent. 1751
Kennedy, Mary, of Rathronan, Tip. 1763
Kyffe, Manus, of Clogheen, Tip. 1704
Kelly, Jas. of Cragaknockin, Clare, gent. 1765
Kenely, Laurence, of Cahir, Tip. 1768
Kerin, Patk. of Corofin, Clare, gent. 1768
Kelly, Pierce, of Garlickhill, Co. Clare, gent. 1768

L.

Lalor, Patrick, of Modrinny, Tip. 1706
Lincoln, Walker, of Buresleagh, Co. Tip. 1780
Lysaght, Chas. P. & D., Kilfenora 1737
Lenahan, Dl., gent., Clerk to Corns. O'Callaghan, Sen. Esq. of Bantyr, Co. Cork 1737
Leary, Denis, of Clogheen, Co. Tip. apothecary 1747
Lucett, John, of Ballybay, Cavan 1747
Lucett, Elinor, his wife 1747
Lynch, Jas. of Moyfrala, Co. Clare, gent. 1755
Lysaght, Nichs. of Ennis, gent. 1759
Lysaght, Andrew, of Ballynagrave, Clare 1763
Linchy, Jas. of Morgh, Co. Clare, farmer 1767
Lardner, Michael, of Cooreclare, Co. Clare, gent. 1768
Lysaght, Jas. of Ballykeal, Co. Clare, gent. 1768
Legat, alias Dowdall, Cathr. of Dublin 1770
Long, Redmond, of Killoran, Co. Tipp. now of Dublin, Esq. 1771

M.

M'Mahon, Terence, of Ballymorlow, Co. Clare, gent. 1720
M'Nemara, Francis, of Cleenagh, Co. Clare, Esq. 1708
Mathew, Geo. of Thomastown, Co. Tipp. Esq. 1709
M'Donnel, Elizth. alias O'Brien, of Enystymon, wife to Chas. M'Donnell, Esq. 1718
M'Carthy, Mrs Helena, of Cahir 1732
Morris, Jno. Gen. of Lafferagh, Co. Tipp. 1726
Mandeville, Jno, of Ballynaghymore, Co. Tipp. gent. 1729
Meara, Mrs. Anne, of Nenagh, spinster 1728
Magher, Charles, of Thurles, Co. Tip. 1740

Mathew, Geo. of Thomastown, Esq. 1740
Morres, Jno. of Tipperary, Esq. 1740
Molony, Corns. P. Tulla, Co. Clare, gent 1711
M'Mahon, Mr. Chas. of Leadmore, Co. Clare 1745
Madden, Hugh, of Kellturoe, Co. Tip. gent. 1766
Murphy, John & Elizth. of Ballyboy, Co. Tip. farmer 1747
M'Nemara, Thady, of Rannah, Co. Clar 1747
Meagher, Connor, D. Cashel 1748
M'Swiney, Owen, priest 1749
Morony, Elizth. of Castletown, Co. Clare 1749
Mahon, Jas. of Ennis, merchant 1750
Molony, Dd. D. Cashel 1749
Murphy, Jas. of Kilbarne, Co. Tip. yeoman 1750
Martin, Domk. of Ennis, Mr. 1752
Magrath, Elizt. Co. Tipperary 1754
M'Nemara, Dl. P. Tulla 1757
Molony, Dl. of Doouas, Co. Clare 1757
Molony, Patrick, of Tulla 1757
Molony, Pat, of Ardboly, farmer 1758
Mandeville, Edwd. of Ballydine, Esq. eldest son of him, &c. 1759
Mandeville, Jas. of Ballydine, gent. 1760
Mathew, Thos. of Annfield, Co. Tip. Esq. now of Capel st. 1762
Mandeville, Jas. gent. 3rd son of Thos. of Ballydrine, Esq. 1762
Macnamara, Timothy, of Tormoyle, Co. Clare, gent. 1763
M'Keogh, Dl. P. Ardfinan, Co. Tip. 1763
M'Mahon, Terence, of Ballykinnakura, Co. Clare, gent. 1764
Molony, Dl. of Glandire, Co. Clare, mason, and Mary his wife 1764
Martin, Mary, of Ennis, Tipperary 1765
Martin, alias M'Namara, Mary, of Gragan, Co. Clare 1766
Malone, Judith P. Shanrahan 1766
Molowny, Grace P. Tubrid 1766
Mandeville, Edwd. Esq. M.D., P. Carmick, Co. Tipperary 1767
athew, Chas. late of Thurles, now of Dublin, Esq. 1768
M'Carthy, Chas. late of Ennis, now of Dublin 1768
M'Nemara, Jno. of Cahirinagh, Clare 1768
M'Nemara, Florence, of Richmond, gent. 1788
Molony, Jno. of Derrymore, Clare 1768
Miniter, Patrick, of Do. 1768
Murphy, Corns. of same, farmers 1768
M'Namara, Anne, of Doolen, Clare, spinst. 1768
M'Namara, of Six-Mile-Bridge, Clare, gent. 1769
Meagher, Anne, daughter to Dl. Meagher, of Clonmel, D. Lismore 1770

N.

Nagle, Jas. Mr. of Garnavilly, Tipp. 1765

O.

Oldis, Cathe. alias Wright, of Ballylanigan, Co. Tipperary 1724
O'Meara, Darby, of Knockbragh, Clare 1728
O'Brien, Thos. of Tipperary, gent. 1740
O'Callaghan, Mrs. Hannah, and Mr. Donat of Kilgorey 1743
O'Connor, Garrett, Craghreagh, Clare 1745
O'Carroll, Timothy, of Prospect Hall, Co. Tipp. servant 1767
O'Dwyer, Edm. of Kilforbey 1751
O'Meara, Patrick, of Knockbehagh, Clare, gent. 1759
O'Brien, Hy. of Ennis, gent. 1759
O. Bryan, John, P. Temple Etney, Tipp. 1762
O'Keeffe, Jas. of Fortanmore 1763
O'Brien, Wm. of Cahirbolane, gent. 1764
O'Brien, Mathew, of Coolreagh, Clare 1765
O'Brien, Christ. of Ennistimon, gent. 1768

P.

Pierse, James, Esq. 1726
Pedder, Mary, wife to Jno. Pedder, of Cashel 1739
Power, Mr. Pierce, Co. Tipp. 1740
Pierse, Dorothy, P. Ballingarry, Tip. 1745
Piers, Garrott, gent. 1745
Purcell, Andw. now of Cahir 1762
Power, Mary, P. Kilgrane 1763
Purcell, Mary, D. Cashel 1765
Pearce, John, of Six-Mile-Bridge, apothecary 1765

Q.

Quilly, otherwise Woods, Jas. of Castlehill, Co. Clare 1767
Quinlan, Jno. of Youghal, Co. Tipp. 1769

R.

Roach, Johana, D., Cashel 1728
Ryan, Philip, of Clonmel, clerk 1743
Roach, Margt., D., Cashel 1746
Reddan, Mrs. Mary, of Cullane 1750
Ryan, Math. D., Cashel 1750
Ryan, Matw. late of Tip. now of Dublin, Esq. 1754
Ryan, Timothy, of Clonoulty & Cashell, gent. 1760
Ryan, Thomas, P. Clonmel 1761
Roe, Cathe. Marianne, otherwise Mathew wife of Philip Roe, gent. dr. of Thos. of Thomastown, Co. Tipp. Esq. 1763
Ryan, Jno. gent. D. Cashel 1763
Reardan, Edward, „ 1766
Reardan, Jas. „ 1764
Ryan, Alice, D. Cashel 1765
Raymond, Ellen, P. Tubrid 1765
Reardon, Wm. D. Cashel 1766
Ryan, Jno. P. Clonmel 1766
Ryan, Edwd. eldest son of Philip Ryan of Cardangan, farmer 1768
Reardan, Cathe., D. Cashel 1769
Russell, Bryan, of Ennis, M.D. 1771
Ryan, Francis, D. Cashel 1771
Rogers, Chas. Dom. Friar and Romish Priest of Elphin 1769

S.

Stapleton, Wm. of Bryan's Castle, Co. Clare, gent. 1742
Stapleton, Jno. his son 1743
Shepherd, Dd. and Mary of Cloheen 1747
Sarsfield, Maurice, of Carrighvohull 1747
Sullevan, Jno. of Shanrahan 1747
Shea, Rd., D. Cashel 1757
Stanley, Elizh. of Burrasakan, Co. Tip. D. Killoloe, spinster 1758
Shenan, Thos. Jun. of Killdyna, gent. 1763
Skerrett, Hyacinth, late of Tinvara, Co. Clare, now of Dublin 1766
Shennan, Thos. now of Dublin, late of Clounbony, Clare 1767

Shenan, John, of Kildyma, gent.	1767
Skinner, Wm., D. Cashel	1768
Swyny, Edmd. late of Thurles, now of Dublin, gent.	1771
Three-fourths of the "S." are described as now of Dublin.	
T.	
Thouhy, Owen, of Ballyea, Clare	1765
V.	
Vnadeleur, Ellinor, wife to M. Vandeleur of Garane, gent.	1757
W.	
White, Jno. D. Cashel, Esq.	1732
Walsh, Thos. of Shanbally, farmer	1747
Westmeath, Earl of	1724
Woulfe, Ignatius, of Emlagh, gent. Clare	1758
Woulfe, Stephen, of Killarnan	1758
Walsh, Jas. of Ballypooreen, Tipp.	1761
Welsh, Jas. of Ballypooreen	1761
White, Andw. of Corofin, Mr.	1763
Woods, Rd. D. Cashel	1760
Weldon, Hugh, P. Rathronan	1764
Walsh, Rd. D. Cashel	1767
White, Andw. of Corofin	1770
Woulfe, Jno. of Cahirrush, Clare, gent.	1771

Few, indeed, of the Catholic clergy fell in any part of Ireland; and it is indisputable that without exception the conformists changed, not from principle, but in order to save their estates and properties from the hands of the discoverer and informer. A curious anecdote is related of a Rev. Edmond Palmer, commonly called Parson Palmer, who filled the office of president of a Benevolent Annuity Society of Limerick in 1768–9, and who was said to have been a most energetic "discoverer," and Mr. Andrew Creagh, a member of the ancient Catholic family of that name. Palmer had already made several discoveries, and inflicted considerable mischief, and Creagh having heard that he was a marked man, proceeded to Dublin to take the oath, and have his name duly enrolled in the list of those who had abjured the faith, in order to preserve property. As he was leaving the office where the enrolment took place, he met Palmer going in, and jocosely said to him "you perceive, Mr. Palmer, that I am before you." Returning to Limerick, he kept his property and gave the legal tokens that he had complied with the provisions of the No Popery laws. He died, soon after, and was buried in the cemetery attached to St. Mary's Cathedral, where his tomb-stone may yet be seen recording the fact, that though he lived a legal Protestant he died in the Catholic faith.[1] It may be remarked in contrast with those days when conformers were frequent, that probably in no part of Ireland would be possible to find anything like the good feeling which has in latter times prevailed between members of different creeds in Limerick. This harmony, so completely different from the state of things in other localities, where Catholics are not in the majority as they are in Limerick, is attributable in some measure to the amiable character of many members of the superior orders of the clergy, whose personal character smoothed away the religious asperities arising from differences. But we believe that most of our readers will concur with us in opinion, that this harmony is rather ascribable to the progress of education, to the restoration of Catholics to a position of greater equality with their fellow-citizens of the Protestant persuasion, and though last not least, to the

[1] This curious tomb-stone has the following inscription :—

HERE RESTETH ANDREW CREAGH
EDWARD WHO LIVED IN ESTEEM AND
DIED IN THE CATHOLIC FAITH 15th Sep. 1763 Broken

Arms and crest cut in relief with the motto "Virtute et numine."

strenuous efforts of Irish patriots in latter times to establish a good understanding between Irishmen of all opinions.

It may be here remarked, that though the commerce of the port had been increasing considerably, and though a large business was transacted with Spain, Holland, &c., the export of corn was but little known up to this period; and when it was commenced by Mr. Honan, an enterprising merchant, who built a portion of the quays of Limerick, called after himself, and known to this day by the name of Honan's quay, he had every difficulty that it is possible to imagine to encounter, from the humbler classes of the citizens, who looked upon the export of cereals as the greatest visitation that could befal them, and who were backed by the Mayor and the authorities in their interference with the course of trade.[1] Captain Topham Bowden, who wrote a book of travels in Ireland, visited Limerick soon after these times, and speaks of the state of society in the highest terms of praise. Dr. Campbell, author of a Survey of Ireland, speaks of the Milesian manners, and of the fondness of the citizens for music when he wrote, about ten years before.

In 1786:—George Smyth was Recorder.
Henry Hallam, Town Clerk.
George Vincent, Weigh Master.
Robert Hallam, Water Bailiff.
J. Prendergast Smyth, Chamberlain.
Christopher Carr Christopher, City Treasurer.
James Russell, Clerk of the Market.

At this period the Common Council of Limerick, in which the election of magistrates and all civil power was vested, was composed of fifty-nine persons most of whom had served the office of mayor or sheriff, and of the following forty-seven who did not serve either office: total of the Common Council, 106, on the 2nd day of October, 1786:—

Date of admission.	*Members.*
1727, ...	Richard Vincent
1748, ...	Lord Viscount Pery

[1] The following is an extract from a letter of Mr. Honan, written in June, 1786, on this subject, and which I give as affording proof of the state of commerce at the time:—

1st June, 1786,

"Our Mayor still continues to harass us in the purchase of corn. Last Saturday he brought out the army to hinder Mr. Lyons taking to his store some oats that came by boat, which could not be then weighed for want of proper scales. If scarcity comes on I will be sent to Tyburn. 38 "White Boys" have been arrested and put into jail here. The county people for revenge say they will not allow any potatoes or corn to come to market till they are set free. God send the corn factors dont suffer if any scarcity should happen. The export of oatmeal has caused such a scarcity of that article as to give great discontent to *the mob* and to the publick in general. Our Mayor called over each of us that promised to supply him last January with that article. None of the gentlemen were in any respect prepared to do it, I could not an instant hesitate. I am selling those three days past oatmeal at cost price, I have gained great favour with a turbulent unruly set and our corporation assures me of every protection in their power in future, so that the corn trade will be easier to me than any one else. I continue to supply the mob at cost price, had I refused the consequence would be fatal, for the mob would have it from me, and prevent all future exports, not alone of that article, but prevent my loading the "Endeavour" with oats. New houses building near Arthur's-quay, to the rere of one of them is a piece of ground which I had in view to take for some time past, I will see to-morrow if I can. It is the most eligible place in this city for the corn trade, as you could load the ships immediately from any of the lofts. If I can I will get some spot near the river to build on. Our Mayor and Mr. Pery our representative, called a meeting of the millers and merchants to determine about grinding oats for the city, Mr. Brady seemed unwilling to let his mills* for the purpose, till he was told that his own term of them was expired and would not be renewed—they all thanked me for the supply of meal I gave the city. I must continue to do so for a few days, till I load the ship in the pool."

* The great mills on the Canal, now in the possession of Messrs. J. N. Russell and Sons.

1776,	...	Right Hon. Silver Oliver
ditto,	...	Right Hon. Thos. Connolly
ditto,	...	John Minchin
ditto,	...	Rev. Charles Smyth
ditto,	...	Rev. Rickard Lloyd
ditto,	...	Standish Grady, of Elton[1]
ditto,	...	Caleb Powell, of Clonshavois[2]
ditto,	...	Simon Purdon, of Tinnerana
ditto,	...	George Quin, of Quinsborough[3]
ditto,	...	John Tuthill
ditto,	...	Robert Cripps
ditto,	...	Benjamin Frend
ditto,	...	John Croker
ditto,	...	James Godsell
ditto,	...	Rev. Thomas Burgh
ditto,	...	Edward Wm. Burton
ditto,	...	Thomas Gabbett
ditto,	...	Henry Prittie
ditto,	...	Thomas Lloyd, of Prospect
ditto,	...	Rev. Jaques Ingram
ditto,	...	Simon Davies
ditto,	...	William Loyd, of Tower Hill
1781,	...	Rev. Thomas Smyth Geo.
ditto,	...	Rev. Thomas Smyth James
ditto,	...	Martin Tucker
ditto,	...	Darby O'Grady[4]
ditto,	...	William Smyth John
1782,	...	Purefoy Poe
ditto,	...	Thomas Hobson
ditto,	...	Thomas Lloyd, of Kildromin
1784,	...	Wm. Cecil Pery, P. Bishop of Limerick
ditto,	...	Rev. Thomas Shepherd
ditto,	...	Henry Vereker
ditto,	...	Charles Smyth George
ditto,	...	Carew Smyth James
ditto,	...	Rev. Rowland Davies
1785,	...	Richard Townshend
ditto,	...	Amos Vereker, Henry
ditto,	...	Richard Newenham
ditto,	...	John Vereker
ditto,	...	William Furlong
1786,	...	Frederick Lloyd, of Cranagh
ditto,	...	Arthur Ormsby
ditto,	...	Richard Piercy

[1] Father of Lady Ilchester.
[2] Caleb Powell, born in 1728, was fifth son of Robert Powell, of New Garden.
[3] Father of the Marchioness of Headford.
[4] Father of Chief Baron O'Grady, afterwards Lord Guillamore.

CHAPTER XLVI.

THE IRISH VOLUNTEERS. — THE CAREER OF JOHN FITZGIBBON, EARL OF CLARE.—AN ELECTION.—THE REBELLION OF '98.—TRIAL OF FRANCIS ARTHUR, ESQ.—THE REIGN OF TERROR.—THE ACT OF UNION.—PROGRESS OF EVENTS, &C.—"GARRYOWEN."—IMPROVEMENTS, &C.

WHAT Irishman is ignorant of the glories of 1782, when his country, awaking from a long night of degradation, sorrow, and slavery, rose brilliant and fair as the morning star, radiant with new-born freedom—when liberty spoke the word, and up rose at her call 150,000 armed volunteers—owing no allegiance to the government, and fully equipped with artillery, arms, and all the munitions of war? Silently, rather than sullenly, the volunteers occupied Dublin in overwhelming force, and the earnestness of the patriotic spirit that animated them is sufficiently evident from the legend inscribed on the scroll that surrounded their ordnance, "FREE TRADE OR SPEEDY REVOLUTION!"[1] Then a corrupt Parliament met, largely composed of the pensioners, or place holders of the crown, and the nominees of the proprietors of rotten boroughs. But coerced by the spirit and realities of the times, they unanimously passed Mr. Grattan's celebrated resolution—"That the kingdom of Ireland is a distinct kingdom with a Parliament of her own, the sole legislature thereof—that there is no body of men competent to make laws to bind the nation but the King, Lords, and Commons of Ireland—nor any Parliament which hath any authority or power of any sort whatsoever in this country, save only the Parliament of Ireland."

This resolution was unanimously passed by the Irish House of Commons on the 16th of April, 1782; and thus after seven hundred years of subjugation—of woes unmitigated—of sorrows unrelieved—of complaints unheeded—and of tyrrany unparalelled in the history of nations—Ireland in one bold struggle burst her fetters, and gained her freedom!

One of the most curious incidents that occurred on this celebrated occasion was the speech of John Fitzgibbon, afterwards Earl of Clare. He had always been in hostility to the principles of this resolution. He was the ready tool in the hands of the Governement, which they used in the most unscrupulous manner to oppose the cause of Irish independence, and therefore, it was not without amazement that the Commons heard him deliver a speech, every word of which was at variance with the political principles which he was known to entertain, and which he had, on innumerable occassions, publicly professed. "No man," said Mr. Fitzgibbon with great emphasis, "can say that the Duke of Portland has power to grant us that redress which the nation unanimously demands—but as Ireland is committed, no man I trust will shrink from her support, but go through, HAND AND HEART, in the establishment of our liberties. As I was cautious in committing, so I am now firm in asserting the rights of my country! My declaration, therefore is, that as the nation has determined to obtain the restoration of her liberty, it behoves every man in Ireland to STAND FIRM!"

This extraordinary speech was received with universal feelings of contempt and disgust. No person gave him credit for a tittle of sincerity or good faith. Mr. Fitzgibbon was utterly destitute of the smallest spark of patriotism. The part he took was generally vehement and over-bearing, but was, nevertheless, the result invariably of selfish calculation. In giving utterance to this policital recantation, it is probable he considered the inde-

[1] M'Nevin's History of the Volunteers, p. 118.

pendence of Ireland achieved for ever, and that he therefore took the earliest opportunity of siding with the strong, and of betraying his friends; but there are those who hold the opinion that the Government were even then planning the deep laid scheme which finally resulted in the Union, and that Fitzgibbon got directions to adopt this line in order to gain greater facilities to betray. In less than two years afterwards he was appointed Attorney-General.

For a short time Ireland assumed a new aspect—she rose majestically from her ruins—and a season of unexampled prosperity and progress blessed a peaceful, contented, and industrious people.[1] But even then treason was at work, and soon the splendid fabric of national greatness, underminded by her own unnatural children, fell to rise no more. Among those most active and most reckless in effecting her ruin was John Fitzgibbon. In the commencement of his career he purchased considerable landed property in the county of Limerick, including Mount Shannon. He attended but little to the duties of his profession, but on the death of his elder brother and his father, who, though originally a Catholic destined for the Catholic priesthood, became a member of the Irish Bar and a conformist, he found himself in possession of all those advantages which led him rapidly to the attainment of his objects. Considerable fortune—professional talents—extensive connexions —and undismayed confidence, elevated him to those stations on which he afterwards appeared so conspicuously seated; while the historic eye as it follows his career, percieves him lightly bounding over very obstacle, which

[1] Previously to 1782, (namely, in 1779), therewere two grand reviews at Lough Gur, when most of the regular army had been withdrawn from the kingdom, and though the Govrnment had hitherto looked with a jealous eye on the Irish Volunteers, their worth and strength were now sent down for the city and the county regiments—viz, five hundred for each. It was on the 17 of August, in 1780, that the first meeting was held at the Tholsel, in reference to a contemplated review of the different corps which had been already formed. On the 17th of the previous December the greatest rejoicings that had been known for many years before took place in the city in consequence of the intimation given in Parliament by Lord North, of offering certain propositions to the House for granting free trade to Ireland. At the meeting, which was held at the Tholsel, the chair was taken by John Thomas Waller, Esq., an unparalleled amount of enthusiasm prevailed. Surrounded by thousands of their admiring countrymen, the following corps were reviewed by Lord Kingsborough, Reviewing General, on the 10th of October following:—

CAVALRY.

CORPS AND COMMANDERS.

I. County Limerick Horse, John Croker, Esq.
II. Kilfinnan Horse, William Ryves, Esq.
III. Coonagh Rangers, Rt. Hon. Sir Robert Deane, Bart.
IV. Small County Union, John Grady, Esq. of Caher, Esq.
V. County Limerick Royal Horse, Hon. Hugh Massy.
VI. Connelloe Horse, Thomas Odell, Esq.
VII. County Clare Light Horse, Edward Fitzgerald, Esq.
VIII. Newport Horse, Right Hon. Lord Jocelyn.
IX. True Blue Horse, William Thomas Monsell, Esq.

INFANTRY.

X. Loyal Limerick Volunteers, Thomas Smyth, Esq.
XI. Kilfinnan, Volunteers, William Ryves, Esq.
XII. County Limerick Fencibles, John Thomas Waller, Esq.
XIII. Castle Connell Volunteers, Right Hon. Sir Robert Deane, Bart.
XIV. Ennis Volunteers, Right Hon. Earl of Inchiquin.
XV. Loyal German Fusiliers,* Henry Brown, Esq.
XVI. Adare Volunteers, Windham Quin, Esq.
XVII. Rathkeale Volunteers, George Leake, Esq.
XVIII. Royal Glin Volunteers, the Knight of Glin.
XIX. Newport Volunteers, Colonel Waller.

In 1781, on the 14th and 15th of August, Lord Muskerry reviewed the following corps at Loughmore; he was accompanied by Lady Muskerry, who presented the Volunteers with several elegant stands of colours. His Lordship was elected Colonel of four different corps by the Volunteers:—

* Composed of the "Palatines-people" who had been introduced from Germany some years before by Lord Southwell, who had established a colony of them at Castlematress, Co. Limerick.

seemed to check his course to that goal where all the trophies and thorns of power were collected for his reception.[1]

CORPS AND COMMANDERS.

I. Royal Glin Artillery, Colonel John Fitz Gerald.
II. County Limerick Horse, Colonel John Croker.
III. Counagh Rangers, Colonel Lord Muskerry.
IV. Small County Union, Colonel John Grady.
V. Connelloe Light Horse, Colonel Hon. Hugh Massy.
VI. Connelloe Light Horse, Colonel Thomas Odell.
VII. Riddlestown Hussars, Lord Muskerry.
VIII. County Tipperary Horse, Sir Cornwallis Maude.
IX. Clanwilliam Union, Lord Clanwilliam.
XII. Castle Connell Rangers, Lord Muskerry.
XIII. German Fusileers, Colonel Henry Brown.
XIV. County Limerick Fencibles, Colonel John Thomas Waller.

Lord Muskerry, on the 22nd of September following, was elected General in Chief of the Volunteer army in the county and city of Limerick. At this period the Irish Volunteers numbered 40,000 men; the finest in Europe; and they obtained the thanks of both Houses of Parliament as follows:—

"MARTIS, 9 DIE OCTOBRIS, 1781

RESOLVED NEM CON.

"THAT the thanks of this house be given to the Volunteer Corps of this Kingdom, for their exertions and continuation, and particularly for their spirited preparations against a late threatened invasion."

THOMAS ELLIS, cler. parl. dom. com.
DIE MERCUII, 16 OCTOBRIS, 1781.

"Resolved by the lords spiritual and temporal in parliament assembled, that the thanks of this house be given to the several volunteer corps in this kingdom, for the continuation of their efforts in defence of this country, and for their spirited offers to Government on the late alarm of an hostile invasion meditated against the kingdom."

W. WATTS GAYER, EDWARD GAYER, } Cler. Parl.

In 1782, the Limerick Independents, under Major Caleb Powell, and the Loyal Limerick Volunteers, beat up for recruits for the navy, twenty thousand men being demanded for that arm of the service; they were successful to a considerable extent, and on the 20th and 21st of August, the following corps were reviewed at Loughmore* by the Earl of Charlemont:—

CORPS AND COMMANDERS.

I. Glin Artillery, John Fitz Gerald, Esq.

CAVALRY.

II. Tipperary Light Dragoons, Sir Cornwallis Maude.
III. Clanwilliam Union, Lord Clanwilliam.
IV. County Clare Horse, Edward Fitz Gerald, Esq.
V. County Limerick Horse, John Croker, Esq.
VI. Kilfinnan Light Dragoons, Wm. Ryves, Esq.
VII. Small County Horse, John Grady, of Cahir, Esq.

* At Loughmore, where these reviews took place, and which is situated in the South liberties, and Parish of Mungret, is a natural curiosity, not noticed, or even mentioned, by any historian or tourist as far as I can learn:—It is situated within three miles of Limerick, and not far from the once famous Abbey of Mungret. It is a lake for several months in each year—in frosty weather a favorite resort for skating—covering about 50 acres of a flat piece of ground adjoining the Church lands of the see of Limerick, and forms a commonage for the tenantry, for in summer it throws up a great quantity of grass The water usually begins to rise about the 1st of October, but earlier in a wet season; in a dry season it begins to decrease about the 25th of March, but in a wet season not till the 1st of May; it is not supplied by any river, but by the rains, and the overflowings of the red bog of Anaherrosta, distant about two miles and brought by subterranean passages. When the flat ground is extensively flooded, the water begins to break up through subterranean passages near Mungret Church, and in two other places. These three streams unite in one small river near the Castle of Mungret within one mile of the river Shannon. As soon as the lough becomes dry, these rivers and passages become dry also. It is usually without water between four and five months each year, but much depends on the season. The general depth of the water is from four to five feet. There are no fish of any kind found in it, except in very wet seasons a few eels. A Mr. Launcelot Hill, about fifty years ago. expended large sums of money in endeavouring to make a course for the waters, but failed. This lake much resembles in quality that of Lindnig in Germany.

[1] Maxwell's Irish Rebellion.

The period that elapsed from the time Fitzgibbon earnestly applied his mind to his profession until he attained the summit of his ambition, was

VIII. Counagh Rangers, Lord Muskerry.
IX. True Blue Horse, William Thomas Monsell, Esq.
X. County Limerick Royal Horse, Hon. Hugh Massy.
XI. Connelloe Horse, Thomas Odell, Esq.
XII. Riddlestown Hussars, Gerald Blenerhassett, Esq,

INFANTRY.

CORPS AND COMMANDERS.

XIII. Ormond Union, Henry Prittie, Esq.
XIV. Tipperary Light Infantry, Sir Cornwallis Maude.
XV. Ennis Volunteers, Earl of Inchiquin.
XVI. Inchiquin Fusiliers, Earl of Inchiquin.
XVII. Cashel Volunteers, Richard Pennefather, Esq.
XVIII. Kilfinnan Volunteers, Right Honorable Silver Oliver.
XIX. Loyal Limerick Volunteers, Thomas Smyth, Esq.
XX. County Limerick Fencibles, John T. Waller, Esq.
XXI. Castleconnell and Killaloe Rangers, Lord Muskerry.
XXII. Adare Volunteers, Sir Richard Quin, Bart.
XXIII. Rathkeale Volunteers, George Leake, Esq.
XXIV. German Fusiliers, James Darcy, Esq
XXV. True Blue Foot, William Thomas Monsell, Esq.
XXVI. Limerick Independents, John Prendergast Smyth, Esq.

It was on the 10th day of April in this year that the Catholics of the city, on the resolution of Martin Harold, Esq., and the invitation of Major Caleb Powell, of Clonshavoy, joined the corps of Limerick Independents; their uniform was scarlet lined with green, with silver lace and other silver appendages. Their Adjutant, James Russell, Esq. was presented with ag old medal by the corps, On the 30th of June they marched to Clonmel, under the command of John Prendergast Smyth, Esq. and were with other corps there reviewed by Colonel Henry Prittie, reviewing General. The Catholics of Limerick were admitted to take part in the movement, and the following resolutions were passed—(*History of the Irish Volunteers.*):—

"At a time when religious prejudices seem entirely laid aside, and a spirit of liberty and toleration breathes unanimously through all sects, we see with concern so loyal and respectable a part of our brethren, as the Roman Catholics, stand idle spectators of the glorious exertions of their countrymen in the Volunteer cause. Actuated by these principles, the Limerick Independents think themselves called upon to step forward, and invite their fellow-citizens of the Roman Catholic persuasion to unite in the common cause, and enrol themselves under their standard. By Order, "JOHN HARRISON, Secretary."

"Such gentlemen as wish to join the corps, are requested to send in their names to any of the officers or committee, that they may be balloted for.

"The Roman Catholics of the city of Limerick, impressed with a just sense of the honour conferred upon them by the Limerick Independents, are happy in this public testimony of their acknowledgments to the corps, for the very liberal invitation of associating themselves with so respectable a body of their fellow-subjects.—Whilst they feel a most grateful sense of the late removal of many of their restraints, and look forward with pleasure to the approaching period of emancipation, it is their most earnest wish to maintain those principles of virtue and loyalty, which are the glory of a free people, and have so eminently distinguished the character of Irish Volunteers.

"*Limerick, April 10th*, 1782.

"MARTIN HAROLD, Esq. in the Chair."

It is due to the Limerick Independents to state that they were officered by a thoroughly liberal gentleman, Major Caleb Powell.

At Loughmore, on the 28th July, 1783, one of the most successful reviews of the Irish Volunteer army, which created much interest in those days, was held.—Colonel Thomas Smyth, M.P. was the reviewing general, and came in from Roxborough in military state, escorted by Colonel Pery's fine Regiment of Horse. His aides-de-camp on this occasion were Standish O'Grady, afterwards Chief Baron and Viscount Guillamore, and Henry Vereker, elder brother of the second Viscount Gort, who was unfortunately shot in a duel, nine years later, by Mr. Furnell of Ballyclough.

CAVALRY.

CORPS AND COMMANDERS.

I. Clanwilliam Union, Lord Clanwilliam.
II. County Limerick Horse, John Croker, Esq.
III. Small County Union, John Grady of Cahir, Esq.
IV. County Clare Horse, Edward Fitzgerald.
V. Riddlestown Hussars, Lord Muskerry.
VI. Limerick Cavalry, Edmond Henry Pery, Esq.

unusually short. Soon after the death of his father in 1780, he became a conspicuous member of the Irish Parliament. In 1784 he was appointed Attorney-General. In 1789, on the death of Lord Lifford, he was appointed Lord Chancellor of Ireland, and raised to the peerage as Baron Fitzgibbon. In 1793 a Viscount's coronet was bestowed on him, and two years after he was created Earl of Clare. The title of Earl of Clare was conferred on him in 1795.[1] He married in the year 1786 a sister of "Jerusalem" Whaley, who was so called in consequence of a foolish bet he had made and won; that he would walk on foot (sea only excepted) the whole way to Jerusalem, and after playing ball against the walls of the Holy City, that he would return again in the same way to Dublin within a specified time, which he did.[2]

Sir Jonah Barington gives a gorgeous account of the splendour and hospitality with which Lord Clare supported his office. He expended four thousand guineas for a state carriage; and in all other respects far outshone all precedent. But then his family connexions or followers absorbed the patronage of the state, and so skilfully did he revive or create new offices, and so judiciously did he bestow them, that in a short time he became, as a subject, almost as powerful as an absolute monarch. His ambition knew no

INFANTRY.

VII. Loyal Limerick Volunteers, Thomas Smyth, Esq.
VIII. Ennis Volunteers, William Blood, Esq.
IX. C. Connell and Killaloe Rangers, Sir Richard De Burgho, Bart.
X. Rathkeale Volunteers.
XI. German Fusiliers, James Darcy, Esq.
XII. Inchiquin Fusiliers, Sir Hugh Dillon Massy, Bart.
XIII. Limerick Independents, John Prendergast Smyth, Esq.
XIV. Sixmilebridge Independents, Francis Macnamara, Esq.

We have thus given the fullest details of the grand volunteer movement in city and county at this eventful period. Not only in Limerick, but in Tipperary and Clare, many Catholics were enrolled among the defenders of their native land. Mr. Francis Arthur, the son of Mr. Patrick Arthur, equipped a corps of artillery at his own expense; but the fact did not prevent him from falling under the ban of Government a few years afterwards; his life was sought through the infamous agency of a perjured informer of the name of Maum when he was charged with overt acts of high treason in 1798.

[1] This title, lately become extinct, had been held by Edmond Burke's father-in-law. Lord Clare thought to give a prestige and appearance of antiquity to his title by selecting that of an elder member of the Peerage—of whom, indeed, the public know little, save that he once gave Goldsmith a haunch of venison—but as Robert Burns has it:

"For a' that and a' that,
Their dignities, and a' that,
The pith o' sense, and pride o' worth,
Are higher ranks than a' that!"

[2] The following are the principal local events not already noticed of this period:—

In 1786, a windmill was built on the banks of the Shannon, near Limerick, by Lant. Hill, Esq., it was burnt down January 29, 1803; again burnt down November 19, 1813, in this last fire the machinery was all in motion, though on fire, a brisk gale of wind blowing, the night dark, and the spectacle awfully and sublimely grand. The Globe Insurance lost by the last burning £1339 19s. 5d., which was paid February 10th, 1815, to Laurence Durack.

In 1793, the King's County Regiment of Militia, commanded by Sir Laurence Parsons (afterwards Earl of Ross) consisting of 612 men, was the first newly raised Militia Regiment that did garrison duty in Limerick. In June this year (1793) the City of Limerick Regiment of Militia was raised, consisting of 469 men, J. P. Smyth, Esq. commandant. The County of Limerick raised, consisting of 612 men, Lord Muskerry commandant; the other regiment, that of the King's County raised about the same time. 1798, June 1—Precedence of yeomanry corps drawn by lot at the Castle of Dublin, by counties; Limerick drawn No. 12. In a few weeks after there were raised in the county and the city, &c., 16 troops of yeomanry cavalry, and 8 companies of yeomanry infantry. The Merchants' Company commanded by Thomas Maunsell, Esq., and the Revenue Company commanded by George Maunsell, Esq. raised in August, 1803, were particularly respectable. In 1793 Mr. John Ferrar, burgess, and author of the History of Limerick, gave £7 a year for ever to the Blue School.

bounds, his thirst for power was unlimited, and he supported the administration that plotted the destruction of Irish liberty, because he saw no other mode of retaining his power. The Government who could not dispense with his aid, literally refused him nothing; and he knew that his opposition would at once lead to his downfall. The facility with which he had triumphed over the obstacles that impeded his rise to the summit of his profession, gave him the feelings of a conqueror. He felt he had grasped the coronet and placed himself on the woolsack by his own unaided genius; and he considered the country, in the government of which he filled so conspicuous a place, as belonging to him by right of conquest; and in disposing of her liberties he only looked to his own aggrandisement. Ireland even appeared to his eyes, dazzled by success, to afford too small a field for the exercise of his brilliant talents, and he looked forward with pride to the position he was destined to fill in the Imperial Parliament. But sadly was he disappointed. In England he found that the acts of political profligacy with which he was familiar created disgust, and that his self-sufficiency and arrogance only excited pity and contempt. He had been used as a base tool for unworthy purposes, and as soon as his employers had sufficiently made use of him, he was contemptuously discarded. He was chiefly instrumental in fomenting the rebellion of 1798.[1] He only survived the subjugation of his country, which he was so instrumental in effecting, for two years; and died broken hearted—a miserable example of disappointed ambition—of fallen hopes—and of wayward talents that had over-reached themselves.

Shortly after the declaration of independence of 1782, to which we have already referred, and which was adopted by the English Government in its integrity, serious apprehensions filled the minds of the patriots. If it required 150,000 volunteers to overawe, or at least to see that the Irish Parliament

[1] In order to the clearer discernment of this eventful year, I here subjoin the several incidents that could be gleaned of what took place in Limerick, city and county, during that period:—

January 2nd.—The Limerick Navigation Company elected the following gentlemen as a committee of ten:—Stephen Roche (John), John Howly, George Maunsell, James O'Sullivan, Laurence Durack, Michael Gavin, Henry Brady, Francis Arthur, Rev. Dr. Maunsell, and William Marritt.

January 9th.—General Duff reviewed at Newcastle the following regiments of which the garrison was composed:—The Earl of Roden's 1st Fencible Cavalry, Royal Irish Artillery, Longford and South Cork Militia, and Devon Fencibles.

A meeting of the non-commissioned officers and privates of the Limerick Merchants' corps, was held for the purpose of presenting an address and sword to their adjutant Henry Rochfort, Esq.

January 16th.—By special command of the Lord Lieutenant for a general day of thanksgiving to Almighty God, for the victories obtained by the fleets; all the shops, &c. were closed, divine service was celebrated in all the churches, chapels, and meeting houses, the troops in garrison and corporation in full regalia attended at the cathedral.

Mr. Fitzgerald of Ballineety, proceeded to Caherconlish on Sunday 21st and Sunday 28th to administer the oath of allegiance to all persons desirous of taking same.

March 9th.—A meeting of the merchants, bankers, traders and inhabitants, was held in the City Tholsel, for the purpose of getting in voluntary subscriptions for the defence of the country. Resolutions were passed in furtherance of the object. The Mayor, Sheriffs, Right Rev. Dr. Young, R.C.B., the Recorder, Sir Christopher Knight, Eaton Maunsell, Esq., Rev. Thomas Shepherd, and Rev. Michael Seawright, were appointed a committee for carrying the resolutions into effect.

The sums contributed were large, including £500 per annum, from John and Thomas Maunsell £100 per annum, Stephen Roche, John, £50, John Howley, Right Rev. Dr. Young, 1 year £11 7s. 6d. The resolutions, &c. were laid before the Lord Lieutenant, who in a letter from Mr. Secretary Cooke, highly approved of them.

The officers and privates of the City of Limerick Regiment of Militia, commanded by Colonel Vereker, subscribed eight days' pay per year during the war, to the exigencies of the state, amounting to about £400.

On Monday, 19th of March, Joseph Cripps, Esq., Mayor of Limerick, as a county magistrate, went to Mont Pellier (O'Brien's Bridge) when the Rev. Mr. Crotty, Parish Priest thereof, and

did its duty, what security was there that the Parliament might not at some future time (when the volunteers were disbanded) become again the servile agents of a tyrannical Government? The people were unanimously in favour of Irish Independence, but the Parliament did not represent the people. The majority of members were either the pensioners of the Government or the nominees of close boroughs, in whose election the people had no voice. It was evident that a reform of Parliament—rendering it really the representative assembly of the country—was essential to place Irish liberty beyond the reach of English gold or domestic treason. But Parliament was too rotten to reform itself, and the evil influence of Fitzgibbon was even then at work. This reform the volunteers felt, could only be effected through their agency. Accordingly it was resolved to hold a Grand National Convention of Ireland in Dublin, composed of delegates selected from the different volunteer regiments. The selection was made in November, 1783, and consisted of 300 delegates, who shortly afterwards repaired to Dublin, where they commenced their sittings with much pomp and military display. The first duty that devolved upon the delegates was the selection of a president—unfortunately they selected the Earl of Charlemont. To this selection the downfall of Ireland may be traced. Charlemont was one of the most upright and honourable men of his day; he never wilfully did wrong; but he was unsuited for the position in which he was placed, and for the crisis in which he lived. He was punctiliously loyal, attached to regularity, law, and order, courteous to all men, a friend of the people, but devoted by sympathy to the aristocracy—fond of popular applause, but yet fonder of securing the good opinions of those in the higher classes, for whom his education and tastes taught him to entertain a polished and courtly respect. Lord Charlemont soon found that the

149 of his parishioners voluntarily came forward in the sessions house and took the oath of allegiance to His Majesty.

The Right Rev. Dr. Young sent the following letter of Thomas Maunsell, Esq., chairman of the committee for receiving voluntary contributions:—

"Sir—I am much flattered by the honor done me in being appointed a member of the committee for carrying into effect the resolutions which you proposed and were agreed to at the meeting. As an earnest how much I approve of them, I beg leave to inclose my subscription, and regret that I cannot contribute more; but trifling as it is, it will give me pleasure to continue it every year, if I can, every year as long as it may be necessary; at the same time I am concerned to add that the distance I live from town, added to a complaint which has confined me for some time back, and which I am not quite rid of yet, renders it rather inconvenient for me to attend the meetings of the committee yet; with the best wishes for the success of their laudable exertions, I have the honor to be, sir, your obedient and humble servant,

Rathbane, Monday. † JOHN YOUNG."

Great disturbances prevailed throughout the country; several houses were attacked and robbed of fire arms. Lieutenant-General Sir James Steward, and Major-General Sir James Duff, reviewed all the troops in the garrison at Newcastle, on the Wednesday previous.

March 14th.—Collisions between the yeomanry and rebels were constant, not only in the County of Limerick, but in Tipperary, where, in one skirmish near Cashel, five united Irishmen were killed, and 25 were taken prisoners, most of whom were severely wounded.

28th March.—A unanimous meeting of Magistrates was held, to apply to the Lord Lieutenant to proclaim the County and Liberties in a state of insurrection. With this application his Excellency complied. Detachments of the garrison were despatched to be stationed at Newport, Castleconnell, cavalry and infantry nightly patrolled the city and suburbs.

April 7th.—The Penguin sloop of war was sent round from Cork, by the Admiral of that station, to convoy merchant vessels from the Shannon to the English Channel.

Several houses in this County were attacked and demands made for money and arms. Ten persons belonging to the party called "Defenders" were removed from the County jail and sent on board the fleet. Several persons suspected of treasonable practices were pilloried in this City.

April 10th.—The following notice was issued in this City:—

"The Commander-in-Chief gives this public notice, that the Lord Lieutenant and Council have issued orders to him to quarter troops, to press horses and carriages, to demand forage and provi-

convention over which he presided was practically all-powerful in the country, and that he as president wielded the destinies of Ireland. But he trembled at the power with which he was invested, and was seized with dread of the very institution he had originally been so active in creating. His pride prevented his resignation; visions of greater men succeeding him, and regenerating Ireland, oppressed him as horrible phantoms in a night-mare. He was too high to be commanded: too feeble to control. Lord Clare saw his embarrassing position, and in conjunction with the Lord Lieutenant and Government assailed him in his weakest point. He had taken, he was told, a place of fearful responsibility, but the crown relied implicitly on his loyalty. He held in his hands the peace of the country—it lay with him to control the angry elements he had conjured up, or, if they became unmanageable, his duty as a loyal man required him to dissolve the convention—thus would he retain the confidence of his sovereign, and have his name transmitted to posterity as the saviour of his country. This language won over the feeble Charlemont; and thus the Government gained by flattering his foibles, a triumph which they would gladly have given millions to have secured; and that too from a man, who, had millions been offered to him to purchase the fatal course he pursued, would have spurned the bribe as dross, and chastised the person who had the audacity to trifle with his honour! The convention was dissolved: the volunteers were disbanded; the Parliament remained unreformed. The Irish rebellion was carefully nursed and tended, and in 1800, in opposition to the people of Ireland, whose representatives they were falsely called—the Houses of Lords and Commons sold the birthright of the Irish people, and extinguished for ever the Nationality of their country. A list might easily be given of places, pensions, and peerages obtained at the long

sions, and to hold court-martials for the trial of offences of all descriptions, *Civil* and *Military*, with the power of carrying into execution the sentences of all such court-martials and to issue proclamations.

"The Commander-in-Chief calls on the general officers to procure of the Magistrates the last accounts they can give of the number of arms taken from the yeomanry and the well-affected, of arms that have been concealed and of pikes that have been made, which are to be recovered and taken possession of by the military.

"They are also to communicate to the people through the priests, and by one or two men selected from each townland, the purport of the following notice:—

"That the order if complied with will be a sign of their *General Repentance*, and not only *Forgiveness* will follow but *Protection*.

"That they must be sensible, that it is infinitely better for them to remain at home quietly minding their own affairs, than committing acts which must bring on the ruin of themselves and their families."

As it will be impossible in some degree to prevent the *Innocent* from suffering with the GUILTY, the *Innocent* have the means of redress by informing against those who have engaged in unlawful associations, and of robbing houses of arms and money.

The PEOPLE must be very ignorant not to know that notwithstanding the fair promises of the French that they have *first deceived* and then PLUNDERED every COUNTRY into which they have come, and they are therefore forewarned that in case of *Invasions* from the French, if *they* should attempt to join the enemy or communicate with him, or join in any insurrection, they will be immediately put to death and their houses and properties destroyed.

The general officers call on the people to know why they should be *less attached* to the government now than they were a year ago, when they showed so much loyalty in assisting His Majesty's troops to oppose the landing of the French. Is it not became they have been seduced by wicked men?

Why should they think themselves bound by oaths into which they have been seduced or terrified?

The people are requested to bring in their arms to the Magistrate or Commanding Officer in their neighbourhood, who have directions to receive them and no questions will be asked.

(Signed) JAMES DUFF, *Major-General.*

Another notice referring to the preceding, appeared, signed by Joseph Crips, Mayor, George Smyth, Recorder, Eaton Maunsell and Thomas Shepherd, requesting gentlemen and others to

instance of Lords Clare and Castlereagh, for all who were willing to barter their country for ministerial favours.

But space will not permit us to review minutely the conduct of the Government, principally acting on the advice of Lord Clare, which preceded the rebellion of 1798. In the glorious days of the volunteers, political and religious animosities were unknown in Ireland, and therefore the country was great and powerful. There were but two parties—those in favor of, and those opposed to Irish liberty. But from the dissolution of the volunteers, the Government (and in this sketch we have always referred to the English Government as opposed to the Irish patriots), left no means untried to divide and to sow suspicion between different classes of Irishmen. In this work none was equal to Lord Clare, and when at length the disturbances of 1798 broke out, the Protestants were first made to believe that it was an effort of the Roman Catholic party against them (though in fact it originated with Protestant republicans) and then, once this feeling got root, and once the Roman Catholics became the leaders of the rebellion, instead of its tide being stayed with a strong hand, Lord Clare iniquitously allowed it to gain gigantic proportions, in order that the Protestant party might fly from Popish enemies to English traitors for safety. Indeed one of the very first in Limerick to join and subscribe to a fund raised in 1790 for the defence of the country from the French invasion, was the Right Rev. Dr. John Young, Catholic Bishop of Limerick. Had the disturbances of 1798 been put down, as they might have been in a few days, the Act of union could never have been carried, and no one knew this better than Lord Clare.

A memorable achievement in '98 was the battle of Colloony, which is referred to fully in the note, and for which the city of Limerick Regiment of Militia, and its gallant commandant, Colonel Vereker, obtained the highest applause.

In February, 1785, in the course of a debate in the House of Commons on the abuse of attachment in the King's Bench, Curran made use of some

communicate without delay, and promising that secrecy respecting the givers of the information should be observed as far as possible.

General Duff left Limerick on Sunday, 15th of April, having previously arranged that he should be met by some yeomanry corps on the borders of the counties of Limerick and Tipperary. He then proceeded to Cappawhite, and arrested 29 persons charged with being defenders.

A circular letter from Lord Castlereagh was received by the commanders of yeomanry corps stationed in this city, requesting to know what men of approved loyalty, not exceeding 50 in number, they could add to their corps.

During this month (April) yeomanry corps are scouring the county in all directions, seizing arms and making arrests.

On the 19th, at the Quarter Sessions of this city, a man named Thomas Ryan, was sentenced to be publicly whipped, for an alleged assault on two soldiers.

May 1. The inhabitants of Emly having refused to surrender their arms, military detachments were quartered upon them.

May 5. Twelve persons from the neighbourhood of Pallas, charged with being United Irishmen, were brought in and lodged in the County Jail.

122 stand of arms were brought in from Kenry by Captain Waller's corps, and lodged in his Majesty's stores.

May 9. Ten men were sentenced by the Magistrates, assembled at Special Sessions, to serve His Majesty abroad. They were convicted under the Insurrection Act.

May 12. Notice was given by General Duff, that he would supply with arms all Gentlemen who would undertake to defend their houses against the disaffected.

The garrison at this period was composed of the Romney Fencible Cavalry, the 54th Regiment, the Perthshire Highland Fencibles, the City of Dublin, and the Kildare Militia.

May 16. General Duff marched 100 of the City Dublin Regiment to Dooharra, between Killaloe and Nenagh, and quartered them on the inhabitants, until they would surrender their arms.

May 19. The High Sheriff of Tipperary (John Judkin Fitzgerald), acting on secret information, had a man arrested in Nenagh, upon a charge of being a Defender, and had him publicly whipped, until he was forced to disclose the names of his associates.

expressions towards Fitzgibbon, then Attorney-General, which being warmly replied to, led to a hostile meeting between these two celebrated personages. The combatants fired two cases of very long pistols at each other with very bad success, and very little *eclat*: for they were neither killed, wounded, satisfied, nor reconciled—nor did either of them express the slightest disposition to continue the engagement.

As a lawyer Lord Clare filled but an indifferent position, and his decisions are seldom referred to. It was to his promptitude, vigour, clearness, and courage that he owed all his success. His triumphs have stained the annals of his country with calamities and sorrows. He was a hard man dealing with a gentle and confiding people; yet during all the misfortunes of Ireland the mild voice of conciliation never escaped his lips; and when the torrent of civil war had ceased to rage, he held out no olive branch to show that the flood had subsided. His favourate expression being, "that he would make Ireland as tame as a mutilated cat."[1]—an expression that never was forgotten.

[1] Barrington, vol. ii. p. 215.

[2] Lord Clare died two years after the passing of the Union, and was interred in St. Peter's Church, Dublin. Just as the coffin was being lowered into its last resting place a large number of dead cats were thrown upon his coffin, evidently as a commentary on the bitter phrase with which he had insulted his countrymen. Showers of dead cats too were thrown over the coffin from Ely-place to St. Peter's Church. Thus it is that the misconduct of an entire life will be freely forgotton; while the keen edge of a bitter sarcasm will long continue to irritate and invite revenge. Lord Clare was succeeded by his eldest son John, who died without issue. His second son, Colonel Richard Hobart Fitzgibbon, Lord Lieutenant of the County Limerick, and formerly M.P. for the county, succeeded his brother John. But having died in the year 1864, and his only son Lord Fitzgibbon, having some time previously been killed in the Crimean War, the title became extinct. A bronze life-size statue to Lord Fitzgibbon, executed by P. Macdowall, Esq. R.A. was erected on the Wellesley Bridge, Limerick in 1855. It is placed on a granite pedestal, eleven feet three inches high, which has the following inscription :—

To Commemorate the bravery of
VISCOUNT FITZGIBBON,
8th Royal Irish Hussars;
And of his gallant companions in arms,
Natives of the County and City of Limerick,
Who gloriously fell in the Crimean war.
1855.

On the front of the pedestal is inscribed the word—Balaklava, over a bas relief in bronze, representing the famous cavalry charge, in which Viscount Fitzgibbon was killed.
On the north side—Alma.
On the south side—Inkerman.
On the south side of the Statue the following is inscribed :—
Robinson and Cotram,
The Statue Foundry, Pimlico.
And on the north side the name of the sculptor, P. Macdowall, R.A. London, Sculptor.

May 23. At the Quarter Sessions held in St. Francis's Abbey, 11 men were condemned to serve in His Majesty's Navy, and four others were sentenced to imprisonment, and public whipping.

May 26. Messrs. O'Meara, Talbot and Fulton, Charles Elliott and Laurence Kennon, were brought in and lodged in the County Jail, by a party of the 7th Dragoon Guards. They were convicted before and sentenced by the Nenagh magistrates, to serve on board His Majesty's Fleet. The charge against them was administering and taking the Defender's oath. They were next morning sent off with 10 others to Duncannon Fort.

May 26. Patrick Brien, who was convicted of making Pikes, was whipped through the city. The operators on the occasion were the Farriers and Drummers of the garrison.

May 30. Non-arrival of the Dublin Mail—all the troops called out by order of Brigadier General Morrison, who commanded in the temporary absence of General Duff.

Messrs. Francis Arthur and George Hargrove arrested and lodged in jail. Martial Law proclaimed in the city. Night patroles of Yeomen, Cavalry and Infantry, commenced. The Mail

Important events took place in the City of Limerick during the days of the Earl of Clare, which also witnessed some of the most momentous occurrences in the History of Ireland, including the period from the time of the volunteers to that of 1798 and the Union; a brief but happy and exceptional interval in our history, which has frequently been referred to with just pride as exhibiting a progress and prosperity unexampled in any other country. In the ten years which intervened between the embodiment of the volunteers and the Irish militia, that is, from 1783 to 1793, the external appearance of the city was completely changed by the improvements to which we have already referred; while the internal Government was seriously modified by the exemption of the new streets from the jurisdiction of the Corporation; by the changes which took place in the parliamentary representations, and lastly, by the restoration of Catholics to the elective franchise. Election riots preceded and followed the visit paid to the city by the Duke of Rutland, then Lord Lieutenant, who was as much pleased at his reception as the late Earl of Carlisle in our own day. The building of Newtown-Pery raised Limerick to the position of the third city of Ireland, and the change of the representatives was followed by the embodiment of the yeomanry corps in city and county,

Coach from this city to Dublin stopped near Kildare, and destroyed. General Duff endeavouring to open communication with the metropolis.*

* Owing chiefly to the evil influence of the Earl of Clare, was the fierce and terrible persecution which was sustained by Francis Arthur, a merchant of eminence in the city of Limerick, possessed of considerable estates in land, and houses built by himself, daily improving his native city, and adding to its embellishment; his commercial concerns employing a very considerable capital, requiring credits to the surrounding counties of Limerick, Clare, Tipperary, and Kerry, and making, from this source, a rapid augmentation to his fortune. His character and conduct had procured him a high degree of estimation among his neighbours, and he appeared distinguished by a zealous attachment to the constitution, in the year 1796, when the French forces were in the Shannon, on which occasion he displayed the utmost activity in the service of government, and among other exertions, raised, under the direction of General Smyth, then commanding in Limerick, a corps of yeomanry Artillery, of which the General obtained for him the command, with the rank of Captain. This corps was trained by him with great assiduity, and at considerable expense, till the 15th of May, 1798, when it was disbanded. There were, nevertheless, points in Mr. Arthur's character which clashed too much with the opinions of other individuals not to render him an object of jealousy, and of something stronger, to those persons. The Roman Catholics of Ireland, under the oppressive penal laws formerly enacted against them, and still suffered to continue on the statute books of the kingdom, resolved to appeal to the breast of their Sovereign for redress, confident that His Majesty would, at all times, attend to the grievances of his people, when humbly and dutifully represented. It was, therefore, deemed expedient to call a meeting of the entire body, by its delegates, from every county and town in the kingdom, to assemble in Dublin early in the year 1793. Circular letters were issued by the committee of the city of Dublin, stating the general purport of the intended meeting, the mode of electing delegates, and soliciting the early attention of the several counties and towns, in its execution. The issuing of these letters caused a general outcry against the claims of the Catholics, and gentlemen high in office, influence, and power, exerted themselves in all parts of the kingdom, to intimidate and prevent such meetings being held, or delegates appointed. Notwithstanding which, and the violent resolutions of their Protestant fellow-subjects, the meeting took place in Dublin, and an humble address was agreed to and presented, which induced His Majesty to recommend their case with such gracious efficacy to Parliament, and thereby procured relief to that body from many galling and unnecessary restrictions. Among others, John Fitzgibbon, afterwards Lord High Chancellor of Ireland, and Earl of Clare, became conspicuous in his attendance at a meeting of the magistrates and freeholders of the county of Limerick, called by the High Sheriff, at which meeting resolutions were entered into inimical to the Catholic claims. Mr. Arthur, concurring that his Lordship and the great body of the county would give a patient hearing to such representations as might be urged on the part of the Roman Catholics, and as chairman of that body in the city of Limerick, engaged a counsellor of eminence, a freeholder of the county, Mr. Powell, to plead the cause of the oppressed community. This gentleman, with the spirit and resolution which ever characterized him, though he very well knew the risk he ran, in his professional pursuits, by thus appearing openly in opposition to the measures of the noble Lord, discharged the sacred duty he owed his unfortunate clients highly to his honor. His single opposition, however, availed but little, and the resolutions were carried as proposed, and published

to whom were shortly afterwards committed the important military duties of the garrison. The latter event took place in 1796, about the same time that the Orange Institution, so fatal at all times to the peace and happiness of Ireland, was first recognised as an organised body, though it had originated in September of the preceding year; and been baptised, as might be expected, in blood. This accursed institution, which, though nominally dissolved in 1836, was remodelled and reconstructed in 1845 under legal advice,[1] on the old basis of intolerance and exclusiveness, and is at the moment that we write, not only still existent, but busily employed at its old wicked work, as far as the spirit of the age will tolerate. It soon gave evidence of its use and results, and received such official support from Lord Camden in about two years after its organization, that the whole Catholic population of Ireland was actually menaced with extermination.[2] The spirit, if not the full organization of the Orange system rapidly extended to Munster also, and its deadly effects were soon felt there as elsewhere, though not in the same degree, owing to the preponderance of the Catholic element in the population. The effects of the rebellion of 1798, which burst like a hurricane over the whole country, though its incidence was not felt so severely in Limerick as in many other

[1] Suggested by the legal ingenuity of the Right Honourable Mr. Napier. For an admirable history of this baneful institution, see Madden's introduction to his History of the United Irishmen, fourth series, 2nd edition.

[2] Madden—a copy of the oath by which Orangemen are said to bind themselves to "exterminate the Catholics of Ireland, as far as lies in their power," may be seen in Plowden's "Historical Disquisition on the Orange Societies in Ireland," 1810, page 54, though its authenticity has been disclaimed by several of the Orange party. But if it is not authentic, why did Lord Clare and the secret committee who acted under their directions, question Arthur O'Connor whether Government had anything to do with their oath of extermination? Plowden might have added, as Dr. Madden well observes, that the extermination of 7000 Catholics in Armagh would be impossible if such an obligation did not exist.

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at large in the newspapers of the day. The Roman Catholics, to do away, in some measure, with the odium cast upon them by the county resolutions, felt it necessary to lay a statement of their claims and intentions, in their thus persevering to appoint delegates, contrary to the sense of that meeting, before the public; which statement was signed on the part of the Catholics by Mr. Arthur as chairman, and was published accordingly. This open and avowed conduct of Mr. Arthur drew down upon him the indignation of the Lord Chancellor, who, finding that the Catholics had appointed Mr. Arthur one of their delegates to the general committee of the Catholics of Ireland, to be then shortly holden in the metropolis, was doubly incensed against him, and openly expressed his resentment. Stephen Roche John, Esq., his Lordship's confidential agent, and Sir Christopher Knight, an alderman of the city of Limerick, and a magistrate for the county, represented to Mr. Arthur how far he had incurred the Chancellor's displeasure; that, moreover, his Lordship had heard many things to the prejudice of Mr. Arthur, and they cautioned him to take care, in future, how he conducted himself. To these threats, made so early as the year 1792, Mr. Arthur only replied that his conduct would, at all times, bear the strictest scrutiny, little expecting that a time would come when the administration of all law and justice would be suspended, and when every honest man who had the misfortune to incur the displeasure of a man in power, would be exposed to the most unwarrantable attempts on his life and property. Perhaps, also, much of Mr. Arthur's unmerited persecution might be attributed to his having had the hardihood to propose a respectable banker of the city of Limerick, Thomas Maunsell, Esq., as a proper person to represent that city in Parliament at the general election, in opposition to a coalition (as it appeared to Mr. Arthur) formed by two principal families, for the purpose of reducing his native city of Limerick to the condition of a dependant borough.

A man, therefore, of those independent principles, whose weight and influence on future elections might become formidable to such a coalition, was to be put down, and the time, though not yet arrived, was looked forward to, by the parties concerned, with anxiety. He, however, acknowledges these facts, and the consequences cannot induce him to regret them; because he believed that, in taking those steps, he was fulfilling the duty of an honest man, and his reflection, afterwards, had never shaken this persuasion.

The ill-will excited by this opposition of sentiment to the views of men in power and their retainers, had probably been long increasing in virulence, during the irksome silence which Mr. Arthur's private life and public behaviour imposed on his enemies, till the opportunity occurred

localities, were soon apparent in the usual accompaniments of the avengers of the outraged laws, and not unfrequently on occasions when no law had been outraged. The Orange Institution played an important part in this reign of terror. The new bridge of Limerick like the old bridge of Wexford, was in this respect rendered remarkable, though not equally memorable by scenes which are still remembered with horror by some of the survivors of these atrocities—atrocities which Government might have prevented over the length and breadth of the land had they a will to do so, and had they not been anxious to utilise, if they did not actually create this rebellion for the purpose of carrying the ill-omened Act of Union.[1]

One of the warmest contests for the representation of the city that had taken place up to 1897, signalised that year. The election commenced on the 31st of July in that year, and ended on the 9th of August. The sheriffs were Messrs. Robert Briscoe and Andrew Watson. The candidates were Colonel Charles Vereker, who was proposed by Colonel J. P. Smyth, seconded by Sir Vere Hunt, Bart. Thomas Maunsell, Esq., proposed by Captain Francis Arthur (whose trial and persecution in 1798, we give in the note in the fullest detail) seconded by Alderman William Fitzgerald; Henry Deane Grady, Esq., proposed by Sir Richard Quin, Bart., seconded by Sober Hall, Esq.; Joseph Gabbett, Esq., proposed by Eyre Burton Powell, Esq., seconded by Robert Maunsell, Esq. Colonel Vereker was the

[1] According to Madden and his authorities the rebellion, cost the British Government 70,000 lives (about 50,000 being of the Irish party), and upwards of twenty millions of pounds sterling! The Irish population even then exceeded 4,000,000. In William's three campaigns, which cost about half the money, (see Stowe and O'Callaghan) the Irish population were only 1,500,000, of whom 100,000 were slain, and 300,000 ruined of the Catholic portion of it.

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of blending their personal animosity with the epidemic fury of the times. On Thursday, the 12th of May, 1798, a gentleman observed in Mr. Arthur's presence, how happy it was that the spirit of disaffection, which had shown itself in other parts of the kingdom, had not been discernible, in any instance, in this neighbourhood. Lieut.-Colonel Cockell, assistant adjutant-general of the district, immediately answered, "this is not the case, for on Tuesday next some persons will be taken up, who will astonish the public." Vague surmises of plots and conspiracies were so continually insinuated at this unhappy period, as to have lost the power of exciting the curiosity of any body; and as Lieut.-Colonel Cockele did not seem to allude to any body for whom Mr. Arthur could feel interested, it did not occur to Mr. Arthur to ask any questions on the subject.

On Saturday the 26th of May, Captain Lidwell, who was superintending the flogging of some wretched being at the Market-house in Limerick, turned to the crowd that was collected on the occasion, and proclaimed a reward from one hundred to two hundred guineas, for any person who could inform against the late artillery corps. He then desired a Mr. John Connell to search for arms, adding that some of that (the artillery) corps had advised the inhabitants to secrete them. So direct an imputation on the artillery corps must have expounded Lieutenant-Colonel Cockell's meaning, and have operated as a decisive hint for Mr. Arthur to flee the country had he been conscious of guilt; as it was he regarded it as a shallow artifice to induce him to quit the city and avoid the disgrace of being arrested, when his retreat would have been called an attempt to abscond, and furnished a pretext for the plunder of his property. He treated the matter with contempt, little dreaming that his life would be imperilled. On the following Sunday, the 27th of May, Major-General Duff marched out of Limerick, and Major-General Edward Morrisson remained in command. On Tuesday, the 29th of May, while Mr. Arthur was at breakfast with his family, the Recorder, Mr. George Smyth, entered his house, and expressed a desire to speak to him in another room. No sooner had they withdrawn than the Recorder informed Mr. Arthur that he was arrested then and there, by order of Major-General Morrison. The Recorder produced no warrant; nor could Morrison issue any such order, Martial Law not having been proclaimed at the time, nor had any information been laid or examination taken. The Recorder demanded Mr. Arthur's keys which were delivered up. The Recorder called Mrs. Arthur into the room and compelled her also to deliver up her keys to him. The Recorder immediately told Mrs. Arthur to quit her town house, for it would be forthwith occupied by soldiers. She remonstrated—but in vain—she and her children retreated to the house of her father. The Recorder then sent for Mr. Francis Lloyd, one of the sheriffs of the city, into whose custody he

Tory and Corporation candidate. Mr. Grady was induced to second the views of that party, and permitted himself to be put in nomination accordingly; but, thinking himself free after the election, he made his own terms. Mr. Maunsell was the liberal independent candidate. Mr. Gabbett, who compiled the Digest of the Criminal Law afterwards, and a man of enlightened views, was pu tup, more as a fag than with any real design that his return could be effected —he gave what aid he could to Mr. Maunsell and the independent party. His proposer, Mr. Powell,[1] was a leading and courageous liberal—he was ready at the sword as well as the pen; and in an encounter with Mr. H. D. Grady, high words were followed by a challenge; the parties met and exchanged shots, and there was no cordial reconciliation subsequently. A contest in those times was synonymous with a combat. The election lasted nine days.

The great bulk of the electors consisted of freemen, creatures of the Smyth and Vereker factions, who swamped the honest electors in every effort to break down the scandalous coalition which had so long existed against their liberties. Some of the electors, anxious to stand well with Vereker and Maunsell, and play a double part, divided their votes between both parties—but these instances were rare.

The result was the return of Colonel Vereker and Mr. Grady against the liberal interest, represented by Mr. Maunsell and Mr. Gabbett. Mr.

[1] Father of Caleb Powell, Esq., Clonshavoy, who represented the County for many years on thoroughly independent principles.

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delivered Mr. Arthur without having produced authority or warrant of committal. Brevet Lieutenant-Colonel Garden with officers and a guard of the 54th regiment, then informed Mr. Arthur that he was his (Garden's) prisoner, by order of Major-General Morrison, thus changing the commitment into a military imprisonment, equally illegal. On the arrival of Major-General Morrison, Mr. Arthur informed him that he would hold him personally responsible for a sum of one thousand guineas in specie, besides a quantity of paper, and other valuables which were in the house; and on this intimation Morrison sent for Mrs. Arthur, on the express condition, however, that the seals which he then put on the counting-house and private drawers, (of which he held all the keys) should not be removed. A minute search was then made of the house, cellars, &c., even the vaults were emptied of the fuel by order of Sheriff Lloyd. Nothing having been found, the keys were delivered up to Lieutenant-Colonel Darby of the 54th regiment, then quartered in the garrison. The detention of these keys effectually put a stop to the extensive business in which not only Mr. Arthur was engaged, but in which his father, Mr. Patrick Arthur was a partner. Meanwhile, Morrison with the Mayor, Sheriffs, Constables, and a large body on horse and foot, proceeded to Mr. Arthur's house, bore him off from that to the city Marshalsea prison, in Mary street, where he was confined without commitment or warrant of any sort. Mr. Arthur was imprisoned. He did not apply for a habeas corpus, because he could not obtain it from the governing powers at the time. Mr. Arthur was confined in a narrow front room of the prison, on the third floor; he was denied the use of pen, ink and paper, as well as the sight of any human being but the turnkey; and for further security against his escape, a sentinel was placed opposite his window, with positive orders to fire upon him if he approached it. Humanity might have dictated the cautioning him against subjecting himself to the danger; but no intimation was given to him; and Mr. Arthur, as was natural, did once approach the window, when luckily observing the sentinel cock his musket and present it at him, he retired in time from the danger. That the sentinel was posted merely to intimidate Mr. Arthur and prevent his planning any mode of escape, is the supposition that will present itself to the mind of the reader. But this supposition is removed by the fact that the sentinel, seeing a person come to the next window, which was in another house, (though the uniformity of the building made it appear the same house) mistook him for Mr. Arthur, deliberately *fired* at him and grazed his skull. After this "accident" the front of Mr. Arthur's room was whitewashed, in order to mark where he was—but Mr. Arthur received not the most distant intimation of this precaution or the reason of it. So hot was the weather and insupportable the wretched room in which Mr. Arthur was confined, that he petitioned for air—and one pane of glass was broken in the window, and on a subsequent occasion a second pane. It was on the occasion of a visit of Mr. Patrick Arthur, father of Mr. Francis Arthur, to the prison, in company with Colonel Cockell, that the second pane was permitted to be broken. It was on this occasion too that Mr. Arthur demanded upon what charge or upon whose accusation he was arrested. The reply of Colonel Cockell was:—

"You have been arrested and confined by order of Government; whether you will be tried here

Maunsell had contested the representation in 1794, on the same interest against Mr. Smyth and Lord Glentworth, on which occasion the contest was equally fierce, equally energetic—but the voters was not so numerous on behalf of the liberal candidates. Some powerful broadsides were opened on Lord Glentworth, Mr. Smyth and their supporters.

Old men remember with horror, and shudder when they speak of the terrible events of '98 in Limerick. Full swing was given to the Sheriffs Lloyd and Webb, who made themselves acceptable to their patrons by the worst possible excesses. To be accused was in most instances to be condemned, and the details which will be found below, tell in simple but steady language, for how little justice and mercy these awful times were remarkable. Trade and agriculture were now neglected; famine and famine prices prevailed. At Kilrush in the County of Clare, oats rose to 2s. per stone. The Government had everything its own way; each succeeding day gave strength and power to its minions, whilst the lash and the gibbet were in constant requisition, the shrieks of the victims heard in every quarter; and the roof-tree of many a dwelling was fired by the hands, not only of an infuriated yeomanry, but in many instances of men of rank and station who thus manifested the black feelings with which their hearts were filled. It was after these horrors that Lord Castlereagh and the Earl of Clare, were able to carry the Act of Union, to destroy by that nefarious measure, the independence of a country which had given birth to both of these unmitigated enemies to its prosperity; thus inflicting serious misery on the trade and commerce of Limerick, as well as of all Ireland. By the Act of Union Limerick lost one representative, and the boroughs of Askeaton and Kilmallock were disfranchised.

or in Dublin I know not. The only charge we have yet against you, comes from a man, who has never seen you and does not know you. If you are tried here you may depend on the honour of the present Court Martial." These were ominous words and merit the most marked attention. Mr. Patrick Arthur asked would the assistance of council be allowed if his son were tried in Limerick. "No," answered Colonel Cockell, "that is not customary." That it is and has been customary, however, is notorious.

Nineteen days after the seizure of his effects, namely on the 17th of June, through the pressing solicitations of Mr. Patrick Arthur (as partner with his son in trade), Colonels Darby and Cockell were so far prevailed upon that they gave up certain bills then about becoming due, but they absolutely refused to deliver up the thousand guineas, though the money was imperatively demanded to pay duties and freights of cargoes. Owing to the perseverance of Mr. Patrick Arthur, the house was thoroughly searched, and the vaults, bureaus, drawers, &c. when the keys of the warehouse were given to Mr. P. Arthur; but Colonel Darby retained those of the counting-house, as well as those of the vaults, drawers, &c. In Mr. Arthur's case, the principle of law which regards every man as innocent who is not found guilty, was subverted and ignored. All that could be done was done to persecute and depress him, irrespective of every other consideration. The application of Mrs. Arthur to the General, in order that Mr. Thwaytes, the military surgeon, should attend him, was rejected. The reply to the application was that the General had not heard Mr. Arthur was ill, but he would enquire about it; but there was no enquiry, and Sheriff Lloyd continued his brutality. Seeing some whey brought to Mr. Arthur's prison-door by a servant, Lloyd ferociously called a serjeant to hold the poor servant, while he (Lloyd) beat him, the unoffending man, so brutally that he returned home covered with wounds and blood! Whilst sick in bed on the evening of the 22nd of June, Mr. Arthur received a notice that he would be tried next morning. He got no intimation of the charge. He was brought up to the Council Chamber accordingly on the morning of the 23rd, where the Court Martial, composed as follows, was then sitting:—

Lieutenant-Colonel Darby.....54th Regiment, President.
Lieutenant-Colonel Cockell.....54th Regiment.
Captain Spence.....54th Regiment.
Major Carlisle.....of the Kildare Militia.
Captain Mannel.....of the Perthshire Fencibles.
Lieutenant Donald M'Can.....of the 24th Regiment, Assisting Judge Advocate.

There was no swearing of the members of the Court in presence of the prisoner.

The Judge Advocate preferred the charge in the following terms:—

"Francis Arthur, you stand charged with having aided and assisted in the present rebellion."

The sense of the County and of the City of Limerick, having been declared against a Legislative Union, at meetings constitutionally held by the respective Sheriffs, it would be unnecessary for the individuals of those counties to deprecate a measure that had already been marked with general reprobation.

But a list of signatures having appeared in favour of the proposed Union, it was thought necessary by many of the gentry of city and county, as they themselves stated, to publish their names, and show the world that the sense of those counties had not changed, was not changing, but remained unalterable on the subject—"and we trust and hope" (they continued) "our representatives in Parliament will concur in opinion with us, and will therefore use every exertion in their power to resist such a measure should it again be submitted to Parliament."

The following are some of the names which appeared in this counter declaration against the Union:—

De Vesci.
Massy.
Hon. John Massy, Massy Park.
John Prendergast Smyth, Limerick.
Edward Croker, Ballinegnard.
William Thomas Monsell, M.P.
Hon. Edward Massy, Limerick.
Christopher Tuthill, Faha.
John Wolfe, Forenaughts, M.P.
Standish Grady, Elton.
George Evans, Bulgadeer, M.P.
Thomas Vereker, Limerick.
Wm. H. Armstrong, Mt. Heaton, M.P.
Rev. Thomas Grady, Littleton.
Charles Vereker, Roxborough, M.P.
Ralph Westropp, senior, Rosborough.
Richard Harte, Coolruss.
William Johnson Harte, Do.
Frederick Lloyd, Limerick.
Ralph Westropp, Attyflin.
John Westropp, Attyflin.
Michael Furnell, Ballycahane.
Standish Grady, Grange.
Joseph Gabbett, High Park.
William Gabbett, Prospect.
Thomas Maunsell, Plassy.
Robert Maunsell, Limerick.
Bolton Waller, Bushy Park.
Hon. George Massy, Holly Park.
Hon. George E. Massy, Stagdale.
George Massy, Stagdale.
Richard Taylor, Holly Park.
Hugh Ingoldsby Massy, Rochestown.
Hon. Robert Moore, Dublin.
Richard Maunsell, Quinsborough.
Edmond Browne, Newgrove.
Henry Baylee, Loughgur.
Rev. Thomas Lloyd, Castle Lloyd,
James Cooper, Cooper Hill.
Sir Capel Molyneux, Bart.
Henry Fosbery, Carron.
Francis Fosbery, Curra Bridge.
Thomas F. Maunsell, Ballybrood.
Thomas Roche, Merchant, Limerick.
Henry Bevan, Camas.

(Then follow a large number of names, of less prominent inhabitants of the county and city, in alphabetical order.)

The proof of this was to be made out in three counts. First, offering, although not advancing, money for the use of Lord Edward Fitzgerald, after notice of his rebellious purposes. Second, employing one Higgins to raise men in the west. Third, having pikes and fire-arms concealed in hogsheads. The only witness brought to substantiate the first charge was William Maume, a low person then actually under conviction and sentence of transportation for life to Botany Bay, for treasonable practices. In his progress to Waterford for this purpose, he was stopped by an order of government, and immediately taken into the protection and management of Mr. Thomas Judkin Fitzgerald, sheriff of Tipperary, and Colonel Foster, of the Louth militia. Maume, from his arrival at Limerick, was handsomely maintained and permitted to go at large. His evidence was prevaricating and inconsistent. The two witnesses to the second and third charges, having nothing but heresay evidence to offer, and declaring their utter ignorance of Mr. Arthur, made no impression on the court. The court declared the prosecution closed on Saturday, and ordered the prisoner back to his confinement under a double guard, with orders to prepare for his defence on the Monday; but he was not allowed in the intermediate time to speak or communicate with any human being, not even the turnkey. On Sunday the prisoner was visited by Colonel Cockell, who refused his pressing entreaties for an extension of time, and the means of aid, assistance, or counsel. On the opening of the court on Monday morning, Maume was called in by the president, who, without any suggestion, told the court, that Maume

The descendants of those men so far from blushing for the patriotism of their predecessors, will admit that it was with a certain foresight of what was to come, that their fathers pronounced against the Union, which was fatal to the influence they had enjoyed, as it was ruinous to the best interests of every class and party.[1]

Though enterprise and public spirit were perceptibly checked by the Act of Union, the new town of Limerick continued to increase in size and in importance. Some of the finest stores in Ireland now occupied ground which had been a swamp some few years before: a prince merchant, Philip Roche (John) Esq. had expended in 1787, an enormous sum of money in building the great stores at Mardyke, which to this day are scarcely paralleled in magnitude, &c. in any part of Ireland. When Mr. Roche purchased the ground on which he built these stores, and a range of houses on the south side of Rutland-street, and the south side of Patrick-street, a Catholic was not permitted by the Penal Laws to buy land, and Mr. Roche bought in the name of his friend and relative the Right Rev. Dr. Pery, Protestant Bishop

[1] The Summer of 1799 produced the greatest quantity of white thorn blossoms ever remembered—the hedges were like bleach places covered with linen; the succeeding winter was very severe.

A house for the reception of deserted infants, on Merchants' Quay, was established in 1799, as appeared by a date painted on the figure of a cradle. This institution has long since disappeared.

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was now cooler and would correct his evidence of Saturday. He was called in and prevaricated still deeper. And when a letter written by himself to Mr. Peppard, was produced, acknowledging he had never seen Mr. Arthur in his life, he answered in confusion to the president, "You know, Sir, that it is but lately that I gave information against Mr. Arthur, and that I did not wish to do it." Between the close of the prosecution on Saturday and the opening of the defence on Monday, Mrs. Arthur and her friends procured some material witnesses from Charleville and other places; and ten of his witnesses, all respectable inhabitants of Limerick, had engaged a room in the hotel, adjoining to the court-house, to be at hand to answer the call of the court. The Rev. Avril Hill gave in a paper to the president, and the court declared there was a revolutionary Committee sitting in the adjoining tavern:* on which the Judge Advocate was despatched to take them into custody. Centinels were placed in the front and rear of the house, with orders to let none escape till the breaking up of the court. They seized all the papers and written documents which had been procured for the prisoners, and they were kept by the president Mr. Sheriff Lloyd complained that some other of the prisoner's witnesses were in waiting, and issued orders that all papers and communications relating to the prisoner should be first given into court. All Mr. Arthur's friends were forcibly kept out of court; and with the utmost difficulty, some of the first characters in Limerick prevailed on the sheriff to permit Mr. Arthur's father to be present at the trial of his son. The greatest part of Mr. Arthur's witnesses having been kept out of court, the defence was closed on the same day.

And now we come to the crisis of this most extraordinary and remarkable conspiracy against the life of an unoffending and most respectable citizen. The next witness brought into court was Mr. William Ward.† He was brought forward to corroborate a statement made by the perjured wretch Maum, as to Maum's having purchased certain articles of silver plate, &c. at his shop, on Baal's Bridge, where he then carried on business, in February, 1798, but Mr. Ward like a man of business, entered on the day he sold the articles to Maum, the particulars of the purchases so made; and from the Day Book it appeared that the articles were bought about Christmas, that is, shortly after Twelfth Day, instead of in February, as Maum had distinctly sworn,‡ Nothing could be clearer as to the date, the transaction, &c. &c. Maum had no previous acquaintance with Mr. Ward, but he had a design in making his acquaintance, in order that he might be made available in the corroboration of his testimony afterwards. Mr. Arthur had, among other things, refused peremptorily to subscribe to a fund which was being collected at the time against the war

* Mr. John Tubridy's house in Exchange Lane.

† This gentleman was father of Francis Ward, Esq. T.C. George's-street, Limerick.

‡ I have now before me the leaf of the original Day-book in which the entries of the purchases were made by Mr. William Ward; and this leaf contains, in addition, the marks or braces (⌒) made by the President of the Court Martial, when he read the entries of the articles sold and the day of the month, &c. I am indebted to Mr. Francis Ward for these very interesting particulars, and for an extract from the original leaf which is in his possession. The leaf, no doubt, ought ever to be cherished as a precious heir-loom, of which any family ought to be proud.

of Limerick. Until his death in 1797, Mr. Roche carried on a vast trade with Holland, in rape seed, flax, &c. and he supplied large provision contracts to Government.[1] The old town continued under the tender care of the Corporation, which did its very best to provide for the requirements of its own members, who were regardless of the condition of their peculiar charge, or of any other consideration, except that of alienating the public property, and dividing among themselves the loaves and the fishes. From the year 1757 to 1800, they had made but eight leases, and these were for a term of 999 years :—

		A.	R.	P.		
Ground on the Quay	James Smyth, Esq.	0	1	0	1757	999
Ground adjoining Munchin's Church	Bishop of Limerick				1757	999
Ground on Lock Quay	Francis Russell				1766	999
Ground an acre in extent North of the city	Thomas Norris	9	0	0	1782	983
Ground in Nicholas-street	Thomas Vereker	7	0	0	1800	999
Ground between Mass-lane and Joice's mill, 1r. 14p.	Peter F. Sargent	2	10	0	1769	999
Quarry and parcels of ground near Thomond gate	David Roche	3	0	0	1770	999

[1] These stores are now the property of Thomas Kelly, Esq. of Shannon View, and are rented by the customs as bonding stores. Philip Roche (John) was married to Miss Margaret Kelly, daughter of John Kelly, merchant, who erected the altar of St. Mary's Chapel in 1760. John Kelly's son, Michael, was married to Miss Christina Roche, sister of Philip Roche (John), who was thus the uncle doubly, of John Kelly, Esq. D.L. of Pery Square, Limerick, and of Thomas Kelly, Esq. of Shannon View. Mrs. Frances Mac Namara, sister of these gentlemen, and widow of the late Charles Mac Namara, of Limerick, wine merchant, has erected, at a cost of £1000, the magnificent middle altar of marble in St. John's Cathedral, Limerick. Mr. John Kelly's son, James Kelly, Esq. D.L. of Cahircon, Co. Clare, represented the city of Limerick in parliament, on thoroughly independent principles, and is married to Miss Roche, of Trabolgan, Co. Cork, sister of Edmond Burke Roche, Lord Fermoy, by whom he has a numerous family. George Ryan, Esq. D.L. of Inch House, Co. Tipperary, is grandson of Philip Roche (John); as was also the late Garret Standish Barry, Esq. D.L. of Lemlara House, Co. Cork, who died on the 27th of December, 1864. Francis Grene, Esq. of Dublin, is married to Miss Kelly, daughter of Thomas Kelly, Esq. of Shannon View, by whom he has several children.

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with America or France; he had also made himself remarkable in using his influential position in sustainment of the Catholic claims.—Dean Crosbie was a bitter enemy of his, as were all the members of the dominant party at the time. He was a marked man, but one of the means used by Maum to sacrifice this innocent gentleman was that by which Providence confounded the plot; and to Mr. William Ward's book and accuracy may in the main be attributed the damaging blow inflicted on Maum's evidence and the destruction of the conspiracy. It is proper to observe that Mr. Ward never saw Maum before he came into his shop to make the purchases; in those old times shopkeepers were hospitable, and Mr. Ward asked Maum, who was a fellow of polished address and had been a tutor, in to breakfast—it was early in the morning. Maum at once complied; and after breakfast they walked out to Newcastle to see the troops reviewed; Mr. Ward little dreaming what a villain he was in company with at the moment. The evidence of Mr. Ward was quite clear as to the facts stated, and saved Mr. Authur's life.

There never yet was a fouler, a baser, a more iniquitous conspiracy concocted than that to rob Mr. Arthur not only of property but of life; and the aim would be attained were it not for the accidents referred to in the course of the trial, there can be no doubt whatever. Mr. Ward did his duty well; the confession of Maume showed the diabolical nature of the plot of which he was the instrument. Mr. Hare* acted admirably; the immediate family of Mr. Arthur manifested thorough readiness and the most energetic devotion. An innocent man was saved from the ignominious fate that awaited him at the hands of Mr. Sheriff Lloyd and Mr. Sheriff Webb. Lloyd lived to see a termination of his schemes. Webb was found dead in the gutter one morning, into which he fell and broke his neck the night before, as reeling homeward from a debauch, he missed his footing and stumbled, and was suffocated in the channel, from which there was no sympathising hand to raise him, until the coroner came, and had him brought a black and noisome corpse to his grave. He ate oysters to repletion, washed them down with whiskey punch—it was an awful fate! Lloyd's common language in 1798, to the poor sufferers

* Mr Hare was father of the late Major Hare, uncle of Mathew Hare de Courcey, Esq. Treasurer of the Limerick Corporation.

Colonel Vereker was lord paramount—he did whatever he thought proper with the body of which he was the chief, and which he ruled with a stringent discipline, which did not permit a murmur to escape the lips of any one of his subordinates and creatures, by whom the Common Council of Limerick was composed. In the otherwise generous and admirable traits of character which this gentleman manifested, these spots appear to dim what would be bright and lustrous; but it cannot be denied, that he not only did not form a becoming estimate of his own position, but that he used those under him for his own party and political purposes. However, whilst he resolutely opposed reform, he conjured up a spirit among the citizens at large, which proved its strength in the progress of important events, and caused a change in after years, which struck a fatal blow for ever against not only local monopoly and oppression, but against the irresponsible iniquity of Irish municipalities, from one end to the other of Ireland. In the stand made against the Corporation, the "Free Citizens," of whom we have written so much in a preceding portion of our History, were succeeded by the "Independents," who fought the good fight with manly vigour and success; and who, not confined to one class or persuasion, embraced Catholic and Protestant alike, and gave promise that citizens who differed in religion would co-operate on an equal platform for the attainment of privileges which should be common to all.

who came before him, was—"You shall have singing and dancing enough!!". The singing was the screeches of the victims, as the infernal lash of the drummer tore the flesh from their backs; and the dancing was the dying throes of the victim who swung in the air as he was turned off from the gallows at the then new bridge—now the Mathew Bridge!

The prisoner was remanded, and a sentinel with a drawn bayonet quartered upon him in his narrow cell. His trunks also were taken from him. At nine o'clock on that night, Colonel Cockell brought him the following sentence of the court-martial—"You are to be transported to Botany bay for life, to be sent off to-morrow morning at six o'clock, to pay a fine of £5000 to the king forthwith, or your entire property will be confiscated." When the trial was over Mr. Arthur's witnesses, who had not been examined, were called in and severely rebuked by the president as a revolutionary committee. This Mr. Hare, a permanent serjeant, who had received Maume into his care and management, and who had deposed that Maume had written a certain letter from General Morrison's apartments to Mr. Peppard, which the sheriff declared had saved Mr. Arthur's life, was committed to jail without any charge or warrant, and on the next morning was tried and found guilty by the same court-martial of a breach of trust, in having permitted Maume to write that letter to Mr. Peppard. As Mr. Sheriff Lloyd was conducting Hare to prison, to which he was committed as well as dismissed from the office of permanent serjeant, he told him explicitly, that that severe sentence was not passed upon him for having permitted Maume to write the letter, but because he had appeared too sanguine in favour of the prisoner. Hare justified his obligation of obeying the summons: observing, that "had he not appeared the man would have been hanged." "To be sure he would," was the sheriff's reply, "and had you remained at home, the court would have overlooked it." An application was made by Hare's son, through Lord Matthew, for the liberation of his father; which was acceded to. But Colonel Cockell admonished the young man, that his father's was a serious breach of trust and grievous offence; for the letter he had permitted to be written by Maume had saved Mr. Arthur's life. On the 20th of June Lord Cornwallis arrived in Dublin; and it accidentally happened that a young gentleman of the name of Gorman,* a nephew of Mr. Arthur, lately arrived from London,

* James O'Gorman (who was the fourth son of Daniel O'Gorman and Mary Roche, daughter of Philip Roche of Limerick), was born in the Castle of Bunratty, Co. Clare, in 1681; he lost his property, and went to live in Limerick in 1724, where he married Christina Harold, third daughter of Thomas Harold and Alicia Enraght. He died in 1736. He had three sons and one daughter. His second son Thomas was born in 1724, and went to England in 1747, to claim for his relative Mrs. Margaret Daly Walsh, estates, as heir-at-law to Sheffield Duke of Buckingham, and succeeded in establishing her right. He afterwards established himself as a merchant in London. He died in 1800, and the mercantile house, a somewhat eminent one, was continued under the firm of Gorman, Brothers. He had fourteen children. The period at which he dropped the O' was after he went to London. The names of his sons were Edmond Sexton, Alicuthouse, Thomas Harold, James (Michael Arthur), William, Silvester, Charles, James Denis, Charles, Thadeus, and George. It was James, we believe, that gave evidence for Mr. Arthur. Edmond A. Gorman, Esq. of East Berghall, Suffolk, represents this family.

It cannot be omitted that the state of the old town at this period, was utterly neglected by the Corporation; there were no watchmen to look after the property of the citizens, or to call the hours at night, except a few decrepit old men who were paid a few pence weekly by each shopkeeper. The principal item of intelligence in the local journal for the month of July, 1800, is the existence of a gang of shop-lifters and robbers from Cork, who broke open and carried off several pieces of linen, &c., from shops in Broad-street.[1]

But there were others not in the rank of depredators or spoliators, who at this time made a noise in the old town; and the parish of St. John in particular rang with the echoes of their wild revelry, while they caused their own names and fame to be wedded to verse to the immortal air

[1] In 1801, cocked hats taken away from the grenadier and battalion companies of the several regiments of English infantry, and low felt caps substituted in their room; about the same time the soldier's long clothing disused, and jackets substituted. In 1803, an applotment of £81 1s. 10d. was made on St. Munchin's Parish, the Rev. J. Duddell, rector—this was the proportion of City Rate made on the parish at spring assizes. The applotment is dated May 23rd, 1803.

The population of the City and Liberties of Limerick, as returned by Government in 1802 by Mr. Arthur Tracy, Hearth-money Collector :—

City.	*Parishes.*	*Numbers.*
	St. Munchin ...	2962
	St. Mary ...	9331
	St. Michael's ...	5672
	St. John ...	5961
Abbey ...	... ...	1135
North Liberty	... ...	3718
		28779
	Spittle ...	1808
	Killaloe ...	703
	St. Laurence ...	407
	St. Patrick's ...	1498
	Derrygalvin ...	646

City.	*Parishes.*	*Numbers.*
South Liberty,	Donoughmore ...	1372
	Carrigparson ...	332
	Cahirnarry ...	1276
	Cahirarahy ...	469
	Knocknagaule ...	402
	Mungret ...	2918
	Stradbally	1586
	Kilmurry ...	629
		14,046
		28,779
	Total ...	42,825

being unknown to any of those who had undertaken to keep the court clear of Mr. Arthur's friends, was present at the trial on Saturday. Anticipating the result of the proceedings, he set off for Dublin, where on the next morning he presented a petition to Lord Cornwallis, stating the circumstances, and praying that if sentence should be given against the prisoner, the execution of it might be respited, till his excellency should have revised the minutes of the court-martial. This prayer was granted. It also occasioned a general order from Lord Cornwallis, that in future no sentence of a court-martial should be summarily executed, as was then usual, without the confirmation of the Lord-lieutenant. On Tuesday morning, Mr. Gorman being informed that General Morrison was determined to exact the fine of £5000 from his uncle, waited on him to remonstrate against the manifest infraction of his excellency's commands, to which General Morrison laconically replied, "I have received Lord Castlereagh's letter respecting Mr. Arthur, and shall use my discretion for the contents. I order the money to be paid." Accordingly the collector of his majesty's revenue took a bag from Mr. Arthur's desk, containing 1000 guineas in specie, and compelled his father instantly to make up the remainder. Notwithstanding the remonstrances of General Morrison to Lord Castlereagh's communication of his excellency's remission of the sentence, Lord Cornwallis sent a preremptory order, that Mr. Arthur's fine should be repaid him, and he be allowed to go to Great Britain, or any other part of his majesty's dominions.

Though the order for Mr. Arthur's acquittal and delivery bore date the 30th of June, 1798, yet was he kept in close confinement till the 6th of July, when, for the first time, Mr. Arthur was made acquainted with his excellency's order for the repayment of his fine and his liberation, through Colonel Cockell, by order of General Morrison. Colonel Cockell said to Mr. Arthur, "You must go to your house in a hand-chair, the curtain drawn about you. You are not to stir out of your house, and in twenty-four hours, you are to quit Limerick. Mr. Arthur was called upon to give security for his quitting Limerick within that time. But no such condition having been imposed upon him by his excellency, no one was found competent to take his recognizance. The limitation of time, though not required by his excellency, was again enforced, and Colonel Cockell observed, "half an hour more or less will not be taken notice of." Mr. Arthur set off for Dublin, on the 7th of July, where he remained till October; constantly urging the Lord Lieutenant to reverse the sentence of the Court Martial, and allow him to prosecute

of "Garryowen"[1]—an air which is heard with rapturous emotion by the Limerick man in whatever clime he may be placed, or under whatever circumstances its fond familiar tones may strike upon his ear. Not even the Ranzes des Vaches has so many charms for the Swiss Exile as Garryowen possesses for every individual who claims Limerick as his birth-place or even as his residence. The words to which this air has been wedded contain allusions not only to the state of society as it existed in Garryowen in these days, but to certain local worthies, and principally the late John O'Connell, Esq., the proprietor of the Garryowen Brewery, who was deservedly much esteemed.

THE ORIGINAL SONG OF "GARRYOWEN," WITH TRANSLATIONS INTO LATIN AND GREEK.

[It is due to the translator, Thomas Stanley Tracy, Esq. A.B. Sch. T.C.D. to state that these translations were quite extemporaneous, and were never retouched.]

Let Bacchus' sons be not dismayed,
But join with me each jovial blade;
Come, booze, and sing, and lend your aid
To help with me the chorus:—

Instead of spa we'll drink brown ale,
And pay the reckoning on the nail,
No man for debt shall go to jail
From Garryowen in glory!

[1] Garryowen signifies "John's Garden"—a suburb of Limerick in St. John's parish, in which in these times there was a public garden which the citizens were accustomed to frequent in great numbers. The opening scene of Gerald Griffin's beautiful novel of the "Collegians" is laid in Garryowen, and from this novel Mr. Dion Boucicault has obtained materials for his famous drama of the Colleen Bawn. The "Nail" here mentioned is a sort of low pillar still extant in the Town-Hall, upon which payments used to be made in former times.

Maume for perjury, that he might be in possession of formal and authentic documents to clear and justify his own character. Mr. Cooke and Mr. Taylor, the under secretaries, as well as Lord Castlereagh, threw every difficulty in his way. The evidence of Maume they alleged was notoriously known to be false. He was already sentenced to Botany bay for life, and the necessary delay of prosecuting Maume in a civil court would break in upon Mr. Arthur's wishes to go to England. Government did not, however, scruple in the intermediate time to employ this perjured miscreant to give evidence at Cork against some persons there under military prosecutions. Mr. Arthur was still naturally anxious for every justificative document that he could procure. He pressed to have copies of his excellency's different orders for respiting the sentence of the Court Martial, liberating him, and repaying the fine. He was assured, that all these orders had been verbal! ! ! and that his excellency could do nothing more for him. Mr. Cooke, to put an end to Mr. Arthur's further importunity, wrote him the following letter on the 10th of October, 1798.

Castle, 10th October, 1798.

SIR,—I examined William Maume, whose evidence I am clear is false; he will be sent off and transported, and there cannot be any objection to your going whither you think most eligible. As far as I can give testimony to your character, I shall ever do it by saying that I think it by no means implicated from any thing asserted by Maume; and I certainly never heard any aspersion upon you from any one else. I am, &c. E. COOKE.

To Francis Arthur, Esq.

Maume in the mean while was daily seen walking the streets of Cork. In January, 1799, he advertised his intention of publishing the whole of Mr. Arthur's trial, and all the means used to induce him (Maume) to give false evidence against him. He was instantly arrested, and thenceforth confined to the barracks (though in an officer's apartments) where he was frequently visited by Mr. Judkin Fitzgerald. Thence he was sent on board the Minerva transport, bound for Botany bay. Despairing now of his pardon, and repenting or pretending to repent of his having borne false testimony against Mr. Arthur, he swore to, and signed a full and minute avowal of all the falsities he had given in evidence against Mr. Arthur, in order to criminate him capitally. This was done in the presence of Joseph Salkeld, the master, and Henry Harrison, the mate of the ship Minerva; Thomas Holmes, Esq. late captain of 54th, Kilner Brazier,

We are the boys that take delight in
Smashing the Limerick lamps when lighting,
Through the streets like sporters fighting
And tearing all before us.
Instead, &c.

We'll break windows, we'll break doors,
The watch knock down by threes and fours,
Then let the doctors work their cures,
And tinker up our bruises.
Instead, &c.

We'll beat the bailiffs, out of fun,
We'll make the mayor and sheriffs run ;
We are the boys no man dares dun,
If he regards a whole skin.
Instead, &c.

Esq. late sheriff of Cork, Arthur Arthur and Peter Arthur, Esqrs. merchants of Cork. Mr Arthur's last resort to do himself justice was to obtain the consent of the castle, to publish in the newspapers the letters of Messrs. Cooke and Taylor. This was refused on pretext of the temper of the times. The most inventive novelist could hardly have combined a chain of circumstances peculiarly illustrative of the coercive system, under which Ireland now laboured.

June 2. Communication with Dublin re-established—General Court Martial assembled at the Council Chamber. A man named Grant, charged with taking an oath to be true to the French, and accused of holding the rank of serjeant in the rebel army, was sentenced to receive 600 lashes, 250 of which were inflicted immediately after, opposite the Main Guard, and the remainder postponed until the ensuing Monday, to be then carried into effect, unless he, in the interval, consented to give information, and disclose the names of his confederates.

Mr. Peter O'Keeffe, George Murphy, John Quin, William Crowe, Anthony Hogan, John O'Hogane, William Hanabury, B. Connors, and P. Clancie, all citizens, were arrested. The first named, Mr. Peter O'Keeffe, charged with administering the United Irishmen's oath, was subsequently tried by Court Martial, and acquitted.

Messrs. Joseph O'Loughlin and John Fitzgerald were brought in from Rathkeale, escorted by George Leake, Esq., and a party of the Lower Connelloe cavalry, charged with using traitorous language, and being sworn United Irishmen.

June 4. £200 was subscribed by the citizens, for the wives and children of the soldiers who went in pursuit of the United Irishmen at Kildare.

John Hayes, of Bilboa, committed, charged with being an United Irishman, and attempting to shoot John Lloyd, Esq., C.P. for the county.

June 6. Michael M'Swiney, charged with being a serjeant in the United Irishmen, was sentenced to 600 lashes. After having received 100 at the Main Guard, he requested to be taken down, promising to make some useful disclosures, whereupon the remainder of his sentence was remitted.

Matthew Kennedy, charged with taking arms from the house of John Evans, of Ashroe, was executed on the new bridge, and his body buried in the yard of the intended new jail.

John Moore, convicted of being a rebel captain, was hanged on the new bridge, and buried in the jail yard.

Owen Ryan, convicted of being a sworn rebel, was sentenced to receive 500 lashes, and to be sent to serve in the West Indies for life. He received 300 lashes on the new bridge.

The following notice was issued by Major-General Morrison :—"All Public Houses and Liquor Shops to be closed from 8, p.m. until 6, a.m. All peaceable and well-disposed persons are earnestly requested not to appear in the streets after dark. The Magistrates of the City and County, and of Clare, Kerry, and Tipperary, are hereby authorized to tender the Oath of Allegiance to such people as by their industry and labour, by carrying provisions into the towns, and by confessions and information shall show repentance of their former ill conduct, and that they are, by their good behaviour, contributing to the peace and happiness of the country."

Persons are hourly brought in from the country, charged with aiding and abetting rebellion. The Doonas Cavalry brought in Francis Macnamara, Esq., of Ardclooney, near O'Brien's Bridge, charged with holding a captain's commission in the ranks of the disaffected. Major Purdon's corps brought in 20 from Killaloe, one of whom was a Colonel M'Cormick—also a quantity of captured pike-heads. Captain Studdert's corps from Kilkishen escorted three defenders, with their pikes hung round their bodies.

June 13. Andrew Ryan, Patrick Carroll, Michael Callinan, and — Sheehy, charged with having pikes in their possession, were whipped by the drummers of the Garrison.

Letter from Lieut.-Colonel Gough, of the City Militia, dated Edenderry, June 7th :—

"I take the earliest opportunity of informing you that General Champaigne ordered me to march at 11 o'clock last night with 100 of our regiment, and 60 cavalry, to attack a rebel camp

Our hearts so stout have got us fame,
For soon 'tis known from whence we came;
Where'er we go they dread the name
Of Garryowen in glory.
Instead, &c.

Johnny Connell's tall and straight;
And in his limbs he is complete;
He'll pitch a bar of any weight
From Garryowen to Thomond-gate.
Instead, &c.

Garryowen is gone to wreck
Since Johnny Connell went to Cork;
Though Harry O'Brien leapt over the dock
In spite of judge and jury.
Instead, &c.

within six miles of this town. At five o'clock in the morning we arrived there, and found the rebels posted behind an amazing strong quickset ditch, and a bog in their rere. I ordered a troop of cavalry to get round them on the right, and so to be between them and the bog, which they could not effect, the country being so much enclosed. In the mean time the Infantry attempted getting round the flank of their camp, which they were so lucky as to effect, though they had to get over ditches strongly barricaded with strong stakes interwound with white thorns. The moment we entered the Rebel Camp they ran to the bog, to the number of 3 or 400, where they found we directly advanced, upon which they fired a general volley at us, accompanied with a loud huzza, and began to retreat. Finding that they would not stand, I ordered a general discharge, with such effect that they set running like furies; we pursued them across the bog to an island on which they had a post; this they abandoned on our getting near it; we still pursued until we got near the dry ground at the other side of the bog, where I knew General Champaigne and Colonel Vereker had taken a position, with a strong body of our detachment. Unfortunately some houses were set on fire there, which caused the Rebels to change their course into the great Bog of Allen; had it not been for that event every one of them must have either surrendered or been cut to pieces. In our pursuit of five miles we found ten dead, but am convinced numbers more were lying in the long heaths; for the first two miles they fired many shots, all which went over us.

"It was surprizing to see how regular they had their outposts. Four miles from their camp we fell in with an advanced sentinel, capitally mounted and armed; on his attempting to join the rebels he was shot. We then fell in with their advanced Piquet, who received so warm a reception, that they scampered off with the loss of their arms and some horses.

"We found in their camp 48 fat sheep, 20 cows and horses, which I am going to cant for the benefit of our men, who are also returned loaded with great coats, blankets, shoes, pikes, &c.

"Nothing could equal the ardour of our Limerick lads; they would have burned down every house, and killed every man they met, had I not restrained them; they are the most desperate fellows I believe on earth, and I am sure loyal; not a man received the slightest wound."

Letter next morning received by Lieut.-Col. Gough, from General Champaigne:—

"*Dublin, June 7*, 1798.

SIR,—I am this moment favoured with your report of the affair of Tuesday morning, for which I return you many thanks. I have not only acquainted the Commander-in-Chief, but the Lord Lieutenant, of your conduct and success, of which I was an eye-witness, and your not having lost a man in the action was a proof that your disposition of action was not only planned with judgment, but conducted with spirit. I am, with great esteem,

Your obedient humble servant,

Lieut.-Col. Gough, City Limerick Militia. T. CHAMPAIGNE.

Thomas M'Swiney, for being a sworn officer of the Defenders, was hanged on the new bridge, and his body buried in the jail yard. David Touhy and Michael Dunigan received 100 lashes each; a man named Ryan 600 lashes—afterwards transported; David Carroll 200 lashes, and transported. Those punishments were inflicted in the yard of the new jail.

June 16. Francis Macnamara, Esq., of Ardclooney, was tried and acquitted. The only prosecutor was a man named M'Swiney, who had been flogged for being a serjeant in the rebel force.

June 20. The Mayor ordered that the names of all male inhabitants of houses in the city whose ages exceed 14, should be posted on a conspicuous part of the ground floor. All persons neglecting to comply to be reported to the Court Martial.

The following sentences were this day passed:—

Daniel Hayes, to receive 800 lashes, and be transported for life.

John Collins, 100 lashes, and transportation.

CARMEN GARRYOWENIENSE.

O Baccheidæ impavidi,
Adsitis compotanti mi!
Ut decet vos fortissimi,
Ad pulchre concinendum.
Chorus—Cervisiam fuscam pro aqua bibamus;
Symbolam promptam illico damus,
Absit ut nexi in vincla eamus
Ex Garryowen insigni!

Juvenes sumus qui talia curent—
Frangere lychnos dum splendida urunt
Et Limericenses in platois jurant.
Nos cunctos depugnare!

Fenetris domorum et foribus cæsis,
Et ternis quaternis vigilibus læsis,
Signa inspiciat medicus necis
Et illinantur vulnera!

James Kelly, same punishment.
Richard Kelly, 600 lashes, and transportation.
Thomas Frost, transportation for life.
William Walsh, sentenced to death, respited, and transported.
John Moyuene, transportation for life.
Mr. Bartholomew Clancy, merchant, and Mr. Patrick O'Connor, attorney, tried and acquitted.

June 28. The Mayor issued a proclamation against the lighting of bonfires on John's Eve.

Trial of Francis Arthur, Esq., commenced.

Sentences:—

Francis Arthur, Esq., transportation for life to Botany Bay, and a fine of £5,000.

Mr. Joseph Anderson, prevarication in his evidence on Mr. Arthur's trial, pilloried opposite the Exchange.

June 27th.—Thomas Kennedy (brother of Patrick Kennedy hanged on the 4th instant) convicted of taking arms, was removed to Down, under escort of the Royal Limerick Cavalry, and hanged in pursuance of a sentence of a Court-martial.

June 28th.—Dr. Robert Ross, and Mr. George Hargrove, were tried by Court-martial, and liberated by giving bail in £500 each to appear when called on, and to keep the peace for 7 years.

Patrick O'Neill, a most active rebel, convicted of swearing several persons to assist the French when they landed, was sentenced to be hanged and beheaded in the neighbourhood from whence he came. He was conveyed to Askeaton and his sentence there executed.

July 4th.—Extract of a letter received from an officer of the City Limerick Militia stationed in Edendorry:—

July 1st, 1798.

I am just returned in after giving the rebels a good drubbing. I marched against 300 of them with 60 men (infantry); I sent some cavalry to surround the hill where they were posted, but the moment I appeared they fled, keeping up a hot fire on us in every direction; however, we routed and drove them to the cavalry who gave them a warm reception. I am certain upwards of 300 of them were killed. There was a Priest and a Captain Casey at their head, who were both killed; the latter being this townsman we brought him back where he now remains hanging.

Sentences passed by the General Court-Martial—William Ryan Stephen taking arms, and swearing people, to be hanged at Caherconlish, his body to be brought back and thrown into Croppies' Hole in the New Jail.

Messrs. John O'Hogan, William Crowe, M'Knight, Andrew Kenny, M. Considine, to give bail for their good behaviour.

Patrick Wallis, for collecting subscriptions for procuring the assassination of Chas. S. Oliver, Esq. to be hanged at Kilfinan, his head to be affixed on one of his own pikes, and placed on the Castle.

July 7th.—Sir Vere Hunt, Bart. received, in the most gracious and flattering manner, authority from His Royal Highness the Duke of York to raise a regiment of 600 men, with right to appoint his own officers.

Twenty prisoners under sentence removed from Jail to Duncannon Fort.

By order of General Morrison, John M'Daniel, Martin Sweeny, Thomas M'Knight, Theobald Burey, Matthew Dea, Daniel Cotton, Edmond Sheehy, and James Grant were discharged from prison.

Ludentes pulsabimus omnem lictorem,
Prætorem urbanum et genus horum—
Nequis efflagitet æs debitorem,
In Garryowen insigni.

Virtus nostra famam quærit—
Unde venimus nemo hæret—
Quum nomen tuum terrorem ferat,
O Garryowen insignis!

Johannes O'Connell procerus et fortis
Cujusvis oneris sudibus tortis,
Ex Garryowen ad Thomondi portas
Projiciet insignis!

Sed Garryowen sublabi sivit,
Ex quo Johannes Corkagian ivit—
Et Harry O'Brien ex vinclis salivit,
Coram Judice et juratore.

Mr. Francis Arthur was liberated by the Lord Lieutenant, upon condition of giving £500 security that he shall remove himself into Great Britain, or any other part at peace with his Majesty, until he shall be licensed to return to Ireland on the expiration of the present troubles.

At a meeting of the Subscribers to the Royal Coffee House, notice being duly given, it was unanimously resolved—That Francis Arthur, lately convicted before a Court-martial, of aiding and assisting in the present rebellion, be expelled this House, and that the waiter be ordered to erase his name from the list of Subscribers to said House. Signed by order,

MAURICE CROSBIE, *Chairman.*

July 14th.—George Fitzgerald, who gave evidence against Thomas Kennedy, executed at Doon, was murdered on the mountains near Bilboa.

The Mayor, Sheriffs, and Corporation passed votes of thanks to Generals Duff and Morrison, and voted them the freedom of the city. They also passed a vote of thanks to Lieut.-Colonel Darby, and the Officers composing the Court-martials, for their temperate and decided conduct, wisdom and justice.

August 1st.—Two gentlemen, named Orpen, from the County of Kerry, were brought in and lodged in the gaol, to await their trial by Court Martial.

Thomas Lyons and Peter Coghlan, privates of the Kildare Militia, were tried by Court Martial, and convicted and sentenced to be shot. Thomas Lyons was marched by his own regiment to the King's island, where he was shot by 8 men selected for that purpose. Being a Catholic, he was attended by the Rev. Mr. M'Grath; after the execution, the troops marched in slow time past the body, which was afterwards interred in the Fort of the island.

August 6th.—Court Martial assembled at the Council Chamber, for the trial of Horatio Townshend Orpen and Richard Orpen, Esqrs., of the County of Kerry, charged with aiding and assisting in the Rebellion. The following members composed the tribunal—Col. Foster, Louth Militia, President; Lieutenant-Col. Gardon, 54th Regiment; Major Carlisle, Kildare Militia; Major Sirle, Perth Highland Fencibles; Captain Crawford, Royal Irish Artillery; Captain Gibson, 54th Regiment; Captain Spence, Do.; Captain Frederick, Do.; Captains Filgate and Faircloth, Louth Militia; Captain Monsell, 2nd Fencible Cavalry; Captains Compton and Manuel, Perth Highland Fencibles.

Counsel for the prosecution—H. D. Grady, Casey, and Going; Agent, Meredyth Monsell, Esq.

Counsel for the prisoners—Messrs. Hartwell, Keller, John Dickson, and Stephen Dickson. Agent, Henry Hassett, Esq.

At the close of the prosecution, the Court adjourned; at its re-assembling, the Messrs. Orpen entered upon their defence, after which, they were pronounced not guilty, and liberated.

At a meeting of the Croom Cavalry, held at Castle Connell, on the 26th of July, G. Croker, Esq., in the Chair, thanks were voted to Major-General Sir James Duff, &c.

August, 1798—Complaints were constant during those times of the non-arrival at regular periods of the mail coach from Dublin.

September 1st.—Accounts reached Limerick this day, that a report to the effect that the City Militia were in action at Castlebar on the 27th of August, was untrue. They were on that day at Carrick-on-Shannon, en route to join General Lake. Lant. Hill, Esq., of Limerick, who had been on a visit to Killala, and taken prisoner by the French on their landing, was liberated on parole. The French were at Castlebar up to 3rd of September and afterwards; their cavalry were picketed at Lord Lucan's Lawn.

September 12th.—On this day letters were received from the city, stating that on the 5th

ΟΔΕ ΓΑΡΡΙΩΝΙΑ.

Τον Βακχου υιον ου τρεσᾶς
Συνελθη εις γενναδας,
Πινειν τ' ἀδειν ὑπουζγεσας
Εμοι συμφωνεοντι.

Αντι σιδηρου ὑδατος
Πιουμεθα πυρρου ζιθεος,
Τοις δυϋβολοις αξιχρεος—
Εκ Γαρριωεν περικλυτου.

Ουδεις ες δεσμοτηρια
Πορευσεται χρεων ηνεκα
Του πουρωων ὁστις χαιρεται
Τας καμπαδας συρρηξαι.

Τον Λιμερικον ἀμαξιτον,
Τὰς ὁδους συρρεμβομενων,
Παιζοντες ὡς μαχουμενων,
Και παντα αραξαντων.

Τας Θυριδας ηδε Θυρας
Σιρρεξομην και φυλακας
Βαλουμεν ανα τεσσαρας,
Ἑαυτοις δοντες τραυμάτα.

instant Colonel Vereker having received information of about 300 rebels intending to plunder the small village of Colooney, five miles from Sligo, where he was quartered, marched with part of his regiment to disperse them, but on his arrival had found that the entire of the French force had come up during his march—the conflict was maintained by the Limerick Regiment with great courage and obstinacy for two hours, when, at last, as may be expected, they were obliged to retreat back to Sligo, with loss of some prisoners and very few killed or wounded; the loss on the part of the French exceeded 200 killed.

Fatal duel between Mr. Robert Rodger, merchant, and Lieut. Levingston, Perth Highland Foncibles. They met on the Roxborough road, both fired together; the ball from Mr. R's pistol entered his antagonist's right hip, of which he languished for some days and then died; both were natives of Scotland, and up to the time of the dispute were intimate friends.

Ensign Thomas Rumley, City Limerick Militia, died of wounds received in the engagement with the French.

General Sir James Duff sent official notice to Captain Commandant Johnstone, "that wishing to release the Yeomanry of this city from any unnecessary duty, thought himself justified, in the present state of the country, to discontinue the permanent pay and duty of the corps under his command from this day.

The following question was put to Oliver Bond, Esq., upon his examination before the Secret Committee of the House of Lords—

Was there any person sent from Dublin to organize the south?

Reply—There was last winter, and I understand he had made considerable progress in Limerick, and other places.

The following is the list of the vessels of war stationed on the coast at this period for its defence

At Cork.		Between Cork & Cape Clear.		On passage from Plymouth to join.	
Saturn,	74	Glenmore,	36		
Triumph,	74	Shannon,	32	Ramilies,	74
Lancaster,	64	Cerberus,	38	La Revolutionaire,	44
Polypheimus,	64	Diana,	32	Dryad,	36
		Unicorn,	32	Hazard,	16

October 2nd.

On opening the Commissions for the City, Judge Day alluded in the following laudatory terms to the City Militia—"The City of Limerick Militia, whose intrepid courage at the battle of Colooney was the admirations of Great Britain and Ireland, and stamped *indelible honour* on their Commander, Colonel Vereker, whose *little band of Heroes* following his example, first arrested the career of the French Invaders."

October 8th.—The following ships of war arrived in Carrigaholt, Cæsar 80; Terrible 74; Superb 74; Melpomene 44; Naid 38.

Ῥαϐδουχοις δε εμπαιζων πας
Επαρχον ηδε πραχτορας,
Διωξει,—ουδ' εστ' ὡς ἡμας
Απαιτεσει τα χρεατα.

Ενδοξοι καλοις καρδιαις,
Ταχ ὀδεν ηκομην οιδας;
Τω ονομα τρεσει δε πας
Του Γαρριωεν περικλυτου.

Ιωαννεσ Ο'Κοννελλος
Μεγας ορθος τε εσπι ος
Ριψει βαρυτατον βελος
Εκ Γαρριωεν Θομονδε.

Ολωλε Γαρριωεν δε ὁτ'
Ο'Κοννελλος Κορκονδε ποτ'
Προσηκη,—τον δεσμον δε τοτ'
Δικαστων αεκητι.

Ἐνρειος κρει μεν Ο'Βριονος,
Εξεφυγ' εξαλλομενος—
Ω ζιθος αντι ὑδατος,
Εν Γαρριωεν περικλυτο!

The Corporation of Dublin voted to Colonel Vereker the Freedom of the City for his conduct at Colooney,* and deprived Henry Grattan and Henry Jackson, Esqrs., of same for supposed connexion with the rebellion.

November 1st.—A fearful hurricane swept over this city and the neighbouring counties. Several houses were unroofed and many altogether prostrated. Trees of great age and immense size were torn up from their roots, or shivered to pieces.

November 7th.—All the Yeomanry of Clare have been put off permanent duty.

The Hessian Troops arrived are a fine body of men, and consist of Cavalry and Infantry. The dress of the Infantry is green jackets, light blue pantaloons, a very high cap shaped like a turban with a feather on the top, and exclusive of bayonets are all supplied with daggers or short swords. The uniform of the Cavalry is nearly the same, but much more superb; instead of blue they have red cloth pantaloons, with half boots and spurs screwed to them, elegant swords and carbines, the latter very short and rifle barrels. They have all a most wicked appearance, the hair on the upper lip being two or three inches long, which is never shaved.

* The Right Honourable Charles Vereker, afterwards second Viscount Gort, was the son of Thomas Vereker of Roxborough, by Julia, daughter of Thomas Smyth, for forty-five years one of the representatives of Limerick in the Irish Parliament, and grand-daughter of Sir Thomas Prendergast, the last Baronet of his illustrious line. He was born in the year 1768, in the old Mayoralty house in Limerick, his father being at the time Mayor of that city. At the age of fourteen, he was entered as a midshipman in H. M. S. Alexander of 74 guns, then under the command of the late Lord Longford. A short time after he had joined his vessel (in 1782), he was ordered to sail for the Mediterranean, to form one of the fleet under the command of Lord Howe. The fleet was destined for the relief of Gibraltar, from that siege, which the heroic defence of General Elliott has engraven for ever on the page of history. The combined French and Spanish fleet were at this time cruising off Gibraltar, in order to prevent any succour from without reaching the straightened garrison. Three of the British vessels, laden with provisions, contrived to elude the vigilance of the enemy, and to steal unperceived into the bay. Among these was the Alexander, and it is recorded, that foremost in the service of danger, attending the disembarkation of the stores, and indeed the first person, in the first boat's crew to leap ashore, was young Vereker.* The ships having effected their purpose, again put to sea, and a sharp action ensued between the hostile fleets. Here the courage of the young midshipman was again conspicuous, and won for him the public acknowledgments of Lord Longford.† The fleet returned after these successful operations to St. Helen's, on the 15th November, 1782. Peace preliminaries were signed on the 30th of the same month, and the force of the navy being largely reduced, young Vereker retired from the service, and accepted a commission in the 1st Royals; which regiment he left on coming of age, in the year 1789, being then a

* Dublin University Magazine, vol. xix., p. 336. † Ibid.

I have been favored with another version of this favorite song, written in 1811 by a soldier, a Limerick man, serving at the time with the army in Portugal:—

GARRYOWEN.[1]

Written in Portugal, April, 1811.

Let am'rous poets chaunt soft lays,
Who bask in Love's meridian rays,
I sing the soul-enliv'ning praise
Of Garryowen a Gloria.
A theme so bold it well may fire
The heart and hand that guide the lyre,
And every gallant son inspire
Of Garryowen a Gloria.

Old Garryowen, so high renowned,
Whose sons with vict'ry's laurels crowned,
Have always made the fame resound
Of Garryowen a Gloria.
In days of yore once proudly stood
The bulwark of the public good,
Till treach'ry, under friendship's hood,
Sold Garryowen a Gloria.

[1] I received those lines from the late lamented Eugene O'Curry, Esq., M.R.I.A., in July, 1862, shortly before his death.

Lieutenant, and having thoroughly mastered the details of the military profession. Shortly after the Irish Militia was embodied, he was appointed Lieutenant-Colonel, and in 1797, Colonel of the city of Limerick Militia; and in 1790, he was elected M.P. for the city of Limerick.

During the unfortunate period of the rebellion, which distracted this country, Colonel Vereker, with the rank of Brigadier-General, commanded the British forces in various disturbed districts. When the Government became alarmed at the prospect of a French invasion, which private information assigned as intended for the western coast of Ireland, Colonel Vereker and the Limerick Militia were ordered to move from Athlone to Carrick-on-Shannon, and ultimately were sent to Sligo, next to Castlebar one of the most important strategetical positions in the neighbourhood of the landing. This selection was made, not only in consequence of the confidence the Government placed in the skill, activity, and courage of their Colonel; but in a great measure also, on account of the well known loyalty, excellent discipline, and manly bearing of the fine regiment he commanded. The prudence of the Government was justified by the event. The French force under General Humbert, effected a successful embarkation at Killala bay, in the month of August, 1798, and being joined by thousands of the disaffected, they promptly marched upon Castlebar. The whole country was at once plunged into terror. The English had not yet crossed bayonets with the French, nor taught them in terrible lessons that they were not invincible. Their name was clothed with terror. Europe had beheld every day, mighty armies on her continent scattered in dismay by a vastly inferior force of French troops. Everywhere victory accompanied her banners, and so uniformly successful had she been, that her officers and soldiers alike, came to look at a resistance to her arms as an absurdity, and at defeat as a simple impossibility. It is necessary to keep these things in view, in order to understand correctly the subsequent events that occurred.

As soon as the landing of the French was known, Major-General Hutchinson, who commanded in the Province of Connaught, and who, with Major-General French was in Galway, moved towards the Counties of Mayo and Sligo. The troops which he eventually led to reinforce the garrison of Castlebar, constituted an imposing force, and comprised the Kerry Militia, a detachment of the Fraser Fencibles, the Kilkenny Militia, the Longford Militia, a detachment of Lord Roden's Fencible Dragoons, or Fox-hunters as they were called, and four six pounders, with a howitzer.* The garrison of Castlebar, previous to receiving these important reinforcements, had consisted of the skeleton of the 6th Regiment of foot, a subaltern detachment of the Prince of Wales' Fencibles, a small corps of Galway Yeomanry, Infantry and Cavalry, consisting of the 1st Fencibles, a large body of the 6th Dragoon Guards, (Carbineers), and some Yeomanry Cavalry, with a company of the Royal Irish Artillery. The Earls of Ormond, Longford and Granard,

* Musgrave's History of Rebellion. 2nd Ed., p. 591.

In vain were William's red-hot balls
Directed 'gainst her Royal Halls,
Her warlike sons were Iron Walls
Round Garryowen a Gloria.
And though betrayed by traitors vile,
She sunk to Royal William's smile,
Revived the Phœnix of our Isle
In Garryowen a Gloria.

Deep graven in Historic page,
Tradition hands from age to age,
In mem'ry of Forefathers sage,
In Garryowen a Gloria.
Who yielded not to England's lord,
Till he had signed the Great Reward,
The glorious treaty, Sarsfield's Guard,
In Garryowen a Gloria.

were also present with their respective Regiments. Undeterred by this formidable force, General Humbert at once attacked Castlebar, although he had but nine hundred bayonets under his command, and some thousands of the insurgents. It is not within the scope of this work to give a detailed account of the disgraceful defeat of the British troops, by this small French force—a defeat so signal and complete as to have obtained the appellation of "the races of Castlebar."

But it is important, in duly estimating the gallant conduct of the Limerick regiment at Colooney, to bear in remembrance the bad example shown them by a vastly superior force, consisting in a great measure of regular troops, fully armed and well supplied with every requisite. So complete was the defeat at Castlebar, that "although no attempt to follow them was made, a panic seemed still to operate on the troops, who retreated so quickly, as to reach the town of Tuam, thirty miles from the scene of action, on the night of the same day, and renewing their march they retired still further towards Athlone, where an officer of Carbineers with sixty of his men arrived at one o'clock on Tuesday, the 29th, having performed a march of 63 miles, the distance between Athlone and Castlebar, in twenty-seven hours."* Hence the name, "the races of Castlebar"—The Carbineers were shortly afterwards disbanded. The Artillery taken in this disgraceful defeat consisted of 14 pieces, of which four were curricle *guns*. "It is almost impossible," says Maxwell, "to conceive anything more disgraceful and unaccountable than the defeat of the Royalist army at Castlebar. The spirit of the troops was excellent, and with a superior Cavalry and Artillery—the latter particularly well served—the contest should not have lasted ten minutes. But Humbert's estimate of the British commanding officers will give a key to the secret of their defeat—"I met," he said, when asked to give up his sword to the Marquis of Cornwallis, "I met many generals in Ireland, but the only soldier among them was Colonel Vereker."†

An authentic letter was received from Dublin, mentioning that the General-in-Chief of the French Army (Humbert) made public mention of the gallantry of the City Limerick Militia Regiment.

Extract of a letter from Major-General Nugent, to Colonel Vereker, Limerick City Regiment:—

Enniskillen, September 9th, 1798.

"I am extremely happy to find, on enquiry, that although the City of Limerick Regiment has suffered much, in the action which they sustained with the French Force at Colooney, the officers are in general likely to recover from their wounds.

I congratulate you upon the gallantry manifested by the whole corps upon the occasion, and beg my best compliments may be presented to Lieut.-Col. Gough and all the officers."

Return of officers killed and wounded of the Limerick City Regiment at Colooney, on Wednesday, September 5th, 1798.

Ensign Rumley, shot through the body—dead. Captain Crips, (severely wounded), shot through neck and jaws.

Slightly wounded—Colonel Vereker, Lieut.-Col. Gough, Major Ormsby, Captain Nash, Ensign Bindon.

Return of privates killed, wounded and missing.

Killed—John Wallace, Edward M'Mahon.‡

Missing—Timothy Sullivan.

Badly wounded—Corporal Kain.

* Maxwell's History Rebellion, 6th Ed. p. 235. † Maxwell, 236.

‡ This man afterwards returned to Limerick, not having been as reported killed, but taken prisoner by the French.

Now o'er the once embattled plains
Bright Commerce holds her goodly reign,
'Midst rising Fabrics—Granny's vain
Of Garryowen a Gloria.
High raised her wealth—high raised her fame,
Wide o'er the world extends her name,
And rival cities see with shame
New Garryowen a Gloria.

Not marked alone for lists and arms,
And souls whom kindness ever warms,
Who has not heard how beauty charms
In Garryowen a Gloria.
Soft as the native gloves they wear,
Her daughters every heart ensnare,
Circassia's self won't stand compare
With Garryowen a Gloria.

Slightly wounded—John Hickey, Patrick Hynes, Michael Harrison, Jeremiah Leahy, James Sullivan, Patrick Nelson, Denis Godfrey, Nicholas Purcell, Timothy Bryan, Corporal Mahony.

Copy of a letter from a Sligo gentleman, describing the action at Colooney:—

"As I find there has not an accurate account of the action at Colooney, so honourable to the Limerick City Regiment, come to your hands, I take this opportunity of describing it to you.

On the 5th of September, Colonel Vereker, who commanded here, received information that part of the French and Rebel army, had advanced to Colooney, and purposed attacking this town that night in two columns; considering it would be advisable to dispossess them immediately from that post, he ordered Captain Vincent and 100 men, as an advanced guard, to march and watch their motions, while he moved on with 20 of the 24th Dragoons, 30 Yeomen Cavalry, 250 Limerick City Militia, 20 Essex Fencibles, and 30 Yeomen Infantry. On the advanced guard coming near the enemy, they sustained a smart fire which checked them a little, when Colonel Vereker ordered Captain Waller and the Limerick Light Company to advance and support them, whilst he formed his line and arranged his plan of attack upon the main body, which duty Captain Waller executed with great steadiness. On his line being formed, he ordered Major Ormsby and one company to take post on a hill which covered his right, and prevent the enemy from turning that flank, whilst the Colonel advanced on the right of the line with two curricle guns. Lieut.-Col. Gough was ordered to the charge of the left. In a few minutes the whole came into action, and supported on both sides an unremitting fire of musketry and grape shot for near an hour and a half—never was a more obstinate contest—at last superior numbers prevailed. Major Ormsby's detachment was obliged to retreat from the hill, and that post being given up, the enemy began to press round in numbers to the rere of the line.

A retreat was then absolutely necessary to save those gallant fellows, who even then maintained their post, although their ammunition was nearly expended; never did any man show greater gallantry and coolness than Colonel Vereker at this trying moment; he never quitted his post whilst a man could stand by him, and when his artillery horses were so badly wounded, that they could not bring away his guns, he attempted to have them brought off with ropes, and not until nearly surrounded on all sides did he leave them. The gallant and steady manner the officers and soldiers resisted the attack of the united French and rebel army of above 4000 men, strongly posted, with nine field pieces, reflects the greatest honour on them, and has saved this town from ruin. The entire loss on the side of the king's troops, was 6 killed and 21 wounded. The enemy had above 50 killed and wounded; many of the latter have since died in hospital here. The French fought with great bravery, and acted with humanity to the wounded officers and men who fell into their hands.

It is singular that the three field-officers of the Limerick City Regiment were slightly wounded. Even the French General allows he never met a more gallant resistance, or a better served fire than from the Limerick Regiment that day.

It would be impossible to describe the universal dismay produced by "The Races of Castlebar." The loyal were paralysed, the disloyal were filled with hope and courage, and the waverers or indifferent were inclined to side with the strong. Meanwhile, the number of the French was exaggerated, and those invincible arms which had swept their enemies on the Continent before them as sheep, appeared destined speedily to expel the British from the island, and to establish an Irish Republic under the protection of France. Flushed with success, Humbert determined to march to the North, to join another body of French troops, whose landing on the coast of Donegal was daily expected, and with that object in view he proceeded towards Sligo. Every hour that passed and every mile he marched he received new accessions of strength, whilst the Royalists were proportionably depressed and weakened. Sligo was at the time occupied by a

O Garryowen, my native home,
Though parting seas between us foam,
My heart's with thee while far I roam,
Fair Garryowen a Gloria.
Oh may thy Commerce prosperous thrive,
And glorious freedom long be thine,
May Erin's boast be richest Mine
In Garryowen a Gloria. T. R. W.

[I think *na* gloria, the genitive case of the Irish article, should be read instead of *a* gloria in these verses.]

force of about 600 men, who, under the influence of the panic that prevailed, and the fear inspired by the French name, were ordered at once to evacuate the town, and retreat.* But fortunately for the country and for British honor, this order was not obeyed. Colonel Vereker, then commanding in Sligo, having received intelligence of the enemy's movements, and feeling the imperative necessity there existed, either that some decided victory should be gained, or at least that some such stand should be made as would check Humbert in his victorious career, determined to give him battle. It is thus that superior genius, in the midst of National hesitation and confusion, manifests itself, by seizing with promptitude on the precise moment for inflicting upon the enemy an effective and crushing blow. Collecting all the disposable troops, which comprised only a few dragoons and yeomen, and the Limerick regiment, he marched to Colooney, a village about five miles from Sligo, to meet the French and their insurgent allies, who were at least ten times more numerous than the troops he commanded.

The disposition of his little army was most judiciously made, and the site he selected was well calculated at once to protect and disguise the numerical inferiority of his force. The Colooney river covered the right wing, whilst the left wing occupied the side of a rugged hill, thickly planted with trees, which sloped down to the high road on which his guns were placed. Such a position, occupied by a body of determined men, was not only difficult to take, but afforded singular facilities for a well ordered retreat. The French had about 900 men, about 250 of the Longford and Kilkenny militia, who had deserted after the Races of Castlebar, and a numerous body of rebels; and the total force under Colonel Vereker did not exceed 300 men, with two curricle guns.† The action began at half-past two o'clock on the 5th of September, 1798, and lasted one hour and thirty-eight minutes. Of the French 28 were killed and a good many wounded. They left behind them at Colooney 18 of their men, who were desperately wounded. Vereker returned his casualties at nine killed and twenty-two wounded. He was himself severely wounded. After the action, the grenadiers represented to General Humbert that it would be useless and cruel to compel them to endure the calamities of war any longer, but the General said, "he could not think of surrendering to so small a force."‡ Thus it nearly fell to the lot of a few citizens of Limerick to capture the force destined by Napoleon Bonaparte for the conquest of a kingdom! And at a meeting of the town council of Limerick, held on the 8th of October, 1798, it was unanimously resolved "that the steady, loyal and gallant conduct of our fellow-citizens, the City of Limerick Regiment of Militia, who on the 5th of September last, under the command of Colonel Vereker, so intrepidly engaged and so successfully opposed the progress of the whole French and rebel army at Coloony, merits our sincerest thanks and warmest applause—a conduct which has not only covered them as a regiment with eternal honor, but has also cast an additional lustre on their native city—already so eminently distinguished.§

This brilliant action saved Sligo, and crushed the French invasion. Colonel Vereker crossed the Colooney river in good order, and the French General believing from the undaunted courage and confidence displayed by the enemy, that they formed the advance guard of Lord Lake's army, determined to retreat with precipitation, and shaped his course towards Manor-Hamilton, in the County of Leitrim, leaving on the road, for the sake of expedition, three six pounders, and dismounting and throwing five pieces of artillery over the bridge at Drummahair into the river.‖ Their guns being abandoned, the French army lost its efficiency, and the French invasion may be said to have virtually terminated; although it was not until some days afterwards that Humbert surrendered to Lord Cornwallis.

At this distance of time, it is scarcely possible to estimate the important effect of this gallant enterprise. Lord Cornwallis, with an army of 20,000 men under his orders, was cautiously wandering in a wrong direction on the banks of the Shannon, and only for the blow he received at Colooney, Humbert might, according to the supposition of Sir Jonah Barrington, have marched to Dublin and seized the capital by a bold *coup-de-main*, joined by 40,000 rebels, who were

* Musgrave, p. 605. † Ibid. ‡ Ibid.
§ Dublin Evening Post, 28th October, 1798. The same paper contains a complimentary address of the same character from the High Sheriff and Grand Jury of Sligo.
‖ Maxwell, 241.

A temporary check was given to the happy state of things which was beginning to prevail in the city and throughout the county, by an attempt of the infatuated party of Thomas Addis Emmett, in 1803, to capture Limerick! Baggot, a teacher in Ballingarry, and a man of remarkable energy and resolution, was the instrument chosen for the accomplishment of this design; he was arrested, as were some of his associates, and he paid the forfeit, as did those who conspired with him on the occasion. The event had but a transient effect in disturbing the friendly relations in which the better ordered among the Protestants had begun to regard their Catholic fellow-citizens. The Emmett party had but few sympathisers among the more dispassionate and right thinking, and the entire affair was soon forgotten.

Immediately after the detection and defeat of Emmett's enterprise, the Corporation met on the 4th of March, Joseph Sargent, Esq., Mayor, in the chair, and passed an address to King George III., congratulating his Majesty on the result. On the 13th of May, it was resolved in Council "That it is the opinion of this Council that every future Mayor may receive one salmon or two peal per week from the Salmon Weir Company, and no more." It must have been that their Worships trespassed too much on the Weir

assembling at Crooked wood, in the Co. Westmeath, only 42 miles from Dublin.* Such a stroke if successfully accomplished, might have terminated for ever the English occupation of Ireland.

The nation thus relieved from the terrors of foreign invasion, was not ungrateful to her brave defenders. The thanks of Parliament were voted to Colonel Vereker and the gallant men, who, under his command, had saved this country. Medals were struck with the word "Colooney," and at the return of the Limerick regiments to their native city, they were received with universal acclamation. On Colonel Vereker and his heirs, a royal grant conferred the privilege—one exclusively peculiar to peers, of bearing supporters to the family arms, and adopting as the family motto the word "Colooney."

Colonel Vereker was again elected M.P. for Limerick in 1797, the poll being:—

Vereker,	666	Grady,	522
Maunsell,	284	Gabbett,	44

This was the fatal parliament whose corrupt members sold in the most shameless manner for peerages and pensions Ireland's nationality, independence, and honour. Colonel Vereker, faithful among the faithless, adhered to his country with unshaken constancy to the last; and it is recorded† that Lord Castlereagh anxious to win over the popular and brilliant officer, approached him with that bland machinery of patronage and diplomacy which he had so often used successfully with others. But the gallant soldier's reply was simple and dignified—"Having defended my country with my blood, I shall never betray her with my vote!" In every debate Colonel Vereker raised his voice against the Union; and his name is recorded in every division; but by the dint of a profuse expenditure of gold the measure passed and Ireland was ruined! He was again elected M.P. (now the sole one), for Limerick after the Union. Under the administration of Mr. Pitt, he filled the office of a Lord of the Treasury, from May, 1807, to August, 1810. In 1802 he was appointed Governor of Limerick, and in 1809 Constable of the Castle of Limerick, being the last to hold that office, which he held till his death.

The late Lord Gort was a brave man, and therefore a kind-hearted and generous man. On one occasion, while crossing Bank-place, in Limerick, he saw a crowd and heard "the human groan assailing the wearied ear of humanity." On approaching the crowd he recognized the servant of Mrs. Ross-Lewin, fastened to a cart and cruelly scourged by the direction of an officer who was by. (The city being then under martial law.) Colonel Vereker, who was also in uniform, remonstrated with the officer, who instantly ordered an additional measure of punishment to be administered to the wretch in consequence of his patron's interference on his behalf. Colonel Vereker already disgusted with the brutal conduct of the officer, was not the man to brook such an insult. Desiring him to defend himself, he drew his sword. A terrible battle ensued, but it was not of long duration. In a few moments the officer lay weltering in his blood; run through the body by Vereker's sword.

Daniel O'Connell and the late Lord Gort always differed in politics; but O'Connell respected Lord Gort's high and honorable character, and felt grateful to him for the good part he had enacted in opposing the Union, and it is a curious fact that the above anecdote might never have found its way into print, had it not been related by O'Connell in a speech which he delivered in Limerick, for the purpose of damaging Colonel Vereker's political influence in that city, which he then represented. He, however, carefully avoided, at the same time, the least expression

* Barrington's Historic Memoirs, Vol. 2, p. 280. † University Magazine, Vol. 19, p. 338.

tenant to induce the passing of such a resolution. On the 10th of October, same year, the Corporation presented the freedom of the city in a silver box to the Right Hon. Standish O'Grady, Attorney-General, as expressive of "the warm approbation felt for his upright conduct during the whole of the late State Trials at the Special Commission held in Dublin, and just now terminated."[1]

With the rapid increase of the New Town, and the equally rapid decay of the old, arose conflicting interests manifested their existence in various hostile over acts on the part of the Corporation. The Merchants early resolved on providing a becoming building for themselves.[2] The Independent Citizens who desired self government and control over taxation, were every day becoming more numerous, freer from the trammels of party and faction, and more resolved on possessing for themselves the means of governing the New Town at least, on just and equitable principles. The growth of the New Town in rapidity and beauty, resembled more that of some Australian city, than anything to which we can compare it; and hence it became imperative on the inhabitants not only to resist every effort of the Corporation to possess authority in the New Town, in the way of taxation, but to provide for the

[1] These were the trials of the sympathisers and active agents in the Emmett movement—a full report of whose cases was given by Mr. Ridgeway, the Barrister, in separate pamphlets.

[2] About this time the merchants of the city, seeing the necessity of having some suitable place of resort, thought of erecting an ornamental and commodious building for their body. Hitherto they had their room in Quay-lane. To carry out a project which was creditable to their public spirit, funds were raised in shares of £65 each.—Over one hundred of these shares were subscribed for, with a sum of £15 deposit on each. The first share was taken by Mr. George Alps, Mr. James Anglim took the third; the late Mr. Henry Watson acted as secretary for some time, and was succeeded by Mr. D. F. G. Mahony, who was succeeded by Mr. John Carroll, who continued in the office for many years, and subsequently, when the Chamber of Commerce was removed to George's-street. He was succeeded by his son, the present efficient secretary, William Carroll, Esq.*

The Commercial Buildings, now the Town Hall, Rutland-street, was thus erected at the expense of the Mercantile Body, in 1805. It contained one of the most spacious and elegant coffee rooms in Ireland, and a number of fine apartments appropriated to the business of the Chamber of Commerce. On the 1st of October, 1805, articles of agreement were entered into between the members of the Commercial Buildings Company; and on the 2nd of June, 1815, they were incorporated by Royal Charter, under the name of "The Chamber of Commerce of Limerick;" at which time they also agreed to be governed by bye laws; John M'Namara was the first President; Thomas Westropp, Vice-President; Martin Creagh, Joseph Fisher, William Hill, William White, Alan Francis O'Neill, and Thomas Kelly, Esqrs., Directors.

* The Chamber of Commerce continued to be located for many years in the Commercial Buildings, until in 1833, the mansion house of the late M. Gavin, Esq., in George-street, was purchased for a considerable sum by that body, and the Commercial Buildings declined so much in subsequent years that it was alternately rented into subdivisions. The *Limerick Evening Post and Clare Sentinel* and afterwards the *Star* were published in a portion of it; the great room which had been a coffee room was used as a sugar store; the offices in the rere and beneath were neglected; the shares became valueless. The noble edifice went back to the landlord, Thomas Kelly, Esq., Shannon View; and it was not till the Reformed Corporation in 1843, determined to occupy it as a Town Hall that it was saved from abandonment. It is now an excellent Town Hall, with Council Chamber, Mayor's, Town Clerk's Treasurer's, &c., offices; apartments for the serjeants-at-mace in charge; a watch house and lock-up underneath. A news room, which for size is one of the best adapted for the purpose in Ireland, occupies a large portion of the ground floor.

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that might have personally hurt him. O'Connell adds:—"But there is an additional fact which is not generally known, which perhaps Colonel Vereker himself does not know, and which I have learned from a highly respectable clergyman, that this sad victim of the system of torture was at the time he was scourged in an infirm state of health—that the flogging inflicted upon him deprived him of all understanding, and that within a few months he died insane, and without having recovered a shadow of reason."*

It is lofty traits like these that elevate the name of O'Connell far above the politician, and illustrate the magnanimity and true greatness of his character. His biographers have not here-

* Life and Speeches of O'Connell, by his Son. Vol. I., p. 201.

public exigencies by means demanded by the circumstances. A bill was accordingly brought forward for the self government of Newtown-Pery.

Alarmed at the consequences, a special meeting of the Common Council was held to discuss this matter as of great importance. The bill was introduced in Parliament for "the improvement of St. Michael's Parish." This was a step which the Corporation felt would prove most injurious to the chartered monopolists, and to an irresponsible system of public plunder; and every opposition that the council and its adherents could give the efforts of the citizens to right themselves, was cast in their way by that body. A long and angry petition against the measure, was agreed to at this meeting of the council. To show how their honours the Corporators felt on the occasion, they allege in this petition, "that if said bill be passed into a Law it will authorise certain Commissioners, whose names are altogether unknown to Petitioners, many of whom are housekeepers and inhabitants of said parish, to appoint an unlimited number of officers, clerks, &c. at unreasonable salaries, and empower them to raise taxes for the purposes of said bill, far exceeding what the occasion will require,—will subject persons to fines for trivial and undefined offences, as well as to be deprived of their property,

tofore done him justice. They have paid too much attention to the politician, and too little to the man.

In the year 1817, the Right Honourable Charles Vereker succeeded his uncle as second Viscount Gort, thus vacating his seat for Limerick, which he had represented continuously for twenty-seven years, and having been elected M.P. on seven occasions—always by larger majorities.

Charles Viscount Gort died in the year 1842, and was succeeded by his eldest son John Prendergast, the present and third Viscount, who married in 1814 Maria, eldest daughter of Standish, first Viscount Guillamore (better known as Chief Baron O'Grady), by whom he has a large family. The present Viscount Gort is Colonel of the City of Limerick Artillery, of which his eldest son, the Honourable Standish Prendergast Vereker is Major-Commandant. His second son, the Honourable John Prendergast Vereker, filled the office of Lord Mayor of Dublin in 1863. The present Lord Gort represented the City of Limerick in Parliament, and was twice Mayor of Limerick.

The following remarkable events occurred in the year 1811, and in the years following, as they are written:—

In the beginning of May this year, a ferry boat was established to ply between Newtown and the North Strand, Christopher Meade, proprietor. It plied from the shore under the Bishop's (Protestant) palace, to the steps of the Revenue Houses which were then at the opposite side of the river.[1]

Subscriptions were raised in the City and County of Limerick for the relief of the Portuguese who had suffered so severely by the atrocities of the French.

On the 15th of June the patients were removed to the new County Hospital or Infirmary. In this infirmary was a large room in the rere for the reception of the bodies of executed murderers, who by Act of Parliament (since repealed) were ordered to be given to the several County Infirmaries of Ireland for dissection. The hospital has 60 beds and can accommodate a large number of patients. The male and female departments are strictly separated. The building cost £7000.

A windmill in the N. Liberties demolished, and the materials sold. It had been built about six years before, by James Mahon; it was situate on the right of the Ennis Road, about a mile and a quarter from Thomond Bridge.

A new Church, with a spire and steeple, built in the E. Liberties at Kilmurry, on the former site—Rev. Henry J. Ingram, Rector.

[1] In this month an African black arrived in Limerick in an American brig to which he was cook; he asserted that he had acquired the power of reading the Bible by "intuition," that he had struggled eight whole days with the Almighty God, that he never read any other book but the Bible, and uttered many such absurdities. It is scarce credible what a multitude attended him—he was invited to the houses of some respectable people (Methodists), and followed thither by most of the "faithful" of that sect. In this month also, the preceding spring having been uncommonly rainy, the bed of the river Shannon was higher than in the memory of the oldest man at the same period of the year. An uncommonly great quantity of blossoms on the white thorn such as has been remarked to have happened in the year 1799.

without any provision made for recompense; and further, that though the usual appeal in such cases is inserted in the heads of this bill, yet such remedy is entirely omitted in the bill itself, which constitutes the Commissioners final judges of complaints against the acts of themselves, their officers or clerks, unless persons aggrieved resort for redress to the Court of Queen's Bench, at the distance of more than one hundred and twenty miles from the said city." Parliamentary opposition was given to the bill by Colonel Vereker, M.P.; and all that the influence of an enraged faction could do was exerted towards defeating the measure, but without success; the more the Corporation became vexed, the more did it stimulate the citizens to persevere.

Ultimately, and after a strong and earnest struggle, the bill became law; the New Town was placed under the control of a certain number of Commissioners who watched, lighted, cleansed, paved and flagged it in a manner so faultlessly done, so completely economical, that the rate was not felt as a burden. On the contrary, the citizens always with a ready cheerfulness contributed towards funds which were admirably expended. The Commissioners

Stone for building a new church at Longhill, in this county, imported from Bath by Stephen Rice, Esq., Church consecrated August 12th, 1812.

On the 28th of August the Cardigan Regiment of Militia, marched into Limerick to do garrison duty; this was the first English Regiment of Militia that arrived in the city on the new Interchange.

A comet was visible during many nights at Limerick, it rose in the N.W. and proceeded West —its nucleus appeared about the size of a star of the first magnitude; it was surrounded by a luminous faint vapour, and had a very long conical vapour tail, more illumined than the surrounding vapour of the comet. The month was uncommonly fine, the thermometer for several days stood so high as 74 degrees. The second time, the earthquake at Messina in Sicily happened.

A sunk tank at the new County infirmary, for the reception of the rain water from the leads of the house, to be used in washing only: this was a subterranean vaulted cistern, very common in warm climates for preserving water for the purposes of life; the first of the kind seen in Limerick.

November 15th and 16th—A very heavy gale of wind at S.W., did much damage; tore up several trees, one a very large willow about 80 years old, and 7 feet in circumference, on the bank of Mr. Carr's garden. The new steeple at Kilmurry Church suffered damage.

1812—January 27. A committee appointed at a general meeting held at the Commercial Buildings, to draw up rules and regulations for a system of education for the benefit of the poor, on the Lancasterian plan. Mr. Joseph Lancaster, who had arrived in Limerick a few days before, attended, and read public lectures at the assembly house twice on the subject of education.

February 4. A dreadful storm arose from N.W., about four o'clock, A.M., and did much damage to the shipping in the harbour—the tide rose to a great height, and covered the quays—the morning was dark, and the gale quite unexpected. The preceding night had been nearly calm. The mercury in the barometer stood at 29 three-tenths inches; part of the roof and side wall of the old diocesan school, which had been long since abandoned as a seat of literature, and was a mere lazaretto, inhabited by a number of most indigent poor, fell, and in the fall buried many in the ruins. No lives lost—the building totally eradicated in the next year.

Thomas O'Brien, aged 110 years, died at Abington—he had lived for three generations in the family of John Evans, Esq., of Ashrow. Cornelius Madigan died at Cahir Murphy, Co. Clare, aged 117.—*Limerick Chronicle, March 28th.*

1812, April 1st.—Amount of the cost of corn, flour and meal sold in the City of Limerick, from 29th September, 1811 to this date:—£431,150 8s. 2d.

The price of corn at this day:—

	s.	d.		s.	d.	
Wheat	3	6	to	3	7	per stone.
Barley	2	0	to	2	1	
Oats	1	8	to	1	9	

April 4th.—A female Hottentot exhibited in this city under the name of Venus. She died in Paris, May, 1816—she remained in Limerick five days, and much to the credit of the people, was visited by very few.

May 1st.—An hospital for lying-in women and for incurables, first opened for the reception of patients in Nelson-street.

of St. Michael's Parish, as they were called, continued in existence until December 1st, 1853, when the Acts of Parliament, by which they were constituted a taxing body for the New Town, viz., 47 Geo. III. c. 75, and 51st Geo. III. c. 104, were repealed by the Limerick Improvement Act, 16th Victoria, which received the royal assent on the 15th of August in that year (1853). The power which had been so long and so well exercised by the Commissioners, was transferred to the Reformed Municipal Corporation; and in the same year "the Limerick Corporation Act," 16th and 17th Vic., c. 73, was passed, by which the five wards into which Limerick was divided by the Municipal Reform Act of 1842, were divided into eight wards; and other changes were made in the constitution of the Town Council.

The New Town increased in size and importance under the Commissioners, and became proverbial for cleanliness and order. On the 14th May, in 1807, at a Common Council, held in the Council Chamber, Exchange, Richard Harte, Esq., Mayor, in the chair, the freedom of the city, in a gold box, was voted, with a complimentary address, to the Duke of Richmond, Lord Lieutenant of Ireland; and on the same day it was also unanimously resolved that a congratulatory address and the freedom of the city in a gold box, be presented to the Right Hon. Sir Arthur Wellesley, K.B., and Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant. In this address it is said that Sir Arthur Wellesley is closely attached by noble birth and hereditary property to this part of the Empire. It was further resolved, that Colonel Charles Vereker, M.P., should present the addresses, which he did in a suitable manner, and for which His Excellency and Sir Arthur Wellesley returned their warmest acknowledgments.

The 25th of September was a very memorable day in Limerick; the Duke of Richmond arrived in the city, and was received in the warmest manner by the citizens. His Grace was accompanied by the Duchess of Richmond, Lord March, Lady Mary Lennox, and his staff. A number of men, principally from the brewery of Mr. Wilkinson, had a drag and ropes prepared as the carriage came within a short distance of the city; the ropes were covered with red cloth, and the drag was becomingly ornamented. His Grace, who had been in Killarney visiting the Lakes, entered the city by Boherbuoy, went through Thomas-street, and George's-street, to the Bishop's Palace in Henry-street, where he remained during his visit. On the Sunday which he spent in Limerick, His Grace and the Duchess of Richmond and staff attended service at St. Mary's Cathedral. Never before or since was witnessed so large a procession of carriages, or so extraordinary an exhibition of local wealth and influence in Limerick. Conspicuous among the carriages was that of Lady Clare, which was a grand turn out; it was drawn by six

Prices of corn, April 12th, 1812:—

	s.	d.
Wheat, per stone of 14 lbs. ...	3	7
Barley, do. do.	2	6
Oats, do. do.	1	10½

May 1st.—Catherine M'Daniel died at the North Strand, aged 103.

The officers of the several Infantry Regiments began to disuse the cocked hats and long regimental clothing, and substituted in their place caps and jackets—the bullion epaulettes again restored to subalterns—order, dated December 24th, 1811. The order for taking away the bullion epaulettes dated February 19th, 1810, when Sir D. Dundas was Commander-in-Chief.

May 15th.—News by express, reached Limerick, that the Right Hon. Spencer Percival, first Lord of the British Treasury, was assassinated on the 11th of May, in the lobby of the House of Commons. It took place at about twenty minutes past five o'clock, p.m., by a pistol shot through the heart—death was instantaneous. The assassin was John Bellingham, a broker of Liverpool, and a native of Huntingdonshire—he was executed for the murder on the 18th of May.

horses, had footmen, outriders,[1] &c. An excellent charity sermon was preached by the Rev. Henry Gubbins, in aid of the Female Protestant Orphan School, to which their Graces most generously contributed—nothing!

Addresses were presented to his Grace by the Corporation and public bodies, and the Duke was invited by the Corporation to a public banquet on the 4th of October; his staff consisting of Earl of March, Lord Loftus, Sir Charles Vernon, Knight Chamberlain, A.D.C.s., were likewise presented with the freedom of the city. The banquet was provided by Mr. Swinburne, a hotel-keeper, who had many relatives that rose to distinction in the British army, and was given on a grand scale.[2]

There was a record at the previous Cork Assizes about the salmon weir. A petition for the more equal distribution of the taxation and the improvement of the city and liberties was agreed to by the Corporation, and presented to Parliament by Colonel Vereker.

The artillery barracks were completed this year (1807) and made capable of containing a brigade of artillery and 5000 stand of arms.

In this year (1807) Surgeon Sylvester O'Halloran, the Historian died. He was a man of genius; a great lover of the antiquities of his country, and an accomplished gentleman who moved in the first society, where his conversation was esteemed and appreciated. His History of Ireland is a work of great merit, when we consider the comparatively slender materials which were at this period available to the searcher after information concerning the affairs of our country. The death of O'Halloran created deep regret in the literary world.[3] He had been attached to the county infirmary as surgeon until the time of his death.

The Chamber of Commerce began to initiate several movements for the development of industrial pursuits in the county as well as in the city of Limerick; it gave premiums for the produce of linen, and for yarn and flax sold in the market; it built, or contributed to build, at an expenditure of some thousands of pounds, a Linen Hall[4] in Carr-street, which has long since fallen away from the purposes to which it was originally dedicated; it erected Scutching mills at Abington and Bruff, in the County of Limerick, which mills are also numbered among the things of the past; it imported seed wheat, barley and oats,

[1] It was on this occasion that his Excellency conferred knighthood on the Mayor, who then became Sir Richard Harte, and on the Sheriff, Sir Christopher Marrett. There was no city or town in Ireland visited by the Duke of Richmond in which he did not confer knighthood one ne or sometimes on two or three persons, just as fancy suggested.

[2] The bill presented by Mr. Swinburne to the Corporation, for the banquet to the Duke of Richmond was, on the 25th of October, laid before the council and ordered to be paid: it amounted to £183 9s. 9d. Messrs. Sneyd, French and Barton's bill for two dozen and eight bottles of champagne and carriage, at £8 10s. per dozen (!) amounting to £23 12s. 4d. was discharged—and a sum of £17 17s. 1d. to F. Wilkinson, Esq., "being Lacey's account for drag, ropes, &c., purchased to draw their graces into the city," as the exuberant loyalty of the citizens would not permit them to enter in the ordinary way, was also ordered to be paid by the liberal corporators! The bankers and merchants entertained His Excellency, &c. on the 5th of October.

[3] He resided in the house, in Nicholas-street, near the Corporation Alms House.

[4] Long since disused as such; and in 1865, after having been let to several persons in trade in succession, greatly dilapidated.

On the 4th of June, 1812, Gilbert Keith of the 90th Regiment, on duty as sentinel at the King's Stores, was fired at—his cap was perforated and his head grazed. Robert Thompson of the same regiment was fired at while on duty at said stores on the 26th of September. Thompson was wounded, and his left leg was amputated. On the night of the 10th October, same year, Patrick Loughlan, of the Galway Militia, while on duty at the Commissariat Stores, in Clare-street, was fired at and wounded in the hand. Large rewards were offered for the discovery of the perpetrators of these outrages.

in order to enable the farmer to enjoy the best means of sowing his land; it aided the poor by purchasing provisions and selling them out, in times of distress, at reduced rates; it promoted gigantic works in after years, such as the Wellesley Bridge and Docks, &c., of which we shall have to speak in their proper place. In the contests with the Corporation it sustained the Independent party.

The country continued very much disturbed at this period; and on the seventh of August in the same year (1807), several gentlemen who were returning from a party given by Lady Clare, at Mount Shannon, were robbed and ill used by a gang of depredators, who also fired at the Right Rev. Dr. Warburton, the newly appointed Protestant Bishop of Limerick, and wounded him with two slugs in the arm and in the ear.

A new trade had been going on for some time before this year: a quarry was opened in Altamira in 1805, and in that and in succeeding years, to 1807, and again to 1809, mill stones of limestone, to the amount of 200 were quarried, and exported from Limerick to England for the purpose of grinding the materials that compose gunpowder, required to supply the army abroad.

It was on the 1st of September in the same year that the foundation was laid of the County of Limerick Court-house. Colonel Prendergast Smyth got £500 for the ground up to low water mark. The building, at the time was deemed very handsome; its greatest length externally, 121 feet; its greatest breadth ditto, 94 feet; Crown Court and Record Court, 50 feet by 30 feet each; a magnificent Grand Jury Room unrivalled in prospect, 41 feet by 25, and 15 feet high; a very ample hall, 34 feet by 26, and 30 feet high; and every useful and convenient offices, &c.; the architects, Messrs. Nicholas and William Hannon, brothers, were natives of the County of Limerick—the cost of the entire, without the portico, was £13,000. In the north front are 18 windows, and a brake with six Doric pilasters which support an entablature surmounted by an Ionic balustrade of limestone—the first of the kind erected in the city. It was opened for business at summer assizes, July 17th, 1809.[1]

[1] The following inscription was written by a gentleman, and intended to be put up in some place most approved of;—

ÆDIFICATÆ FUERUNT HÆ CURIÆ
ANNIS 48vo. & 49no.
GEORGII TERTII REGIS,
PUBLICIS SUMPTIBUS
Commitatus Limericensis
Gulielmo Odell } Equitibus.
Hon. W. Quinn }
Opertæ autem sunt justitiæ
Usui 16mo. die calendarum Sextilis.
Anno, 1809.
THOMA A. ODELL,
Vice Comite,
NICHO. & GULIELMO HANNAN,
Curantibus.

The year was rendered remarkable by the fact that hostilities with America broke out in June, in consequence of an attack made by H. M. S. Leopard, 50 guns, Captain Humphries, on the Chesapeak, American frigate, Commodore Barron, off the Cape of Virginia. It appears that the Captain of the Leopard acted under the orders of his superior officer, Captain Berkley.

August 8th.—General Vallancey, the great antiquarian and celebrated Irish scholar, died in Dublin.

August 13th.—New church at Drehidtarsna, near Adare, consecrated.

The portico, which consists of four massive columns of limestone of the Doric order and supports an entablature and a pediment, was not finished till July, 1814. A gallery was erected at the bottom of the Crown Court, over the entrance, in the Spring and Summer of 1813.

In the same year the Chamber of Commerce rented from the Corporation, the tolls and customs of the City of Limerick, for one year, for the sum of £1500.

On the 13th of February, 1809, the freedom of the city was conferred in a "heart-of-oak box" ornamented with gold, on Captain Michael Seymour, a citizen, Commander of the King's ship Amethyst, for his brilliant exploit in conquering the French ship Thetis with a superior force. On the 17th of the same month, in the Corporation, not yet at rest, another petition was agreed to against the assessment clauses of the Act 33rd Geo. III., and the same reasons were advanced as those already set forth in a petition, in which reference is made to the St. Michael's Commissioners' Act which had passed the year before, and a call was made for the extension of the Act to the old parts of the city, and for an additional bridge down the river Shannon, as Thomond bridge had now become inconvenient and insufficient for the traffic.[1]

For the first time for a long series of years, a bell now tolled in the cupola attached to the north gable end of the house inhabited by the Friars of the order of St. Francis in Newgate-lane. During some years before this, Daniel O'Connell, afterwards the illustrious patriot and liberator of his country, had been going the Munster Circuit as a young barrister and visiting Limerick. Indeed his first professional advocacy in favour of prisoners was made in Limerick in 1798, when the late Mr. James Blackwell, then gaoler of the city gaol, was in the habit of retaining his services for persons about to be tried. O'Connell now formed the acquaintance of an energetic and stirring Franciscan, Father Dan. Hogan,[2] who is yet remembered by some of the old citizens, as a priest who had won the affections of all classes, and who was popular even with the Protestant party. Consulting as to how the Penal Laws could best and most safely be evaded, as to bells in chapels, and steeples in Catholic places of worship, O'Connell hit on an expedient, informing Father Hogan that there was no penal statute against erecting a cupola at the gable of his house, and putting a bell there if he chose. The good friar took the hint; masons and carpenters were set at work; the cupola was made;

[1] On the 17th May, an agreement was entered into between the Mayor and Corporation on the one part, and John Meade Thomas, Esq. on the other, for the erection of a main guard-house. On the same day the Mayor was granted a sum of £61 13s. 2½d. for clothing the Mayor's Sergeants! ! and £6 16s. 6d. were given for three tons of coal; a sum of £200 was given on the 25th of July, to the Recorder for his "trouble," &c., in preparing a long and voluminous bill. A sum of £67 2s. 0d. was voted to Redmond Walsh and Michael Fitzgerald for repairing the piers of Thomond Bridge; and a small sum was granted for repair of Baal's Bridge.

[2] Father Dan. Hogan's portrait in full cauliflower wig, the fashion of the day, was admirably painted by Frederick Prussia Plowman, an able artist who visited Limerick.

September 9th.—Great illuminations and rejoicings in the city, consequent on Wellington's victory at Salamanca, and the capture of Madrid.

The harvest this year superabundant, beyond anything of the kind ever remembered, and the happiest continuance of fine weather to save it.

August.—A fire engine for St. Michael's Parish, imported by John Norris Russell, Esq.

October 11th.—The Earl of Limerick visited this city after an absence of three years, and was drawn into town from Rich Hill, attended by a meeting of the most respectable citizens, and the several guilds of the trades, with their banners and formalities.

the bell was placed in its position; its sounds were heard, and the citizens awoke in amazement and joy, not unmixed with a nervous apprehension of the consequences, when on the 1st of June, 1809, they heard the iron tongue sound for the first time within the memory of the existing generation, to call them to Mass. It was a most remarkable day in the annals of Limerick.

Wakefield who had travelled through Ireland at this time, writes as follows, in his great work on the Political and Statistical state of the country:—

"1810-'11-'12.—Much of the wealth that Dublin, Limerick, Cork and Waterford now possess has been acquired by Roman Catholics engaged in commercial pursuits. * * * * The Roman Catholic grazier obtains his opulence by remaining quietly at home. * * He invests his property in land, regardless of the income which he is to derive from it, his sole object is its security, and while within sight he considers it safe."

It is certain that at this period the wealth diffused not only among the Catholic agricultural class, but among traders and merchants, nearly all of whom had grown rich in spite of every opposition, was enormous, and contrasted with the Cromwellian and Williamite names that figure even in the list of "the fifteen Corporations,"—the progress of Catholics and of Catholicity, and of Milesian and Celtic families, is something altogether marvellous. Only a few years before, it was penal for Catholics to aim at a respectable position in society—they had no standing place in the land of their fathers. Their names were blotted out from the local records; they had nothing to which to look; they were helots, hewers of wood and drawers of water for cruel and unrelenting taskmasters. They now, according to Wakefield, had in their hands the greater portion of the wealth, the mercantile enterprise, &c.; they were becoming educated; colleges and schools were springing up around them and for them in every direction; while their oppressors were fighting among themselves, or endeavouring to stave off the evil day by every means imaginable, well knowing that the reign of corruption must one day or other be brought to an end. Persecution had done its worst. Elizabeth, Cromwell, William, Anne, and the 1st and 2nd Georges had endeavoured to exterminate the Catholics from the soil of Ireland; but they did not succeed.

November 13th.—Anchors and chains landed at the Custom House quay for the bark Fanny, in the service of the Government, to be moored in the pool of Limerick, commanded by Lieut. Philip Wright; this vessel came into harbour the winter before in distress; was sold, on account of the insurers, by auction, to Mr. Martin Creagh and purchased of him by Captain Robert O'Brien, regulating officer of this port, and fitted up as a receiving ship for volunteers and impressed men belonging to H. M.'s navy; the moorings laid down December 8th, 9th. They were the first of the kind ever let go in the river Shannon. Lieutenant Wright was superseded by Lieutenant Smyth, October, 1813—his three years of service having expired. The vessel was sold on the 9th of June, 1814. The anchors and mooring chains taken up out of the bed of the river, on the 10th and 11th of June by a part of the crew of the Virago, gun brig, and carried back to England.

CHAPTER XLVII.

STATE OF THE CATHOLIC CAUSE.—A CATHOLIC COLLEGE FOR LIMERICK DIOCESE.—AGITATION OF THE VETO.—NOBLE CONDUCT OF THE CATHOLIC BISHOP AND CLERGY OF LIMERICK, &C.—STATE OF THE COUNTY OF LIMERICK.—WELLINGTON.—DR. MILNER.—O'CONNELL.—GALLANT LIMERICK MEN ABROAD.—ROCHE.—DE LACY.—GOUGH—PROGRESS OF EVENTS, &C. &C.

We have to go back a little to take a retrospect of the conduct and of the struggles of the Catholics of Limerick, soon after the series of events with which our preceding chapter has been so largely occupied. The rebellion of '98, the attempt of Emmett in 1803, the insolent bigotry and exclusive monopoly of the Orange party inside and outside the Corporation, the decay of trade, which to a great extent was influenced by the Act of Union and other causes, had clouded but not destroyed the dawning hopes of the Catholics. The Right Rev. John Young, though a firm loyalist, and an anxious supporter of order, was at the same time thoroughly devoted to the best interests of his country, and the Catholic religion possessed in him a fearless and accomplished defender and advocate in all times and seasons. Learned,[1] indefatigable, devoted to study, and to the exacting duties of his exalted station, he was an example of piety and self-denial, and exercised an influence, by the unostentatious performance of his duty, which was widely felt beyond the confines of his extensive diocese. There was no diocesan seminary or college, at this period, in Munster, except the small one at Peter's Cell, Limerick, and that of St. John's, Waterford, which continues to flourish up to this our own day, when Dr. Young conceived the idea of founding a college, suited to the increasing requirements of the diocese. In this he was aided not only by the clergy, but by the Catholic citizens, who in 1805, had entered into large subscriptions for the purpose: the site was at Park, within the demesne of Park House, which Dr. Young had purchased for £1800, as a residence for the Bishops of the diocese; he presided over the college, which sent out many distinguished clergymen.[2] In the agitation which now grew up, connected with the Catholic claims, nothing became of more absorbing and intense interest than the question of the Veto—in other words, the permission of government interference in the appointment of Catholic Bishops—a proposal against which, the Catholic Hierarchy of Ireland had protested, and not one of them with more simpleness of purpose and directness of aim, than Dr. Young in 1808, when a solemn synod was held in Dublin, and when their sentiments were expressed in language not to be mistaken or

[1] Dr. Young possessed the Black Book of Limerick, which bears the marks of his industry in his chronological division of its contents. He had a school for the poor in Newgate-lane, which was attended by his sister, Miss Young, with careful assiduity; he had the catechism translated into Irish, and the English and Irish version published together by M'Auliff the printer in Quay lane, and several editions of it went through the press. He published the Diocesan Statutes before the close of the last century, and in the commencement of them he gave a succinct account of the state of religion in the diocese, from the time of the Right Rev. Dr. O'Keeffe, in 1721, who was the first Catholic Bishop who resided in the city after the last siege. He was a scholar and a divine of the highest order of talent, a great mathematician, an accomplished linguist, an excellent historian; and in love of country he was never excelled.

[2] This college existed until 1830, when the students were drafted to Waterford, Carlow, Maynooth, &c., but the building was not removed till the year 1864.

misunderstood. Certain Catholic citizens of Limerick conceived that they had a right to enter the arena on this occasion, and at a public meeting subsequently held in Limerick, William Roche, Esq., in the chair, a series of ambiguous resolutions were adopted, and the chairman, together with John Howley, Jun., Esq., (the present excellent Mr. Sergeant Howley, Q.C., chairman of Tipperary), Henry Lyons and Michael Arthur, Esqrs', were requested to prepare petitions to the legislature in accordance with those resolutions, which gave anything but satisfaction to the public, and which were strongly inveighed against at the time in a periodical which represented the views of the Hierarchy, clergy, and the overwhelming majority of the people. Dr. Young met every objection with consummate skill and mastery. In a series of powerful letters to the Most Rev. Dr. Bray, Catholic Archbishop of Cashel, he manifested his apostolic spirit and noble bearing throughout a contest in which the malcontents were aided by what had been designated the rescript of J. B. Quarantotti, vice-president of the college of the Propaganda, Rome, which rescript was denounced by the Irish Hierarchy, almost without exception, and had also in the Right Rev. Dr. Milner, in England, a staunch and able opponent. The question continued to be agitated for a short time after Dr. Young's death, but there can be no doubt that his exertions had been of great use in organising the successful opposition to it.

The state of the county and city of Limerick in these years was otherwise extremely disturbed. In several parts of the country a spirit of resistance had arisen, which threatened the very worst consequences. Sir Arthur Wellesley, afterwards the great Duke of Wellington, on his departure for the Peninsula in 1808, wrote a letter in reference to the state of the county of Limerick at the time, which is eminently characteristic of the great man. The ability with which he condenses the wide range of his ideas—the attention which he nevertheless pays to the minutest trifles—and the extraordinary knowledge he displays of the secret springs of action in Ireland, are really surprising. Even if not unqualified admirers we can hardly help wondering at the character of the man who could enter with such minuteness and deliberation into these matters connected with an Irish county, at the moment when he was preparing to meet the mighty Napoleon Buonaparte face to face in the most terrible of struggles. No record exists of the then state of the county of Limerick, which could for an instant be compared for forcible illustration and accuracy to this:—

TO BRIGADIER-GENERAL LEE, AT LIMERICK.

Cork, 7th July, 1808.

"My Dear Sir,—According to the desire which you expressed in the conversation, which I had with you at Lord Harrington's on Wednesday, I proceed to give you my opinion on the nature and circumstances of the command which you are about to exercise in the County of Limerick. In the first place I must point out to you, that the situation of a general officer commanding in a district in Ireland, is very much of the nature of a deputy-governor of a county or a province. He becomes necessarily charged with the preservation of the peace of the district placed under his command; and the Government must confide in his reports and opinions, for the adoption of many measures relating solely to the civil administration of the country. From these circumstances it is obvious, that it is the duty of every general officer to make himself acquainted with the local circumstances of his district, and with the characters of the different individuals residing within it, in order that he may

decide for himself according to the best of his judgment and information, and that he may not be misled by others.

"This duty will be still more obvious, by a consideration of certain circumstances which exist in nearly all parts of Ireland. It frequently happens that disturbances exist only in a very small degree, and probably only partially, and that the civil power is fully adequate to get the better of them. At the same time the desire to let a building to Government for a barrack—the desire to have troops in the county, either on account of the increased consumption of the necessaries of life, or because of the increased security which they would give to that particular part of the country—would occasion a general rise in the value and rent of land, which probably at that moment might be out of lease,—or in some instances the desire to have the yeomen called out on permanent duty—occasions a representation that the disturbances are much more serious than the facts would warrant. Upon these occasions letter after letter is written to the commanding officer and to the Government; the same fact is repeated through many different channels; and the result of an enquiry is, generally, that the outrage complained of, is by no means of the nature or of the extent which has been stated. The obvious remedy for this evil, and that which is generally resorted to, is to call for informations on oath of the transactions which are complained of. But this remedy is not certain, for it frequently happens that the informations on oath are equally false with the original representations. The general officer then has no remedy, excepting by his acquaintance and communication with the magistrates and gentlemen of the county to acquire a knowledge of characters, and to become acquainted with all the circumstances which occur.

"It frequently happens that the people who do commit outrages and disturbances have reason to complain; but in my opinion that is not a subject for the consideration of a general officer. He must aid in the preservation of the peace of the county, and in the support of the law: and he who breaks the law must be considered in the wrong, whatever may have been the nature of the provocation he may have received.

"It is possible that grievances may exist in the County of Limerick; provisions may be too dear, or too high a rent may be demanded for land, and there may be no poor-laws, and the magistrates may not do their duty as they ought by the poor. But these circumstances afford no reason why the general officer should not give the military aid he may have at his command to preserve the peace, to repress disturbance, and to bring those to justice who may have been guilty of a violation of the law.

"In respect of the gentlemen of the county in which you are posted, I recommend you to attend particularly to the Lord Chief Baron O'Grady; you will find him well informed of the transactions in the County of Limerick, and well acquainted with the characters, and disposed to assist your judgment. I also recommend to your attention Mr. Dickson, the late High Sheriff of the County, and Colonel Vereker, the member for the City of Limerick.[1] There may be, and certainly are, other gentlemen in the County of Limerick on whose information you may depend. But I have requested Mr. Trail, through whom I send this letter, to apprise you confidentially of the names of those whom you ought to consult. Believe me, &c.

"ARTHUR WELLESLEY."

Just about the time that this letter was written by one who became so famous for all time, the County and City of Limerick were visited by another very remarkable and accomplished man; not a soldier or a warrior, but an ecclesiastic and a prelate, the Right Rev. Dr. John Milner, D.D. F.S.A.,

[1] Of these three men, particularly selected by Wellington, in Limerick, the son of one (the present Lord Gort) married the daughter of another (Chief Baron O'Grady and first Viscount Guillamore) by whom Lord Gort has a numerous family.

who was then making a second tour through Ireland. Dr. Milner had opportunities of estimating the state of the population, and the condition of the land. He states that the fertility of the County of Limerick, both in corn and pasturage, must strike the eye of every traveller; but that this fertility is of no avail to its crowded population, who never taste the grain they reap, nor the beeves which they tend, as the same insipid root, the potato, if they can get even that, is their only food from one end of the year to the other. He adds, that in no part of the country had he seen the cabins, or the clothes and food of the people, more wretched than in the rich county of Limerick; that their condition, in this respect, instead of exciting the scorn and ridicule of the reflecting stranger, who acknowledges a common nature with these suffering beings, calls for his commiseration, nay for his tears.[1] This may give a clue to the causes of those lamentable disturbances which prevailed; and to which, it would appear, even he who was called the Iron Duke, could not close his eyes. In his visit to Limerick, Dr. Milner speaks of certain curiosities which particularly struck him—viz. what was shown to him as the Treaty Stone; and the mitre, crozier, and register (the Black Book) of the ancient Catholic Bishops of Limerick.[2]

This state of society continued for some time longer to give much uneasiness to the Government, but no movement was made to mitigate the miseries of the people. In the years 1809[3] and 1810, the same causes produced the same effects.[4] In this last mentioned year, the citizens conceived the idea of building a theatre in the New-town, and they selected a site for the purpose, in that portion of George's-street,[5] which in some years afterwards became the centre of the street, and the principal portion of it for business.

[1] An Inquiry into Certain Vulgar Opinions concerning the Catholic Inhabitants and Antiquities of Ireland, by the Right Rev. J. Milner, D.D. Second Edition, London, 1809.

[2] These are described in their proper places.

[3] 1809. In this year died in London, Sir John Macnamara Hayes, a native of this city, first physician to their Royal Highnesses the Prince of Wales and the Duke of Clarence, Inspector-General of Ordnance Hospitals, &c. He was created a Baronet in the year 1797. He was a very skilful practitioner, and always was attentive to his countrymen, for many of whom he provided handsomely by his interest at Court. He raised himself by his personal merits.

[4] 1810. On the 26th of March, Thomas Sullivan, John Croneen, and Thomas Halloran, were executed at Gallows Green, for the murder of John O'Neill on the 21st of October instant, at Wightfield. The Grand Jury presented the Mayor, Francis Lloyd with £60, being at the rate of £20 per head for the three men above named convicted, for his expenses, incurred in making the arrest and procuring informations.

On the 10th of September, 1810, a Charitable Society was formed for the relief of indigent manufacturers and families in distress, much on the plan of the Strangers' Friendly Society in Dublin. This excellent Charity was begun on the 2nd of November; several gentlemen went about in the different parishes, and collected Subscriptions for raising a charitable fund for the relief of the poor; and it was designated the Jubilee Charitable Fund, in consequence of the time in which it was initiated. The following sums were collected:—

In St. Michael's Parish	£554	5	8
In St. Mary's Do.	143	0	9½
In St. John's Do.	191	17	8½
In St. Munchin's	43	4	7½
By two Gentlemen not resident in these parishes	79	12	6
	£1112	1	4

A public dinner was given to celebrate the event, on the same day; and on the 26th, 27th, and 28th instant, there were the most extensive and brilliant illuminations ever known, in this kingdom. The Jubilee Loan Fund continues to flourish, and in 1865 it has its office at No. 36 Roche's-street.

[5] This theatre was in length 100 feet, in breadth 58 feet, total area 5800 feet; it exceeded the area of the old theatre by 2608 feet; the depth of the stage was 40 feet. For some time the theatre took pretty well, and several stars appeared on the boards; but it fell off subsequently, and in 1822, the Rev. Mr. Cronin, of the Augustinian Order, purchased the theatre,

The fisheries of the great Lax and salmon weirs which the Corporation continued to let to tenants, had not ceased to be a source of litigation and annoyance; while between the people and citizens generally, and the tenants and Corporation, feuds prevailed to a serious extent. On the 21st of August, this year, (1810), three large gaps were broken down in the Lax-weir, to the great joy of the public; the centre gap was fourteen feet, which was to be constantly kept open; stones, to the amount of one hundred tons which had been placed there, to prevent any advantage to the public from the gap, were removed in the presence of a crowded assemblage of people. This was effected through the zeal and determination of William Ryves, Esq. of New Garden, near Castle Connell, who at his own expense, instituted a suit against Thomas and John Burke, who rented and monoplised the weir, against whom he obtained a verdict with costs and damages £200, at Cork Assizes, August, 1809.[1]

By way of contrast with these serious matters we shall here introduce a literary trifle for the sake of the associations with which it is connected. The "garden" of Mr. William Carr,[2] was famous at this period for its beauty, and was cultivated in the first style by an experienced gardener. Mr. Carr had three sisters who generally walked each day in the garden dressed in white in the fashion of the time, with large gold watches displayed. Mr. Francis Wheeler the father of the present Lady Lytton Bulwer, composed a song on the Garden, which became very popular, but which appears to be now almost entirely forgotten. The following is a copy of it:—

BILLY CARR'S GARDEN IN 1809.

To the tune of Murtogh Delaney.

You may travel the nation all over,
From Dublin to Sweet Mullingar,
And a garden you will not discover
Like the garden of sweet Billy Carr;
'Tis there that the tall trees were planted
In the days of the old Tommy Parr;
And the soft winding Shannon is flowing
Round the garden of Sweet Billy Carr.

'Tis there the big praties are growing,
Enough to supply all Dunbar,
Where the soft winding Shannon is flowing,
'Round the gardens of Sweet Billy Carr;
His sisters like sweet pretty posies,
More beauteous than roses by far,
They bloom like carnations and roses
In the gardens of sweet Billy Carr.

which, by an outlay of about £600, he converted into a very beautiful Catholic Chapel, which continues in the possession of the Augustinian Fathers. In this Church the picture of the Ascension by Timothy Collopy, as already referred to, is placed over the altar.

[1] Another trial was to have taken place at Cork at the Summer assizes of 1810, when the Burkes knowing the injustice of the cause submitted, and the above opening was made.

[2] Mr. Carr's house was that in which the successive Parish Priests of St. Mary's Parish have resided for several years.

O! may they be happily married,
To a mayor, and a lawyer, and tar,
How blest will they be when they're wed,
With the sisters of Sweet Billy Carr!

Now if you have a mind to live frisky,
And trouble and grief would you mar—
I'd advise you to go and drink whisky,
Along with the Sweet Billy Carr!
In a room, Sir, he keeps a big bottle,
Without either crack, flaw, or star,
Which is often applied to the throttle,
Of that thirsty gay soul Billy Carr.

At this time Daniel O'Connell had become a great favourite on the Munster Circuit, and was highly popular in Limerick: a pencil sketch taken of him while sitting in the City Court-House, Quay-lane, shows that he was then full of life and vigor, and equal to any contest physical or intellectual.[1]

The gallant conduct of several distinguished Limerick men serving in the Peninsula at this period, under Generals Lord Viscount Wellington and Marshal Beresford, was attracting immense attention. Colonel Roche[2] was one of these: General Sir William Parker Carroll of Tulla, near Nenagh, may be ranked as a near neighbour, if not a citizen; John De Lacy of the 48th regiment, a descendant of the illustrious warrior Pierce De Lacy, who did wonders at the battle of Albuera, was another gallant citizen of Limerick.

The year 1811, was rendered memorable in the annals of Limerick, by, several incidents, among others the result of a very important law-suit, which had been pending between the Rev. Archdeacon Hill, as incumbent, and the parishioners of St. Michael's, relative to ministers' money, levied by an act passed in the reign of Charles II. in walled cities and towns. Judgment, on this occasion, was given against the incumbent and his successors, so that the rapid progress of the Newtown was not impeded by an imposition which was as hateful as it was tyrannical, and which a more enlightened spirit in the legislature more recently abolished, when, indeed, the incumbent himself, the Rev. John Elmes, joined in the popular clamour against its continued existence. It would have been a bold stroke of the incumbent in 1811, had he been able to saddle the Newtown with so heavy and intolerable a burden, which would have added enormously to his revenues, and checked the growth of that portion of the city, which, for this reason among others well nigh equally strong, had become the favourite residence of every citizen who was able to build or to rent a house—and house rent now was exeeedingly high in the Newtown. On this occasion important evidence was given in sustainment of the opposition of the citizens by the Right Rev. Dr. Young, who produced an ancient manuscript which showed that the Church of St. Michael was outside the walls, and near the water-gate, and that in the

[1] This pencil sketch which was taken by Mr. John Gubbins, portrait painter, in 1810, represents O'Connell to the life, and is in the possession of the author.

[2] Sir Philip Roche, K.C.B., the son of Philip Roche, Esq., of Limerick, related to the Howley family of Rich Hill, &c. &c. Sir Philip realized a large sum of money in the Peninsula. He left all this money to two nieces, provided they took the name of Roche, and did not marry an Irishman or a Spaniard; and in the event of their so doing, the money was to go to the Duke of Wellington. One of them married Colonel Fane, and the other married Captain George Vaughan, of the 9th Lancers, father of Captain Vaughan, R. N., A.D.C. to the late Earl of Carlisle.

time of Cromwell it had been thrown down.[1] As it stood outside the walls, it is more than probable that it was demolished by the citizens themselves before Ireton's siege, that it should not afford shelter to the enemy, and allow him to approach the walls under cover of it.

The want of a gaol was now seriously felt for the city, the old gaol in Mary-street, having become a public nuisance ;[2] and accordingly, at the spring assizes of this year, (1811), on the 18th of March, the Grand Jury presented a sum £6123 4s. 3d., for the purpose, to be assessed off the city and the county of the city at the rate of £1000 per annum, and appointed twelve commissioners to carry out the object.

A long contest had been going on in the county for the representation, between William Thomas Monsell, Esq., and Colonel O'Dell; in these contests Colonel O'Dell had been successful; and Mr. Monsell had been three times defeated. In this year he lodged a petition against Colonel O'Dell; the petition having been tried, Colonel O'Dell was declared duly elected in April.

It was at this time that Sir Hugh Gough, a distinguished Limerick man, was achieving heroic deeds at the head of the gallant Fighting-a-Ballagh, the 87th Regiment in Spain: Barrossa had been fought, and in the achievement the 87th and its gallant Colonel, under General Graham, behaved with extraordinary bravery. A meeting of the Common Council was held on the 5th of April, when Sir Hugh Gough was admitted to the freedom at large of the city, and an order was made to present him with a silver box ornamented with an eagle, an emblem of the eagle which was taken by him from the French in that battle. The career of this illustrious warrior in India, which he may be said to have saved by what the *Times* with little foresight styled his "Tipperary tactics," is too well known to require repetition. He was born at Woodsdown, county of Limerick, on the 3rd of November, 1779, and is now Field Marshal Lord Viscount Gough.

We are reminded of Richard Talbot, Earl of Tyrconnel, whose connexion with Limerick is spoken of in the history of the sieges by an incident that took place this year, by the death at Wilna, in Russia, of George Carpenter, Earl of Tyrconnel. He followed the Russian armies as a volunteer. According to his letters to his friends, the instant the French left Smolensko the average number of human beings found frozen to death on the roads was 1500 daily. Lord Cathcart, in his despatches from Petersburgh, dated 31st December, says, "His Lordship served with the army under Admiral T. Chichagoff, especially during the pursuit of the French from the Beryzina to Wilna; a pulmonic complaint brought on the fatal effects of the disease

[1] From a plate in Sir George Carew's Hibernia Pacata it appears that St. Michael's Church was outside the walls; there are other and palpable evidences of the fact, even at this day, when it may be seen that the walls run off Carr-street, leaving a considerable distance between them and St. Michael's Churchyard. Such another instance of a church outside the walls having been demolished by the inhabitants for this cause, took place in Galway about the same period. The ground, except the Cemetery, was the property of the late Walter Joyce, Esq., Banker of Galway, who in 1809, eradicated the foundations of the Church, which was situated on the South side of the Castle Barrack opposite to a bastion, on which workmen were employed to demolish the bastion and the curtain on the Town wall in that year, (1809).

[2] The plans were perfected by Mr. Nash, Architect, and the place selected was the Dean's close, near the Cathedral of St. Mary's in Bow-lane, and washed by the river to the north and west. In this year the commissioners of St Michael's Parish, directed that the houses should be numbered. In many streets were vacant spaces for building, and 24 or 25 feet of frontage were allowed to each house intended to be built; and the existing houses numbered as though the street was perfect. Labels with name of the street were also fixed up.

with great rapidity—he first found himself to be ill on the 11th December, the day after his arrival at Wilna. Field Marshal Kutusoff Smolensko ordered all military honours to be paid to his remains, and a monument to his memory in the Church of the reformed Religion.

For the first time for a great number of years, a convent of ladies of the order of St. Clara, or St. Clare, was opened at Limerick on the 1st of April, 1812, Mrs. Naughton being the first prioress. The house was situated in Barrack-street, and the gardens were bounded by the Eastern curtain of the Town wall. This house was built by Henry Rose, Esq., on part of the ground which had once belonged to the Dominician Convent.[1]

In this year, through the liberality of Miss White a Catholic lady, who gave largely for the endowment of many charitable institutions in her native city, and of Mrs. Banks a Protestant lady, each having contributed £1000, a Lying-in Hospital was opened for the reception of patients in Nelson-street. In some years afterwards this Hospital was removed to Henry-street, where it has continued to be of great advantage to all who stand in need of its services.

The efforts of the citizens at this period to free themselves from the incubus of the Corporation were extraordinary. A contested election took place this year; the election lasted five days, and ended on the 21st of August. The independent interest was supported by young Lord Glentworth, whilst Charles Vereker, Esq. championed the cause of the Corporation. The Sheriffs declared Mr. Vereker elected; but one of the most magnificent ovations ever remembered was given to Lord Glentworth by the citizens—he was chaired through the city with a magnificence hitherto unknown. At least fifty thousand persons preceded and followed the chair in which the young

[1] This Convent continued for some years—but ultimately it was given up, and near its site the magnificent Convent, &c. of the Sisters of Mercy was subsequently founded.

1813, April 19th.—A Coach commenced running between Limerick and the Grand Canal, through Nenagh, Birr, Tullamore, meeting the boat at Gallen, five miles from Shannon harbour, and 58 from Dublin.

April 28th.—An elephant, the first of the genus, brought to Limerick, and exhibited.

Surgeon John Wilkinson performed the wonderful operation of taking off the whole upper part of the skull of a woman named Rourke, aged about 30 years, living in Creagh-lane; the arches over the eyes, extending not in a direct line, but jagged, and as low on each side and the back, also came off. The woman retained her health and good spirits afterwards, and was the mother of children. A callous substance was growing very fast over the brain in place of the skull; but Dr. Wilkinson did not think it would ossify. The Doctor declared the case to be unexampled in his experience or reading.

May 27th.—The mail from Dublin to arrive this day at 50 minutes after 2, p.m., and to leave Limerick every morning at 11 o'clock. The Ennis mail coach began to run, leaves Limerick at half-past three o'clock, p.m., each afternoon; and returns at half-past ten o'clock, a.m. each morning.

May 29th.—News received in Limerick of the loss of the great Roman Catholic Bill in Parliament. For the Bill, 247—against it, 251—majority against it, 4. 498 members voted—the greatest house remembered.

The analysis:—	Members.
England	489
Wales	24
Scotland	45
Ireland	100
	658
Voted	498
Absent	160

Lord was carried. Not an accident occurred to mar the proceedings of a joyous day.

The local affairs of these years of the deepest interest and importance were confined for the greater part to the struggle of the independent citizens with the Corporation. On the 6th of August, 1813, in consequence of the application of the Independents, the Court of King's Bench granted a mandamus to try the several rights of the petitioners to the freedom of the city, which had been contemptuously denied them by the Corporation. The suit cost the Independents a sum of £1200: the venue was laid in Clare, and as the jury was about to be struck at the assizes for that county in Ennis, the Judge (Day) who was remarkable for his charges, thought proper not to bring on the trial, no cause being assigned. The struggle, however, went on, as we shall see, and though the Corporation sustained itself by the public revenue, the citizens proved their spirit and resolution by liberal subscriptions which were freely given and judiciously applied.

The want of a new bridge across the Shannon, to supply the requirements of the Newtown, was now generally felt. A meeting accordingly was held on the 11th of August at the Chamber of Commerce in Limerick—the Marquis of Lansdowne in the Chair. The meeting consisted of land owners,

June 28th.—George Smyth, Esq., recorder of Limerick, resigned that office, which he held 32 years (elected in 1781); in his room was elected Henry D'Esterre, mayor in the years 1793 and 1794.

July 8th.—The city brilliantly illuminated in consequence of the Marquis Wellesley's victory over the French army commanded by King Joseph, at Vittoria, in Spain.

About June 10th of this year, a large new school house, to be conducted on the Lancasterian plan, began to be built on the north side of old Clare street, intended to be opened for the reception of children on the 10th September following—opened Nov. 1st, 1814. Fund subscribed to August, 1813:—£950.

Ground Rent, ...	£20	per year.
Carpenter's Estimate, ...	£280	
Mason's do.	190	
Slater's do.	88	
Law agent's charge, ...	12	
	£570	

Dimensions—80 feet long—32 wide—14 high. In the clear, 2560 square feet.

August 25th.—Two or three hundred swallows gathered on the rigging of a vessel at Lang's Quay. This is the first rendevous of that bird in this neighbourhood that has been remarked.

September 9th.—About nine o'clock in the morning of this day, a very loud report was heard in the air, like rapid volleys of artillery, accompanied by a long and rumbling noise, like the fire of musketry, the wind being at the time S.W., nearly calm, and the mercury in the Barometer standing at 29 in. 8-10ths; several stones were discharged from above, and fell in the village of Adare, and Patrick's Well. One remains in the possession of Mr. Tuthill, of Faba, weighing four stones weight.

September 17th.—Account received of the death of the Hon. Wm. Cecil Pery, Lieutenant of H.M.'s 59th Regiment of Infantry, and son of the Earl of Limerick, at the storming of St. Sebastian, in Spain.

Sunday, 26th.—A public form of prayer for H.R.H. Prince Regent of the Empire of Great Britain, read for the first time in St. Mary's Cathedral.

October 31st.—Form of thanksgiving read for abundant harvest and plenty of this year.

November 8th.—The city brilliantly illuminated, in consequence of a victory gained by the allies (Russians, Swedes, and Prussians) over Bonaparte at Dresden and Leipsic on the 19th of October.

November 21st.—A house in May's Lane, outside Thomond Gate, blown up by gunpowder incautiously dryed in an iron pot—four persons were so miserably burnt that they all died in the County Hospital soon after; the owner of the house worked in the quarries, and used powder in blasting—he was one of the sufferers.

The new city gaol, with a stage in front, for the execution of criminals, finished in the latter end of this month; the drop, or stage, has not been as yet ever used.

merchants, &c., of the first respectability in the counties of Limerick and Clare, and City of Limerick. A committee was appointed; resolutions were entered into; subscriptions, to the amount of £16000 were taken down—and a site, that part of the Custom-house quay adjoining the new bridge was selected—the bridge to be called the Wellington Bridge. This project was soon abandoned, and it was not until some years after that the question was revived, when another site was chosen, and carried to completion by an enormous expenditure of money borrowed from the government.

The death of the Right Rev. Dr. Young occurred this year on the 23rd of September, mourned by every class and party. We shall speak of the revered Prelate's life and services in another part of our history. The Right Rev. Dr. Charles Tuohy, who had been dean of the diocese, was elected vicar capitular on the 29th of the same month.

The fight between the Independents and the Corporation was brought to an issue at Clare assizes before Baron Smith in 1814, when on the 11th of March, a verdict was given in favour of the Independents, by which they asserted their chartered rights to the franchise and freedom of the city, by birth, by servitude, and by marriage. Before this, no person whatever had been admitted to freedom, no matter their rights, who were not of the Smyth and

December 1st.—The Mayor, with Alderman Watson, and some other gentlemen, went through the town, and solicited the subscriptions of the citizens for the poor and indigent, in place of illuminations for recent victories over the French by the Allies. £80 was raised.

In this month the new Gothic gateway in Bow Lane was finished; it opens a communication for carriages to the great western door of the cathedral, which had been long since disused as a passage. Opened December 25th (Christmas day).

Dec. 21st.—At an early hour this morning, the Rev. George Studdert, Rector of Kilpeacon, died at his house in the new Crescent. He accidentally fell into the unprotected area of a new building, on the S.W. corner of Glentworth street, on the dark night of the 18th instant; and lost his life by the bruises he received in the fall.

1814—January 11th.—The Dublin Mail Coach, in its progress to Limerick, arrested for two days on the road, in consequence of a fall of snow. Reports state that the snow was ten feet deep in the Curragh of Kildare; and the Dublin mail coach abandoned in it.

Jan. 13th.—Public thanksgiving in the Protestant churches for the successes of the allied arms over the French.

The thermometer during these days was unprecedentedly low.

Jan. 23rd.—The Abbey River frozen over, a circumstance that had not happened for thirty years before. Great numbers of people on the ice; the Mayor active in inducing them to walk on the land, lest the ice should break under their weight.

Jan. 25th.—The garrison so weak by the removal of the 71st Regiment, that dragoons were mounted with the infantry in the several guards—the 13th dragoons doing duty dismounted, and the succeeding day the drummers and fifers of the 84th Regiment, able to bear arms, put n guard duty.

Jan. 29th.—The mail coach from Dublin arrived in Limerick for the first time since 11th inst. being impeded by the snow, and severity of the weather.

Jan. 31st.—On the night of this day, eleven felons, confined in the new city gaol, broke a passage through the roof, and escaped by a rope on the side next the river.

Feb. 1st.—A fatal duel between Daniel O'Connell, Esq., and John Norcott D'Esterre, Esq., a native of this city—the latter, mortally wounded, died on the 3rd instant. The duel took place at Bishop's Court, Co. Kildare.

Feb. 2nd.—Died at Parteen, near O'Brien's Bridge, Martin Hartigan, aged 102; he kept his faculties and worked as a labourer till within a few months of his death—*Limerick Chronicle.*

In this month Thomas F. Wilkinson, Brewer, and Mayor, was declared a bankrupt. This is mentioned as the first instance of the kind happening to a chief magistrate in Limerick. All his property seized and sold by his creditors in the ensuing month (March).

In this month an American female named Mrs. Bragshaw, without arms, legs, &c., exhibited, and displayed great ingenuity in embroidery, drawing, cutting cyphers in paper, &c.

March 13th.—*Forcing engine* to supply water to the city gaol, put up—cost £420—and put up by Mr. Paine, architect, the builder of the city gaol.

At Cork assizes Miss Cluston, of Cork, got £4,000 damages against the Hon. J. P. Vereker, eldest son of Colonel Vereker, M.P. for this city, for breach of promise of marriage—set aside in Dublin afterwards.

Vereker party. The names of the jurors who gave this verdict deserve to be recorded :—

John Bridgeman, foreman,	Daniel Lysaght,
Charles Brew,	Nicholas Clarke,
Tomkins Brew,	Robert Ivers,
Francis M'Namara, jun.	John Lucas,
Thomas Keane,	Henry Butler,
Francis Sweeny,	Robert Parkinson.

The Law Agents for the Independents were Mr. John Boyse and Mr. Matthew Barrington.

Notwithstanding the march of liberalism thus far, it was not until the month of March in this year (1814,) that a second bell was placed in a Catholic Church in the City of Limerick; when one being put up in the Parochial Chapel of St. John at this time. It is extraordinary, indeed, to look back, and view the humiliating position of the Catholics of Ireland at this rather advanced period of the nineteenth century. The veto had been universally condemned by the united voice of Hierarchy, clergy, and laity; there never perhaps was more unanimity on any question, and union was synonymous with success to those who joined like brothers for a common cause, while it was disaster and ruin to their oppressors. A spirit had been at length aroused, which could not be subdued; the Catholic cause had been making headway from the issuing of a celebrated circular of Mr. Secretary Pole to this period; meetings had been held in several parts of Ireland, to

March 30th.—The Brig Alice, owner F. A. O'Neill, Esq. foundered at Foynes Island, laden with wheat and provisions, on her voyage to England.

Bow Lane made an inclined plane, and paved.

April 9th.—Troops in garrison fired a *feu de joie* consequent on the news that the victorious allies had entered Paris, after a severe conflict, on the 30th instant.

April 14th.—The city splendidly illuminated in consequence of a general peace on the Continent by the abdication of the throne of France by Buonaparte on the 3rd instant.

May 10th.—The Fanny Hulk, already mentioned, paid off, and put out of commission.

June 1st.—The Inland Navigation re-opened this day, after having repaired the bursting of its banks, on 5th of February. The Directors of the Inland Navigation purchased the property of this branch from the proprietors for the sum of £17,666 13s. 4d., two-thirds of the original stock; each share consisted of £250, for which the Directors-General paid two-thirds, £176 13s. 4d.—original stock 100 shares, at £250 each, £25,500.

June 7th.—A luggage boat arrived from Dublin by the canal—the first that had come nearer to Limerick than O'Brien's Bridge since February, 1809, (when the banks burst.)

June 8th.—The Mayor and Corporate body obliged to admit the following persons to the freedom of the city, in consequence of a mandamus from the King's Bench, founded on the verdict of the jury at Ennis on the 11th of March previous;—John Tuthill, Esq., and James O'Sullivan, merchant. Lord Glentworth was likewise entitled, but did not attend to make his claim. Several new claims made.

June 12th.—Major Stoddart, of the 10th Enniskillen Dragoons, killed by a fall over his horse's head on the Castle Connell road—was interred at St. Munchin's church with great honor. He had come to Limerick to assist at a general Court Martial, of which he was judge.

June 20th.—Peace proclaimed in London—in Dublin on the 24th—27th in Limerick,—prices daily falling in consequence of the peace.

Definitive articles of peace were signed and ratified between Great Britain and the several sovereigns of the Continent on the 30th ult.

The following were the extravagant prices provisions bore in Limerick, in the commencement of the present year:—Mutton, 11d. per lb., Beef, 10d. per lb., Pork, 7d. and 8d. per lb., Wheat, 3s. 8d. per stone; and almost everything else in the same proportion. The gold coin had entirely vanished, the silver very scarce, and paper money universal; all the effects of a war of 20 years' duration with France, happily terminated by the banishment (for a short time only) to Elba of Buonaparte.

July 1st.—The Shannon so low, that the inland navigation has ceased. A luggage boat from Dublin grounded at Annabeg. Flour scarce—country millers without means of turning their mills—wheat this day down to 1s. per stone!

vindicate the rights of petition, and to denounce the conduct of the government. Mr. John Howley, jun.[1] had presided at the Limerick meeting which took place on the 24th of August, 1812, and which was attended by Daniel O'Connell, Counsellor Casey, Counsellor O'Gorman, &c., and which was a noble meeting, where resolutions were adopted proclaiming the right of petition, thanking the most noble the Earl of Fingal for having taken his proper place at the head of the Catholics of Ireland, thanking the honest Protestant, George Lidwell, Esq., and declaring their determination to co-operate with the general committee of the Catholics of Ireland for a redress of grievances.[2] The fight was carried on nobly, unflinchingly, and resolutely. The Catholic Board was formed by Daniel O'Connell, and continued to work zealously; but on the 4th of June, 1814, the Lord Lieutenant and Privy Council issued a proclamation by which they declared the Catholic Board an unlawful assembly, and ordered all to abstain from its proceedings! This did not damp the ardour of the Catholics. To add to the troubles of the times, an unexpected peace with France was proclaimed, by the banishment of Bonaparte to Elba. The peace was proclaimed on the 27th of June in Limerick, when prices which the month before had been unprecedentedly high, fell, to the ruin of many speculators. Among the militia regiments disembodied in the month after, was the county of Limerick regiment, when a mutiny had nearly resulted, owing to the fact

[1] The present Mr. Sergeant Howley, Q.C.
[2] State of the Catholic Cause, Dublin, 1812.

July 7th.—General thanksgiving for peace.

In this month, a wooden gallery built on the west wall of the City gaol over the river, and another on the north wall at the end of Newgate-lane, to prevent the escape of prisoners. A sentinel walks on the galleries.

July 22nd.—Archdeacon Hill died in Dublin, and was buried on the 27th in St. Munchin's.

July 26th.—The portico to the County Court House finished. Cost £700.

July 29th.—The new Theatre in George's-street, opened. It was intended to open it with "Othello," but some of the tragedians not coming, the play was changed to the "Inconstant." Complaints of the gallery occupants was made of the old Theatre. Prices in the new:—boxes and lattices, 4s. 2d.—gallery, 3s. 4d.—pit, 1s. 8d.

In this month many failures in the different country banks; credit at a low ebb; the Limerick banks as yet stand safe, but refuse to discount any paper. So great and general is the demand for Bank of Ireland paper, that people will take nothing else. How changed, in everything since 1797, when the annexed advertisement appeared in the public newspaper, the *Limerick Chronicle*:—

"Pursuant to a requisition made for a meeting on Monday next, the 13th inst., several of the gentlemen, merchants, and traders, met for the purpose of taking into consideration the present state of the notes of the Bank of Ireland. Limerick, March 11th, 1797.

John Harrison, Mayor."

August.—The latter end of last month and what has passed of this, uncommonly stormy, wet, and inclement—though in the dog days, the thermometer did not rise above 60 degrees. On the 15th a vessel arrived at the Quay, dismasted and almost a wreck; a Welsh brig loaded with slates, which sailed from Cardigan, and was bound to Sligo, met a dreadful gale off Sline head, and put into the Shannon in distress.

In this month a new fire engine for St. Mary's parish, was purchased by the inhabitants; it was made by Charles and Thomas Lee, smiths, and was the first ever made in Limerick; it cost £40, and the materials of the old engine, which was purchased in London, in 1768.

The malt liquor so bad and debased, that what has been long sold as beer, scarcely possessed any of the qualities of that article, except those produced by chemical compounds.

The conclusion of the month of August and the month of September, perfectly dry, and most favorable for saving a most luxurious harvest.

September 11th.—About 9 p.m., the atmosphere over the city, stretching east and west, was a luminous vapour, arched like a rainbow—but the moon did not rise that night till 40 minutes after 1 o'clock; and there was no rain at the time. One end of it dissipated into various fantastical shapes, like northern lights; it was a belt of white light, similar to the tail of a comet—the height of the extremities of the arch above the horizon about 20 degrees of a circle, of which it was a segment; its breadth that of a rainbow—it rose in the west, appearing first in

that the men were not permitted to take their great coats, which the government alleged they required to clothe the naked soldiers who were coming home from the Peninsula—and thereby effect a saving of £30,000.—Miserable economy![1]

In September, 1814, a third belfry was erected in a Catholic Chapel in Limerick, that of St. Mary's Parish, and a bell was put up in January following.

The project of building the projected bridge over the Shannon from Custom-House Quay to the opposite side of the river, was publicly abandoned on the 20th September this year (1814), when an advertisement appeared in the public journals of the city to that effect. At this time the north end of Thomond Bridge near Castle-street, was only eight feet ten inches wide, though one of the greatest thoroughfares in the kingdom, and a resolution was adopted to widen and repair that ancient bridge.

The state of the country this year and the following year was deplorable in the extreme: the people were in the greatest distress and misery, and crime consequently prevailed to a lamentable extent. In September, 1815, the several regiments that composed the garrison of Limerick marched under arms to their different places of worship: the County and Liberties of the City had been for a long time disturbed by nightly insurgents, who robbed, flogged, and deprived of their arms, many of the peaceable inhabitants. On the 26th of the month, an extraordinary Sessions of the Peace was held, and the Magistrates of the County assembled by public advertisement. The County

[1] In more recent years, a mutiny absolutely took place in the North Tipperary Regiment of militia in Nenagh, on the disembodiment of that regiment, when the men were refused their clothes, through a miserable economy also. On this occasion the mutiny was quelled by Major-General Chatterton, Commander of the Limerick Garrison.

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the constellation of Hercules, near to the Corona Borealis; its motion to the east very perceptible, and as far as the eye could guide, uniformly accellerated; it shot from the place where it originated, through the milky way, entering it in Beta eygon, passing through epsilon Cygani, through the south of Lacura, through Andromeda, between Beta and Gamma of that Constellation, through the bright star of Caput Medusæ, and terminating in Persæus near Auriga; all of which stars were obscurely seen through its radiance; it receded slowly to the south, and disappeared about two degrees further from the Zenith, than where it was first observed.

Sept. 28th.—A large bird of the Heron species alighted, and remained half an hour on one of the pinnacles of the tower of the Cathedral, and drew some attention.

In the Autumn of this year, the small pox very fatal in the city and neighbourhood, particularly to infants.

In the latter end of the month of October, died at Bunnahow, in the Co. of Clare, Mrs. Butler, aged 105 years.—*Limerick Advertiser, November 4th*, 1814.

In the Summer of this year, the old city Brewery, long since a ruin, began to undergo an entire repair; a new mill wheel, and all necessary machinery erected, by Mr. Michael Rochford, the proprietor.

Died at Killaloe, John O'Meally, aged 104; he worked as a labourer till a short time before his death.—*Limerick Chronicle, November 9th.*

November.—In this month, mile stones were erected on the canal and track ways between Limerick and Killaloe, with a double inscription, marking on two sides, the relative distances from each place.

In this month, died, Miss White, a young lady of considerable fortune, who left the following charitable bequests to her native city:—

£1000 for building a Magdalen asylum, in this city, and after the death of an old lady, £100 a year for its support for 20 years; £50 per year for 50 years to the Fever Hospital; £40 per year for 21 years to the House of Industry; £80 per year to the Roman Catholic Schools; £30 each per year for 20 years, to the poor of the Parishes of St. Mary's, St. Munchin's, St. John's and St. Michael's; £10 per year for 50 years to the Lying-in Hospital; £50 per year for 35 years to St. Michael's Chapel; £5 a year for 20 years to the Dispensary; £50 for the purchase of books for the poor, She has been the greatest benefactress to the poor since the time of Dr. Jeremiah Hall,—she was a Catholic—most pious—most devoted.

of Limerick, and the Liberties of the City were declared to be out of His Majesty's peace. Forty-three Magistrates attended. The County was proclaimed on the 20th of September—the proclamation to begin to be in force from the 5th of October. The Liberties were also proclaimed. Sergeants Johnson and Joy were sent down by Government to hold Special Sessions in the City and County. A Special Commission of general gaol delivery was held at Limerick on the 1st of November, Chief Baron O'Grady presided as Judge in the County, and Mr. Sergeant Joy in the city. In the County were confined seven charged with murder, nineteen for assembling at night, and taking arms, nine for robbery on the highway, twenty for burglary and felony, five for flogging at night, two firing with intent to kill, one for abduction, one for assault on a magistrate, four for cow-stealing, nine for minor offences—total, 79. In the city one was charged with murder, four for taking up arms, four for assaulting with intent to kill, four for robbery, two for burglary, two for sheep-stealing, one minor offence—total, 18. Out of those there were eight executed at the places where their several crimes were alleged to have been committed; some were transported to Botany Bay for seven years; some were flogged, and some were confined and obliged to give bail.

While these lamentable proceedings were taking place, it was a relief to

December.—A monument erected in the Cathedral of St. Mary's, near the burial place of the bishops, on the south side of the Communion Table, with the following inscription:—

To the Memory of
LIEUT.-COL. RICKARD LLOYD,
Who fell on the 10th December, 1813,
While engaged in a successful contest
Against superior numbers,
Near the City of Bayonne, in the South of France.
THIS MONUMENT IS ERECTED,
By the Officers, Non-Commissioned Officers,
And Privates,
Of the 2nd Battalion, 84th Regiment of Infantry;
As a testimony of respect for his valour
AS A SOLDIER,
And of affection for his virtues
AS A MAN.

This cenotaph was opened for the public on the 10th, the anniversary of Colonel Lloyd's death, when the 84th Regiment, then in this garrison, attended divine service, in grand funeral procession at the Cathedral. It was executed at Dublin, and cost the Regiment £103 10s. 3d.—has the family arms, with the motto *vi virtute*—and on the top a pyramid of black marble—with an urn and military trophies.

December 16th.—At a very early hour this morning, a tremendous storm arose from the S.W. quarter, and blew a hurricane more furious than any remembered by the oldest person living here; it threw down several chimneys, and unroofed houses—it threw down a new house in Glentworth-street. About 7 o'clock, a Norway ship of about 200 tons, drifted from her fastenings at Shannon-quay, and was driven up to the lower end of Newgate-lane, abreast of the old Golden Mills; a brig and a sloop, both laden, were driven completely over the weir of Curragower, and grounded under the S.W. tower of the Castle Barrack. The tide rose up to the houses on Merchants'-quay; the lanes and passages were strewn with bricks, tiles and slates, which had fallen from the houses; the flag-staff, erected on St. Mary's Cathedral at the close of A.D. 1800, was broken and carried away; and the new wooden gallery erected in July last, on the west side of the City gaol, over the river, was totally destroyed. A new Scotch sloop, with rock salt, thrown on her beam ends, at O'Neill's-quay, and sunk. Great damage on the North-strand, and most of a new parapet wall, erected only last summer, swept clear away. Many of the river craft totally lost, together with many lives. The leads on the Custom House rolled up, and partly carried off. This storm very general throughout the kingdom; upwards of 530 large trees torn up from the roots at Adare; 130 gross trees at Tervoe; 200 ditto at Castletown waller; 150 ditto at Hollypark (Mr. Taylor's); twenty farmers' houses were levelled to the ground on Kilgenny common, about 3 miles beyond Adare. An over grown elm tree at Clonmacken, in the N. Liberties, blown down—it had stood upwards of 150 years; at Kilballyowen, 130 trees—all in this county. The damage at sea was dreadful. At Liverpool, 4 vessels were

observe the exertions which the Catholics of Limerick continued to make, in order to provide themselves with commodious churches. Early in the year, the foundations of the new Chapel of St. Patrick's were laid in Clare-street, under the directions of the Rev. Patrick Magrath, P.P.; and the Dominicans, who had been for many years confined to their small chapel in Fish Lane, undertook the building of a noble church in Glentworth-street, which, for a long period, was the largest in the city; the Rev. Patrick Harrogan, O.P. was prior at the time; and many of the principal Catholic citizens aided him in the project.

The mills on the north bank of the canal, which were built by Messrs. Welsh and Uzuld, having become almost a ruin, were fitted up as a brewery by Messrs. Walker and Co. of Cork, at an expense of £25,000. This now became one of the first establishments of the kind in Munster; but it did not prosper for any length of time.

The Corporation, meanwhile, true to its instincts, persevered not only in opposing the legitimate rights of the citizens, but in plundering them remorselessly.

On the 26th of June, 1815, the following accounts were submitted by the

lost, at Newcome 1, at Falmouth 6, at Dover 8, at Cowes 5, at Greenock 3, at Leith Roads 4, on the Goodwin Sands 6, at Ramsgate 2, New Castle and Bristol 2, off Calais 8, Bologne 10, Dieppe 5, Hill 8, Scarborough 3. The mercury in the barometer, during the tremendous gale, stood at Limerick, so high as 28 inches eight-tenths.

1815, July 10th.—The first square-rigged vessel ever built in Limerick, was launched from the Dry Dock, at Newtown, this day—tonnage 156 tons—Messrs. Mullock and Graham, owners.

July 13th.—The City of Limerick Militia re-embodied—the same day the County Limerick Regiment of Militia was re-embodied.

At the conclusion of the month of August, the roofing of the Cathedral, from the western tower or steeple to the eastern gable was finished. It was begun in the month of April, the roof at the time, being in a very tottering state, was partially stript. The rafters were all of oak, ten inches square, and much decayed and rotted, for about two feet from the bottom—by lowering the pitch of the roof, most of them were of great utility. The roof supposed to be coeval with the Cathedral.

November 24th.—Peter Hehir, died in the Poor House, aged 102 years—he had the full exercise of his mental faculties to the last moment.—*Limerick Chronicle.*

In this year, the fire arms of all the Regiments of Infantry were coloured brown.

In this year a tower, a beacon, began to be erected on the Beeve's Rocks, near Askeaton, to guide vessels at night.

1816, January.—Early in this month, a very fine organ, built by Evans of London, erected in the Parish Chapel of St. Michael, it cost £1000, and is certainly the finest ever seen in this city; the Chapel has been recently very much ornamented, enlarged and beautified by the Rev. Patrick Hogan, P.P.

In this month, an American screw arrived in Limerick from New York, having the figure head of an Indian chief, with his pipe of peace, string of wampum and other pacific emblems of his nation. The history of this vessel is interesting; it appears that the owner had sometime since lost a vessel on a remote coast of America, where a chief named Samopett ruled; this chief afforded every kind of protection to the shipwrecked crew, and used his utmost efforts in preserving their property, and sending them safe back to their own port. The owner built this new vessel, and in gratitude for favours received, named her the Samopett.

The weather at this period was so severe that during the last ten or twelve days of the month, the setting out of the Dublin mail for Limerick from Dublin was altered for two nights from eight o'clock, p.m., to seven o'clock next morning, to avoid losing way in the snow, which covered the Curragh of Kildare.

March 3rd and 4th.—The city was visited with another of those terrible storms which are of such frequent occurrence, and which have been noted, from the very earliest times, in our annals. Several vessels in the harbour drifted from their moorings. An old uninhabited house, opposite the old market house in the Irishtown, fell, and crushed to death a poor old woman of the name of Dairs.

The severity of the past winter is said to be greater than was experienced for the twenty preceding years.

On this day (5th of April) also, all the officers of the Assessed Tax Department are off duty, and their future services dispensed with. The assessed taxes comprised hearths, windows, male servants, horses, carriages, and sporting dogs. The duty on hearths and windows was abolished

Chamberlain, (which we give as a small specimen of the way in which the public money was scattered broadcast in bootless litigation) :—

	£	s.	d.
Ordered—No. 1. The Prosecutor's taxed costs in the Cause—The King at the Prosecution of John Tuthill, Esq., against the Corporation of Limerick, per Boyse and Barrington's Bill, ...	840	10	1
Ordered—No. 2. The Prosecutor's Taxed Costs in the Cause—The King at the Prosecution of James Sullivan, against the Corporation of Limerick, per same Attorney's Bill, ...	524	10	4
Ordered—No. 3. The Prosecutor's Taxed Costs in the Cause—The King at the Prosecution of Lord Glentworth, and the Mayor, Sheriff, and Citizens of Limerick, per same Attorney's Bill,	581	6	7
No. 4. Postage paid on the foregoing Costs, received in a Packet from Mr. Barrington, ...	1	7	9

The manufacture of freemen still went on in the most barefaced manner, in order to swamp the liberal interest; but while their 'honours' were going on after this scandalous fashion, sealing their inevitable doom, dividing the loaves and fishes, dressing up Sergeants-at-Mace at enormous figures, and acting throughout on the exclusive system, the Catholics who had passed through a fiery ordeal, but who were not as yet emancipated from the fetters of the penal laws, were up and stirring, and making their voices heard in every direction.

in 1822; the other duties not until March, 1823. The Chancellor of the Exchequer declared that the last mentioned duties, viz. those on servants, &c., produced £1,000,000 a-year, and that the hearths and windows netted only £250,000. The expense attending the collection left the produce very little.

In this month the fish and fowl markets were removed from Ellen-street, and the street opened and continued in a straight line towards the Corn Market, the cupola of which makes a pleasing termination to this vista.

April 17th.—The Catholic Emancipation Bill lost in the House of Commons—the adjournment of the House was carried as follows:—

For the adjournment	313
Against	111
Majority	202

An address was presented by the Protestant Bishops expressing their objections to the alterations in the Tithe Bill: the address bears the signatures of the Archbishops of Dublin and Tuam; the Bishop of Limerick, and thirteen other Bishops. The other Protestant Bishops who signed are:—Kildare, Kilmore, Down and Connor, Clogher, Cork and Ross, Elphin, Ossory, Waterford, Dromore, Killaloe, Ferns, and Raphoe.

May 10th.—The City Sheriffs received an order from Government to transmit five men and three woman, under sentence of transportation, to the Penitentiary House, Cork.

May 14th.—Mr. Thomas P. Vokes, appointed Police Magistrate for the County of Limerick—*vice* Richard Wilcocks resigned. Mr. Wilcocks retains his appointment as Inspector-General of the Munster Police.

It is deemed worthy of observation, and a proof of the change in the time, that the Mayor, on the 10th of May, *actually and publicly* advertised for estimates for the repair of the parapet wall on George's quay, and the three water slips on the same—two of them—the one near the new (now Mathew) bridge—and the other near Ball's bridge, were in a most deplorable and truly dangerous state, having probably, no attention paid them, since their erection in 1763; the slip at the end of Creagh-lane was well repaired in the Mayoralty of Andrew Watson, Esq. in 1812.

June 6th.—In the King's Bench, William Taylor, one of the City Sheriffs, sentenced to one month's imprisonment, in Kilmainham Gaol, from the first day of term, for using and writing provoking expressions to John Norris Russell—inducing him to break the peace; this matter arose out of the disputes between the Corporation and the Independents, of whom Mr. J. N. Russell was an efficient member.

The Linen Board has granted 200 spinning wheels and 12 reels, to enable the unemployed females in this County to earn a subsistence. The grant to the several Counties in the Province

Another great suit was tried at Cork Spring Assizes, in the year after (1816), in which John Tuthill, Esq., on behalf of the independents, was plaintiff, and the Corporation defendants. The jury remained in two days and one night—they gave no verdict—eleven were for the plaintiff. One only, a Mr. William Taylor, for the defendants. Mr. Taylor was presented with the freedom of the city for this act, in a gold box, and was made Sheriff in the years 1819, 1820, 1821, and 1822.

On the 23rd of March, another trial took place, with the same plaintiff and defendants, on other grounds, in which the plaintiff was non-suited.

At the commencement of this century one of the most ancient families in the County of Limerick, could lay claim to three distinguished individuals whose names are interwoven with the history of the time. We refer to Standish O'Grady, afterwards Chief Baron O'Grady, afterwards Viscount Guillamore. Harry Dean Grady, and Thomas Grady of Belmont, better known by the soubriquet of Spectacle Grady.

We have already referred to the Rt. Hon. Standish O'Grady, far the most distinguished of the three.

Harry Dean Grady was a barrister of great and rising talents. He represented Limerick in Parliament in conjunction with Colonel Vereker, and supported the fatal Union, against which his colleague voted on every

of Munster, including Limerick, amounts to 1798 wheels and 383 reels, at the total expense of £1000.

Ball's Bridge, Mary-street, Nicholas-street, Castle-street, and part of Thomond Bridge, newly paved since the commencement of this year.

In the Summer Assizes of this year, a change in the route of the Munster Circuit took place—since the Summer Assizes of 1796, when Tipperary and Waterford were added to the Leinster Circuit, the judges began at Ennis, thence to Limerick, thence to Tralee, and finished the judicial career at Cork. This year, they commenced at Cork, thence to Ennis, thence to Limerick, thence to Tralee; and in consequence of the weight of the criminal business, return again to Cork after all the other business of the Circuit is finished.

Messrs. Williams and Cockburn of Dublin, have contracted for the new Lunatic Asylum about to be built in this City, at a sum not much exceeding £20,000. This work will give employment to the numerous distressed tradesmen at this period.

July 4th.—Two Dutch Boers or farmers have been brought by the Linen Board from Holland, to instruct the peasantry of this county in the cultivation and management of flax, which is a source of national wealth to Holland. Their tour will be the Counties of Cork, Limerick, Clare, and Galway. A great number of linen wheels and reels have, within a short period, been distributed among poor young females here to encourage them to industry.

Diary of the weather for June:—

Thermometer—Highest, 70. Lowest, 45.
Barometer— Highest, 30, 40. Lowest, 29, 30.
Days of rain—10. Cloudy—6. Sunshine—13. Thunder—1.
Wind, in general, N.E., N.W., and S.W. Quantity of rain—1 inch six-tenths.

July 12th.—The following will show the great depression in the articles of life. A boat load of potatoes was this day sold at the Poor House at three farthings per stone.

July 26th.—At the Summer Assizes £4000 to be presented in the County for the Insurrection Act to the Judges; £2000 to the Police.

In the month of July a new Butter Weigh-house built in Carr-street, closely adjoining the new Linen Hall. The former Weigh-house outside Mungret Gate ejected for want of title.

August 4th.—A man named Daniel O'Connell, who had been tried at the Assizes, was executed in front of the new County Jail for murder. He acknowledged that he was one of the party who broke into the house of Dennis Morrissey, on the 22nd of February, 1822; but he denied that he fired the shot by which Morissey was killed.

August 7th.—Labourers commenced digging the foundations for the New Lunatic Asylum on the Waterford and Tipperary road, Upper William-street.

State of the weather for July:—

Thermometer—Highest, 69. Lowest, 50.
Barometer— Highest, 29. Lowest, 0.
Weather—Days with rain—27. Cloudy and no rain—3. Sunshine—1.
Wind in general W.S.W. and N.W.
Quantity of rain upon each square foot of surface—3 Inches.

occasion. He was rewarded with the office of "first Counsel to the Commons," after which he slowly sunk into obscurity. Two of his daughters, Lady Muskerry and Lady Roche, were married to members of their native County. Mr. Thomas Grady's first appearance in public was at the meeting of the bar convened to discuss the Union on the 9th of December, 1799. Of course the Father of the Bar occupied the chair, and Saurin, Plunket, Bushe, Jonah Barrington, Peter Burrowes, and all the most distinguished members of the bar attended. St. George Daly was the first to speak in favor of the Union. Of him it was wittily observed, that the Union was the first brief he spoke out of. Thomas Grady was Fitzgibbon's spokesman. "The Irish," said Mr. Grady, following Daly, "are only the rump of an aristocracy. Shall I visit posterity with a system of war, pestilence and famine? No! Give me a Union. Unite me to that country where all is peace, order and prosperity. Without a Union we shall see embryo chief justices, attorneys-general in perspective, and animalcula sergeants? &c. &c." Mr. John Beresford, Lord Clare's pursebearer, followed in the same strain, and Thomas Goold, another Limerick man, practically closed the debate with the declaration, that "the Almighty has in majestic characters signed the great charter of our independence. The great Creator of the world has given our beloved country the gigantic outlines of a kingdom. The God of nature never intended that Ireland should be a province, *and by —— she never shall!*"

Loud applause followed, and the division being taken there appeared

Against the Union, ...	166
For it	32
Majority	134

For his vote on this occasion, Thomas Grady was made a county Judge, worth £600 a year.

August 16th.—A wooden portico of four Doric columns with its entablature, erected at the entrance of the new Augustinian Chapel (lately a Theatre) in George's-street.

August 18th.—Patrick Ivis executed at the New Gaol, pursuant to sentence at the last Assizes. He acknowledged his guilt; he was sixty years of age.

August 22nd.—James Connell and John Dundon executed at the New Gaol, pursuant to sentence at the last Assizes. Daniel Nunan, under similar circumstances, received a reprieve, a few minutes before his associates were led to execution.

The vulgar tradition, "that if St. Swithin's day (15th July) is wet, it will rain for forty days after," was most completely exemplified this year; probably a wetter autumn has not been remembered. Turf was taken by the country people from the Quays to Charleville, Bruff, Tipperary, Rathkeale, and all around in the County of Limerick, to the extent of twenty miles, the bogs being under water and inaccessible. At this period (August 26th) the crops are very luxuriant and promising; but the heat is only 61 on Farenheit scale, whereas summer, or ripening heat is always 76.

August 30th.—Henry Rose, Esq. elected to serve the office of sheriff for the ensuing year, in the room of John Cripps, Esq. Jun. who was appointed to that situation on Monday after the 24th of June.

From returns made to the House of Commons in the course of the last Sessions, it appears that the following Protestant Parochial Schools are in the sees of Limerick and Kerry:—

Fifteen Parochial Schools which are attended by about twelve hundred children. The greater part of the population are Roman Catholics, and stoutly persist in refusing to permit their children to receive any instruction from a Protestant Establishment.

Sept. 5th.—A Special Session of the Insurrection Act held at the Court-house; a man sent off from the dock for transportation.

Diary of the weather for August:—

Thermometer—Highest, 72.		Lowest, 41.
Barometer— Highest, 30-10.		Lowest, 29.

Weather—Sunshine, cloudy, and rain more or less every day; wind in general S.W., W.N.W.

Quantity of rain—1 inch.

Although possessed of great talents he practically failed at the bar. He was eaten up with the green-eyed monster, and if surpassed by any one, he cherished for him the most undying hatred, being totally incapable of understanding, that sooner or later we all meet our masters. Even his relative, Standish O'Grady, was not exempt from this jealousy, and many were the satires directed against him by his kinsman. Sick at heart and soured in disposition, Grady ultimately left the bar, and devoted much time to his pen.[1]

[1] The character of this extraordinary man may be thus epitomised.—He was a gentleman of independent property, a good lawyer, but without judgment, an amatory poet, a severe and scarcely decent satirist, and an indefatigable tuft-hunter. He wrote the "Flesh-brush" for Lady Clare; the "West Briton" for the Union, "The Barrister" for the Bar, and the "Nosegay" for Mr. Bruce the banker at Limerick, who it is said, refused to appreciate the value of some accommodation bills tendered to him in exchange for cash. The following extract from the "Nosegay" will show the characteristics of the poem. It represents Bruce tortured by his own conscience and reflections in the solitude of night:

Yet in the dark and dreadful midnight hour,
Oh God! this caitiff owns thy sovereign pow'r;
It happen'd once, by some unlucky doom,
I lay (not slept) in his adjoining room;
'Twas then I witness'd of his soul the pangs,
The stripes of conscience, and of guilt the fangs;
Scar'd by fierce visions from his fev'rish rest,
He saw ten thousand daggers at his breast;
"Murder! ye villains! murder!" he exclaim'd,
And of his many victims *some* he named;
Now seem'd the pistol's muzzle to evade,
And parried now the visionary blade.
Now roar'd and bellow'd like one mad or drunk,
And now to abject supplication sunk;
Now the most hellish imprecations utter'd;
Now, half suppressed, the Litany he mutter'd;
And now, confounding blessed spirits with evil,
Invok'd, at once, our Saviour and the Devil.
Thus passed a night, which fear and fury share,
A sad *melange* of blasphemy and pray'r;
And while his groans and suspirations rattle,
I thought of RICHARD on the eve of battle!
* * * * * *
Oh! Heav'nly Father! merciful and kind,
Subdue my passions, grant me peace of mind!
Peace with good men on earth to me be given,
And glory be to Thee, on high in Heav'n!
And if this world one Atheist shall disclose,
Thy sacred balm of mercy interpose;
Place him by night where he may fairly hear
The ravings of this wretch's guilt and fear;
Atheist no more—reform'd, he'll bend the knee
To truth and grace, to Majesty and thee.

It is to be regretted that many passages in his works render them unfit for general perusal. In the year 1816 he published a second edition of the "Nosegay," upon which an action for libel was brought against him at Spring assizes, 1817, and £500 damages given to Bruce, though £20,000 were sought. The following are the names of the jury before whom the case was tried:—Hon. George Eyre Massy, Foreman; Edward Croker; Stephen Edward Rice; The Knight of Glin; De Courcy O'Grady; Thomas Rice; Michael Scanlan; Edward Villiers; George Tuthill; John Greene; Robert Cripps; Alexander Rose, Esqrs. The local papers suppressed the trial, but portions of it were printed by A. J. Watson, Limerick, for the Editor, which caused much litigation afterwards. The damages Grady would never pay, and voluntarily expatriated himself for life. He died some few years ago at Boulogne. His works abound in curious anecdotes about Limerick people. The following anecdote about Bernard, Bishop of Limerick, in 1799, will afford a fair specimen of his dry humour:

CHAPTER XLVIII.

LOCOMOTION.—MR. BIANCONI.—EDUCATIONAL REFORM.—INTRODUCTION OF THE CHRISTIAN BROTHERS TO LIMERICK.—THOMAS SPRING RICE, ESQ.—CHAIRING OF MR. TUTHILL.—DISTURBANCES AFTER VISIT OF GEORGE IV.—TERMS OFFERED BY THE INSURGENTS, &c. &c.

It was in the same year (1815), that Mr. Charles Bianconi, an Italian by birth, but an Irishman in heart, and of wonderful energy and ability, applied his active mind to the promotion of means for the public accommodation of passengers in the South of Ireland, which had been hitherto confined to a few mail and day coaches, which travelled with comparative leisure on the great lines of road between Munster and Dublin.

From his peculiar position in the country, he had ample opportunities of reflecting on many things, and nothing struck him more forcibly than the great vacuum that existed in travelling accommodation between the different orders of society.

"I never will forget the impression this accomplished man (the Bishop) made upon me, the first day I sat in his company. It was at Lord Gort's—after dinner the conversation took a stupid turn upon our taxes, and particularly upon the window tax, then lately laid on this country, and I threw in some stupid observations, reprobating the tax and lamenting the miserable five or six pounds a-year I had to pay for my house in Dublin—'Sir,' says he, 'you have no taxes, it is idle to talk of taxes in this country. Sir, I had a house once in London that lay at the angle of two great streets. By consequence it had two fronts—each very extensive, and with more than the ordinary proportion of windows to each front—and sir, I had to pay for the window tax of that house (I think he said) £80.' This struck me with horror—*proximus ardet.* I had a prophetic anticipation of what had since happened, and in the state of despair arising from the *coup d'œil*, I burst forth into the vulgar and indecent ejaculation of 'oh blood and 'ounds!' I saw in an instant the lawn sleeves present themselves to my confounded imagination. I was sensible of the vulgarity and grossness I had committed, and I most humbly asked his pardon. He saw I was degraded and humbled in my own feelings, and fixing his eyes upon me, which sparkled when he was going to be playful, and gave notice of the coming flash—'Well—you *may* say 'blood and 'ounds,' sir! It was enough to make any honest man say 'blood and 'ounds,' sir! I can tell you, sir, it has made a bishop say 'blood and 'ounds,' sir.' The whole table was convulsed, and I was redeemed by the wit, the pleasantry, and good nature of this admirable man."

O'Grady also wrote "Sir Phelim O'Shaughnessy," the "Two-penny Post-Bag," &c.

September 29th.—Pursuant to Act 4th Geo. IV. the Freemen of the City assembled in the Tolsel Court, to elect a Common Speaker for the Court of D'Oyer Hundred; John Barclay Westropp, Esq. was elected. There is no mention in the existing books of the Corporation of a Common Speaker being chosen since the 3rd of April, 1680, when Robert Smyth, Burgess, was chosen to that office. Mr. Westropp and Mr. Hughes Russell were the only Candidates for the office of Common Speaker, the former on the Corporation interest, the latter on the independent interest. The Rev. Henry Ivers Ingram, the oldest resident freeman, presided in the Chair. Numbers for Westropp, 122; for Russell, 20.

In this summer Rutland-street, George's-street, and Patrick-street, were newly paved.

In this year the 29th Regiment quartered here; they paraded to church every Sunday twenty boys and twenty girls. Captain Bridges was remarkable in the Regiment as a very wealthy man; he drove a bang-up coach and four-in-hand, the first seen in Limerick—he always drove, and was accompanied by several of his brother officers seated on the roof, with one or more servants in the hinder seat, blowing horns.

October 3rd.—Ten men tried in Rathkeale, under the Insurrection Act, and sentenced to seven years' transportation; and on the 4th, three more met a similar fate.

The inconvenience felt for the want of more extended means of intercourse, particularly from the interior of the country to the different market towns, gave great advantage to the few at the expense of the many; and, above all, a great loss of time.

In July, 1815, he started a car for the conveyance of passengers from Clonmel to Caher, which he subsequently extended to Tipperary and Limerick; at the end of the same year, he started similar cars from Clonmel to Cashel and Thurles, and from Clonmel to Carrick and Waterford, and he subsequently extended this establishment, including the most insulated localities, and numbering in 1843, 100 vehicles, including mail coaches and different sized cars, capable of carrying from four to twenty passengers each, and travelling eight or nine miles an hour, at an average of one penny farthing per mile for each passenger, and performing daily 3,800 miles, passing through over 140 stations for the change of horses, consuming 3 to 4,000 tons of hay, and from 30 to 40,000 barrels of oats, annually, all of which were purchased in their respective localities.

His establishment originated immediately after the peace of 1815, having then had the advantage of a supply of first class horses intended for the army, and rating in price from ten to twenty pounds each, one of which drew a car and six persons with ease seven miles an hour. The demand for such horses having ceased, the breeding of them naturally diminished, and, after some time, he found it necessary to put two inferior horses to do the work of one. Finding he thus had extra horse power, he increased the size of the car, which held six passengers—three on each side—to one capable of carrying eight, and in proportion as the breed of horses improved, he continued to increase the size of the cars for summer work, and to add to the number of horses in winter, for the conveyance of the same number of passengers, until he converted the two-wheeled two-horse cars into four-wheeled cars, drawn by two, three, or four horses, according to the traffic on the respective roads, and the wants of the public.

Oct. 6th.—New mayor and sheriffs sworn to office; the sergeants-at-mace, bailiffs, and constables, appeared in new and hitherto uncommonly fine uniforms. Before this time it was not the custom to clothe them till the ensuing spring assizes.

The toll on corn and grain this year is one penny per bushel.

The decadence of theatricals throughout Ireland is instanced this year, not only by the change of the Theatre of Limerick into an admirable Catholic Church, but that at Kilkenny, so famous some years ago for its theatricals, has been changed into a hay market and corn store. The Patrick-street theatre, Cork, is appropriated to the fine arts, and the Wexford theatre converted into a dissenting meeting house.

October 29th.—At a special sessions in the City Court House, under the Insurrection Act, a man sentenced to seven years' transportation, and sent out of the dock.

October 30th and 31st.—Dreadful storms and shipwrecks on the English coast. This city, and Ireland generally, have escaped.

December 3rd.—A great depression in the mercury, but no storm.

Viscount Gort elected a sitting peer of the Realm in the room of the late Viscount Powerscourt.

Dec. 6th.—This day the Cork coach from this city leaves the Post Office at half-past eleven o'clock, A.M., and arrives in Cork at eight, P.M.; leaves Cork at six, A.M., and arrives here at half-past two, P.M., performing the journey of fifty miles, Irish, in eight hours and a-half.

Dec. 10th and 11th.—Special sessions at Rathkeale, under the Insurrection Act; one man, a country schoolmaster, an alleged writer of Captain Rock's orders, transported.

In the summer of this year a vestibule or portico, supported by four wooden columns of the Ionic order, erected over the entrance into the new Augustinian Chapel, George's-street.

Dec. 12th.—In the Court of King's Bench the will of the late Mrs. Hannah Villiers, of this city, fully established; among many charitable bequests, she has left the sum of £288 per year for the support of twelve poor widows at £24 each. By this will an Alms House was built at her expense for their reception on a piece of ground adjoining St. Munchin's churchyard, and known by the name of the Bishop's Garden, which she had purchased several years before for this purpose. This Alms House is admirably built, and is beautifully situated in view of the Shannon, the Clare mountains, &c.

The progress of the establishment was wonderful.[1] Mr. Bianconi became one of the men of mark of his time. He has been also always prominent in the political movements of his time as a staunch and earnest friend of O'Connell, and his policy. He threw heart and soul and money into the movement for Catholic Emancipation; he realised a noble fortune, portion of which he has invested in the purchase of estates in his adopted County of Tipperary, of which he is a Magistrate, a Grand Juror, and Deputy Lieutenant. The late Sir Robert Peel recognised his public services by a complimentary reference to them in the House of Commons, when the naturalization of Mr. Bianconi was granted. He relates himself that in 1807–'8 he was located at Carrick-on-Suir, distant from Waterford, by road sixteen, and by the River Suir about thirty miles; and the only public mode of conveyance for passengers between these two places, containing a population of between thirty and forty thousand inhabitants, was "Tom Morrissey's boat," which carried from eight to ten passengers, and which, besides being obliged to await the tide, took from four to five hours to perform the journey, at a fare of sixpence-halfpenny of the then currency. At the time the railway opened between Cork and Waterford, in 1853, there was between the two towns horse-power capable of conveying by cars and coaches one hundred passengers daily, performing the journey in less than two hours, at a fare of two shillings, thus showing that the people not only began to understand the value of time, but also appreciated it. He subsequently became a contractor for the conveyance of several cross mails, at a price not exceeding half the amount which the Government had paid the postmasters for doing this duty; and it was not until Lord O'Neill and Lord Ross had ceased to be Postmasters-General of Ireland, and that the Duke of Richmond became Postmaster General of the United Kingdom, under the Government of Lord Grey, and that the local postmasters were no longer appointed exclusively from one section of the community, that the conveyance of all the cross mails was set up to public competition, to be carried on the principle of his establishment.

Notwithstanding the inroads made on his establishment by railways, and which displaced over 1,000 horses, and obliged him to direct his attention to such portions of the country as had not before the benefit of his conveyances, he still in 1865 employs about 900 horses, travelling over 4,000 miles daily,

[1] The following interesting particulars as to the extension of the great locomotive establishment of Mr. Bianconi, show that this establishment has at least been fifty years connected with Limerick!

Clonmel	to	Limerick	Commenced	1815
Clonmel	to	Thurles,		1815
Clonmel	to	Waterford,	10 o'Clock, A.M.	1816
"	"	"	6 o'Clock, A.M.	1820
"	"	"	3 o'Clock, P.M.	1821
"	to	Cork,		1821
"	to	Kilkenny,		1820
Kilkenny	to	Waterford,		1822
Thurles	to	Kilkenny,		1822
Clonmel	to	Roscrea,		1822
"	to	Tipperary,	3 o'Clock, P.M.	1828
Limerick	to	Cork,		1830
Clonmel	to	Youghal,		1831
Limerick	to	Tralee, (Coach,)		1833
"	"	" (Car,)		1833
Tralee	to	Caherciveen,		1834
Kilarney	to	"		1836
Limerick	to	Galway,		1837
Galway	to	Tuam,		1833

passing through twenty-three counties, having 137 stations, and working twelve mail and day coaches 672 miles; fifty four-wheel cars, with two and more horses, travelling 1,930 miles; and sixty-six two-wheel one-horse cars, travelling 1,604 miles.[1]

Almost contemporaneously with the introduction of this great locomotive improvement, the extension of the Schools of the Christian Brothers to Limerick in 1816, took place. The institute which has conferred wonderful good on Society, was projected by Mr. Edmond Rice of Waterford, who in the year 1802, had submitted the plan of the proposed association to Pope Pius VII. by whom he was encouraged to proceed with it, and by whom it was eventually approved of and confirmed in 1820. Since that time the schools have rapidly extended, and continued to extend—and when the Commissioners who were appointed to enquire into the endowed schools in Ireland in 1858, made their examination, they visited the Christian Schools, though not endowed by the State, on the contrary, entirely separated from any state endowment whatever, and at that time there were 15,000 pupils in these schools in Ireland, and 3,000 in England. In Limerick the schools have gone on in the most successful manner: there are no less than six of those schools in the City of Limerick, while there are schools also in Bruff, Adare, Rathkeale, &c. In 1858, there were 1,458 pupils in those schools. The Commissioners, of whom the Earl of Kildare was Chairman, reported that "the state of education is noticed as excellent. Several of the pupils could draw well; their writing was generally unexceptionable; and the answering in Euclid, mechanics, arithmetic, and all the ordinary departments of English education, including dictation, was of a very superior order.[2] No greater blessing could be conferred on a community than that which has been extended through the influence and operations of these admirable schools, which in 1865 contain nearly 1800 pupils, in seventeen school-rooms, some of which contain over one hundred pupils each, and which are every day proving their superiority over all that has been done to check their growth, or win their pupils to other and more showy establishments on which the state has been lavishing enormous funds.

The battle of independence was nobly fought in Limerick, nor could it ever have been fought so well, were it not for the wanton plunder of the Corporation, which, stimulated by the apprehension that its days were numbered, left no stone unturned to make the most of the time of respite, from a doom which all honest men heartily desired to see it receive. Daniel O'Connell had already denounced the misdeeds of the Corporation, the annals of which, at this time, were nothing more than malversation of the public funds, outrageous infringements on public liberty, corruption of the worst character, manufacture of freemen, &c. For some time Thomas Spring Rice, Esq., who had attained a prominent place in the public eye, by energy and attention to public business, had identified himself with the popular struggles. This gentleman, connected with the city by family ties of ancient duration, and born in Mungret-street,[3] threw himself heart and soul into the ranks of the independents; and well did he advance his own interests by the part he took, in promoting those of the citizens against the conspiracies of an un-

[1] Papers Read before the British Association Meeting at Cork 1843. Before the same at Dublin 1857, and before the Social Science Congress in Dublin 1861.

[2] Report of Her Majesty's Commissioners on the endowments, &c. &c. of all the schools endowed for the purposes of education in Ireland in 1858.

[3] In the house occupied by Mr. Parker, No. 1, Mungret-street.

scrupulous faction. A Protestant, Mr. Spring Rice carried with him his influential connexions and friends of that persuasion. Early in 1815, he wrote a pamphlet, in which he vehemently denounced the Grand Jury Laws. The Corporation had become rank in the nostrils of all classes, and every man wished to see an end to its ignominious reign of audacity and spoliation. Mr. Tuthill had fought the good fight, but was defeated by a combination of the most discordant elements. A great blow to the interests of all parties was struck at the declaration of peace, after the battle of Waterloo; and as history repeats itself, we have to record the fact, that in the years following 1815 the country fell from comparative prosperity to the very abyss of misery and woe; bankruptcies in country and town were rife; farmers and landlords, shopkeepers and merchants, brokers and money-changers, all fell in promiscuous ruin; and no where was the visitation more severely experienced than in the city and county of Limerick. Of the several banks in the city, the bank of Messrs. Thomas and William Roche, was the only private bank that withstood the shock and braved the storm in Limerick. To the everlasting honour of the Roches be it said, they paid every penny to every holder of their notes; and, whilst others succumbed beneath an unexampled and unforeseen pressure, they kept their credit and proved that confidence was well placed in their honor.

At this time, Mr. Thomas Grady, of Belmont, wooed the Muses in the shape of an Ode to Peace, a remarkable production; and just when the country was convulsed by a social revolution, resulting from a sudden fall in prices, and its heart-breaking effects on society, the poet manifested a spirit capable of feeling for the miseries of the people, however bitter and unscrupulous his satire was against Mr. Bruce.

Mr. Grady complimented several of the resident landlords of the county; but it should be stated, that the social condition of the people had given the greatest pain and affliction, even before the peace of 1815, to the well-thinking and reflecting amongst the highest in the land—some few of whom were an exception to the overwhelming majority. If Judge Day wrote himself down as a truculent upholder of the state of things that existed, and went about charging, in a manner of which his friend Toler might well approve, there were other judges on the bench who saw the evil in its true features, and who did not hesitate to denounce the causes and the results with noble firmness, and the eloquence of truth and sincerity. Among those judges, Judge Fletcher stood in the loftiest grade—he was bold, honest, firm, and unflinching.[1] Would that the lofty bearing, the sterling honesty, the dignified power of Judge Fletcher, had those to imitate his judicial virtues and admirable character at this day! Would that from the high seat of the judge, were poured into the ears of men in authority, words fraught with wholesome admonition, and lessons which, for the sake of the country, it would be well that landlords and others would take to heart, and profit by. If Mr. Thomas Grady wrote powerfully in reference to the multitudinous evils against which even he did not shut his eyes, Judge Fletcher about the same time, gave warning to those who should listen to his admonitions

[1] His charge to the Grand Jury of the County of Wexford, edited by the late Frederick Wm. Conway, of the *Dublin Evening Post*, and given to the world at a moment when the iron had entered into the souls of the people, was an expression of opinion from the judgment seat, on the wrongs of Ireland, which deserves an everlasting place in the grateful memory of all faithful Irishmen!

to put their house in order, and prepare for the evil time which so soon came upon them. He denounced, in terms not to be mistaken, the system which to this hour has acted like an anthrax in eating up the vitals of native prosperity, in oppressing and overloading the poor with an insufferable weight of wretchedness, in setting up land to the highest bidder, who, when he obtains it, tires of his bargain, and again becomes himself the victim of the same system which annihilated his predecessor.

The battle of independence continued to wage in the city. Mr. Rice already the champion of the popular cause, was looked upon as the future representative in parliament of Limerick. At every meeting of the Independents he took a prominent part.—He aided all who stood forth against the irresponsible iniquity of the Corporation. As each sum was doled out by that body for corrupt purposes, he, and the Independents took note, and exerted themselves to check the wrong doings of their honors, but it was all in vain for a time; the manufacture of freemen by the Corporation was such, that nothing could resist its bad effects in interfering with the exertions of the citizens, who, nothing daunted—persevered, knowing that truth and justice were on their side. *"Magna est veritas et prevalebit."*

Mr. Tuthill was chaired after a contest between him and Major Vereker, in which, however, the gallant Major was victorious. The local Tory organ did not publish a report of the popular ovation, because it had been always ranged on the opposite side; but in a Dublin paper of the day, the chairing was described as an unparalleled popular triumph, during which Mr. Tuthill was surrounded by at least 30,000 people.

On the chair were four labels in letters of gold; the first was, God save the King; the second, the Man of the People; the third, the Champion of our Rights; and the fourth, Tuthill and Independence. He was presented with favours from the several trades: with a beautiful sash from the clothiers. What heightened the scene, and excited the greatest enthusiasm, was the presenting him with a branch of laurel, the leaves of which were edged with gold, by Mrs. Russell, of Glentworth-street. This was done amidst loud huzzas, waving of handkerchiefs and hats. The procession, in the following order, then moved on: first, the different tradesmen with cockades and favours, amounting to some thousands, their respective banners in front, and walking arm in arm, indiscriminately united. Next came a square car, with high railing, interwoven with shrubs and flowers; in the middle was planted the tree of knowledge, representing the garden of Eden; two children were standing at the step of the garden, dressed in buff to represent Adam and Eve in their innocent state; a large eel was twined round the tree, in imitation of the serpent who alights on it, and was anxiously expecting Adam would take the apple from Eve that she was presenting him with. Then came the chair, preceded by gentlemen bearing banners, on which were inscribed, 'Our Music is the Voice of the People:' and now our longing eyes beheld Mr. Tuthill surrounded with nearly all the wealth, talent, and respectability of Limerick. On the platform were Mr. William Roche, the banker, Mr. Mathew Barrington, and other respectable gentlemen; and the chair was followed by about 800 respectable citizens with wands, to which branches of laurel were bound. The procession was closed by an innumerable concourse of people, and proceeded through every quarter of the city, even to the liberties; but in going through George's-street, Major Vereker stepped out on the balcony at the Club-house, respectfully bowed

to Mr. Tuthill, and remained uncovered untill the procession passed by.[1] Returning, the procession stopped at the prison to pay a token of respect to Mr. Bryan M'Mahon, who had been sheriff in 1808, with Mr. Abraham Colclough Stretch, and who became legally liable for the defalcations incurred by his colleague, was arrested and incarcerated after having voted for Mr. Tuthill, and hence the demonstration in his favor.

Such was a chairing in the times at which our history has arrived, and such was the enthusiasm of the citizens, though success did not smile on their exertions. The Corporation, in the face of these demonstrations, proceeded in its iniquitous and spoliating courses. Hundreds of freemen continued to be manufactured. And about this time, it having been proposed by Lord Viscount Gort to become tenant to the several lots of ground, houses and premises, then just out of lease, at Thomondgate, Carr-street, Limekiln concern, West Watergate, Crotagh or Garryowen, John-street, Pennywell, Diocesan School and elsewhere, on a lease of lives renewable for ever, "at a rent to be valued and ascertained by a committee of the Council to be appointed for the purpose," it was resolved that "the said houses, plots and concerns, to Lord Viscount Gort be let at the rent which shall be ascertained by the said committee, and that leases of lives renewable for ever be perfected to him of the same." The committee was appointed; it consisted of creatures of Lord Gort; the leases were perfected; and the public property was dealt with as if it were a valueless nuisance. No wonder that the "rising star" of Thomas Spring Rice should be regarded under auspices so favourable to the interests he undertook to promote.[2]

On the 17th December, 1817, the Corporation moved an address of condolence to the Prince Regent on the melancholy and sudden death of the Princess Charlotte of Wales, Consort of His Highness Leopold of Saxe-Coburgh. An address was passed to the Lord Lieutenant, through whom the former address was transmitted.[3]

On the 4th of January, 1817, the Corporation presented, through the Lord Lieutenant, an address of condolence to the Prince Regent on the death of his mother, the Queen, and on the same day it resolved to defend a petition against Major Vereker, which was presented to Parliament, and to defray the expenses.[4]

On the 19th of June, 1818, the Mayor's salary, which had been £365 per annum, was increased to £500 per annum; the Recorder's salary was increased to £200 per annum; and the payment to the Mayor was ordered to be made in advance by the considerate Corporators.

It is no wonder that legalised vengeance should have befallen the Corporation. In the history of the world there has been seldom heard of such malversation, spoliation, and unblushing plunder.

About this time, viz. in 1817, the County Gaol, on the Cork road, was commenced. At Spring assizes 1816, the Grand Jury had granted a sum of

[1] This mark of respect was certainly felt as it ought to be: it was of a piece with his conduct all through the election, which was highly honourable and praiseworthy; and which we have no hesitation in saying, made a good many friends for himself.

[2] Mr. Tuthill, who had been the man of the people, fell, in some short time afterwards, from his high estate, and went over to the enemy, which he had expended such enormous sums, and so much energy and determination in opposing.

[3] By what means the Princess Charlotte died, history is silent, though the busy tongue of rumour has it that Her Royal Highness was put out of the way by the foulest means imaginable.

[4] The petition referred to the manufacture of non-resident freemen, and to the fact that multitudes of men were not granted their freedom who had the right.

£23,000 to be invested in Commissioners for the purpose of building this Gaol. The Government in the first instance, advanced the money, to be repaid by instalments at the rate of £1,916 13s. 4d. each assizes: there had been a fund of 5,000 on hands for this purpose.[1] In 1821 it was finished at an expense of £23,000.

Andrew Fletcher, of Saltouns, says he knew a wise man who believed it mattered not who made the laws if he had the making of the ballads.—These times were rife in ballads and poetical pamphlets. Mr. Thomas Grady, as we have seen, wrote from his retreat at Belmont, where it is said, when a happy thought struck him, it was his custom, at dead of night, to ring the bell, to ask the servant to strike a light, proceed to the library, and there sit up, perhaps, till morning, throwing off in verse the sentiments by which he was actuated, lest by postponement he should forget them.[2] There were other and not bad poets too, and ballad rhymers, at the time[3].

Just about the very time when the courtiers and flatterers of George the Fourth, and some sanguine Irish patriots, who believed in the reality of his favorable intentions towards Ireland, were calculating upon the happy results of the Royal visit, in August, 1821, disturbances of a very serious character again broke out in the County Limerick, and parts of Cork and Tipperary, as if in mockery of the predictions of the tranquilising effects of that visit which were made by Mr. W. Conyngham Plunket, and other admirers and beneficiaries of that deceitful and profligate Sovereign. Mr. Plunket, indeed, who had always acted with the small, but noble and energetic party who represented Irish national interests in the English House of Commons, the friends and followers of Grattan, Ponsonby Shaw, and Sir John Newport, had been appointed his Majesty's Attorney-General, at the King's particular

[1] Messrs. Pain and Harman's proposals for building the new gaol was accepted by the Commissioners on the 27th of March—their estimate was £21 250, which did not amount to more than 1½d. an acre on the county at each assizes. The whole was repaid in six years. It was built on the modern model, similar to which nearly all the gaols in the country were afterwards erected. A sum of £2,000 was expended on a tread mill, kitchen, laundry, &c. It contains 22 apartments for debtors, and 103 cells for criminals and convicts. There are five solitary, or what were denominated "condemned" cells. Immediately after its completion, it was thronged with prisoners, as it was just at this period that those disturbances commenced in the county, on which we shall have much to say, and which originated in the unsettled relations of landlord and tenant, and gave occasion for the greatest possible amount of irritation, &c., for a lengthened period. The former County Gaol was the one anciently adjoining the present City Prison, with an entrance from Crosby Row. The cost on the County and Liberties of the Insurrection Act in 1816, was

£	s.	d.	
1160	0	0	on the County.
766	13	6	on the Liberties.
£1926	13	6	Total.

[2] I have this on the authority of a domestic who had lived with him for a long period.

[3] "Martin Farrel, Philomath," was a very powerful rhymer at the time. He published a long poem in four cantos, in 1820, which he "most respectfully dedicated to the Independence of Limerick"—and which has a vignette, very well engraved, of Mr. Thomas Spring Rice, in top boots, with wand in hand, trampling on the hydra of corruption. Mr. Rice holds the charter of "the rights of the city of Limerick restored," whilst a citizen, in top boots, is handing the keys of the city to him—and the angel of independence is crowning him with laurels. In the back ground is the temple of justice, and the arms of the city—the Castles, flag, &c. The poem describes the state to which the country was reduced after the fall of Bonaparte—the crushing of banks, the ruin of the farmers, &c., and it pays to the Messrs. Roche a tribute of praise which they well deserved.

desire; and hence it was not unnatural to expect that this eminent man had abated somewhat of the zeal which had distinguished him five or six years before when supporting the motion made by that able and patriotic statesman, Sir John Newport, in 1816, for a change in the coercive measures pursued towards Ireland, he declared that the state of the country indisputably showed that some intrinsic vice was in the Government, which must be removed before tranquillity was restored. Civil disabilities, the brutal and offensive assertion of superiority by the Orange societies over the whole Catholic body, and the offering of designed offence to the Catholic Priesthood by the government of the day, were amongst the reasons assigned by Mr. Plunket for the evils which afflicted Ireland in those days—and, as one instance of the latter fault, he mentioned the case of a Priest in the county Limerick, who had been instrumental in quelling a disturbance, for which a letter of thanks had been sent him by the Right Honourable Sir Robert Peel, at that time Chief Secretary; but, before it could reach his hands, it was published in the newspapers, in consequence of which this clergyman was held up to the suspicion of his fraternity and his flock, as a person aiding the tyrannical purposes of government.[1] He advised ministers to retrace the steps as exactly as possible which they had pursued in the government of Ireland, and to adopt, instead of the narrow principles of Protestant exclusion, measures calculated to secure the happiness of all classes.

Such was Plunket in 1816. But when Sir John Newport brought forward his motion in April, 1822, to enquire into the state of Ireland, Plunket justified the government, of which he was so able and energetic an official, in conferring additional power on the Irish government to arrest the prevailing outrages.[2]

While Mr. C. Hutchinson, Sir John Newport, Sir F. Burdett, Sir Lucius O'Brien, Mr. Spring Rice, and other members of Parliament of liberal tendencies, were recommending a policy of conciliation as a remedy for the prevailing disturbances, the aggravation, if not the commencement, of these agrarian troubles, in the county Limerick at least, was generally ascribed to the oppressive treatment of the tenants on the Courtenay estates, which were at this time under the management of an exceedingly unpopular agent. These immense and beautiful estates, granted to the ancestors of the Earl of Devon by Queen Elizabeth, had been in the hands of English trustees, the then owner, Lord Viscount Courtenay, residing in some part of America. He had been selling this old forfeiture for some years, the sales amounting to some £200,000; but he had still remaining 42,000 Irish plantation acres—from which fact it will easily be inferred what great influence for good or evil one individual possessed in a country where all depended on agriculture for their support. The agent was a Mr. Hoskins, whose son was murdered by the followers of Captain Rock, and who was succeeded by a gentleman of a very different character, Albert Furlong, Esq., of Dublin. We shall mention a few others of the outrages which disgraced the country at this unhappy period. At the commencement of the disturbances, Major Going, a county magistrate, had been shot on the Commons of Rathkeale, and shortly afterwards Mr. Christopher Sparling, a

[1] Plunket's Speeches. Duffy, Dublin, 1859.

[2] It was on this occasion that he alluded to the happy effects of the King's visit, of which Lord Byron, with the instinct of genius, took much more correct views in his poem called the *Avatar*; and on this occasion also he suggested the advisability of placing the landlords, whom he censured, between the people and the Protestant clergy, of whom he spoke in favourable terms.

respectable Palatine farmer, as he was riding towards the town of Newcastle from a farm called Rourka, on which he had become tenant on the ejection of the late occupier. At a previous attack made upon his house in Patrickswell, he had made a spirited resistance, assisted by a respectable young man named Samuel Cross, from the city of Limerick, who was resident in the house at the time, and unfortunately killed in the attack. Three men were hanged for the offence, and one, who contrived to escape to America, was accidentally burned in his adopted country.

It does not enter into our plan to describe the progress of Rockite insurrection[1] at any length, but as a clue to the objects proposed to themselves by the insurrectionists, we may mention that after severe fighting at Churchtown, county Cork, to which county the insurrection had extended, in which 1500 insurgents were engaged,

The following were the terms offered by the insurgents, on condition of their giving up their arms, and swearing allegiance to his Majesty:

1st. A discharge of all prisoners taken.

2nd. No Tithes or Taxes on Windows.

3rd. All arrears of rent to be forgiven.

4th. Lands to be lowered to a third of the present rents.

The peasantry had previously arisen in arms in 1815 and 1817. But the failure of the crops in 1823, added to Special Commissions, &c. completely broke down the spirit of outrage, though the predisposing cause, the sufferings of the people, was still unremoved.

CHAPTER XLIX.

ATROCIOUS MURDER OF ELLEN SCANLAN, ALIAS HANLY, IN THE COUNTY OF LIMERICK.—CONVICTION AND EXECUTION OF JOHN SCANLAN, HER HUSBAND, THE MURDERER.—PROGRESS OF EVENTS.—THE INSURRECTION ACT.—LOCAL ACTS, &C..

In the spring of the year 1820, a trial as remarkable as any that has since taken place, occupied the attention of the public. Romances have been written and dramas enacted on the groundwork furnished by this terribly tragic event, which became the subject of judicial enquiry before the Right Hon. Richard Jebb (fourth Justice of the King's Bench), who, with the Hon. Henry Joy (first Sergeant), went the Munster Circuit at that assizes. A fearful murder had been perpetrated on the 4th, of the previous July, in the River Shannon, within the jurisdiction of the city, and under circumstances of the most revolting atrocity—circumstances which have awakened the indignation of every individual to whom they have become known in all parts of the world. The principal in that murder was a person

[1] A pamphlet called the "Old Bailey Solicitor," in which the most dreadful imputations are cast on Mr. Hoskins, and in which "Captain Rock" is described, appeared about this time. It enters into many details as to the alleged misconduct of Mr. Hoskins, and mismanagement of the Courtenay Estate by oppression, &c., and gives a statement respecting the trials and conviction of leaders of the Rockites. The original Captain Rock, whose name was Fitzmaurice, was tried in Limerick in 1822, and executed.

who had served in the Royal Navy as an officer, and who had moved in the highest ranks of society; the victim was his wife. The wife, no doubt, belonged to a grade much lower than that which the murderer had occupied, and hence he was inclined to get rid of her. Search had been ineffectually made for a long time for the murderer; but it wasnot till the following November, (1819) that he was arrested whilst enjoying himself in the house of a friend in the west of the county, conducted to the city gaol on the warrant of the Mayor, and brought to trial at the City of Limerick Spring assizes, which were opened on the 11th of March, 1820, before the Judges above named.

Probably no murder ever committed has excited more attention than that of Ellen Scanlan, a fact which is chiefly owing to the treatment her melancholy story has met with at the hands of the authors of "The Poor Man's Daughter," a narrative in a serial entitled "Tales of Irish Life," another in the *New Monthly*, the beautiful novel of the truly gifted Gerald Griffin, the *Collegians*, and the extraordinarily successful drama of Mr. Boucicault, the *Colleen Bawn*. Captain Addison has also given a version of it in his adventures of Mr. Thomas Vokes, the Police Magistrate, who, he says, arrested Scanlan.[1] She was living with her uncle, one John Connery, a ropemaker, others say a shoemaker, in a small town in the County Limerick, who had adopted her, when she contracted her ill-omened marriage. Scanlan was defended by Daniel O'Connell, the Liberator, and Mr. George Bennett. Messrs Pennefather and Quin were Counsel for the prosecution. Scanlan is misrepresented in one of the fictions as having been a Catholic. He was a Protestant, and attended by the Rev. Henry Gubbins, who raised the cap from his face just before he was turned off, imploring him to make his peace with God by telling the truth. His answer was, 'I suffer for a crime in which I did not participate. If Sullivan be found my innocence will appear.' He thus died with a lie in his mouth. Scanlan's family were connected with some of the highest names in the county and city of Limerick. One of his relatives rode from

[1] This, however, has been contradicted, as the gentleman by whom Scanlan was arrested was Gerald Blennerhasset, Esq. J.P. of Ridddlestown.

[2] The following are copies of the original depositions and indictments on which Scanlan was found guilty at the assizes above mentioned, and executed on the 16th March, forty-eight hours after he was convicted. Sullivan was tried before the Right Hon. Charles Kendal Bushe in the year after, when he also was found guilty and executed, after confessing her guilt:—

County of Limerick, to wit. } The Information of Michael Hanly, of Ballyclan, in said County, farmer, taken by me, one of his Majesty's Justices of the Peace for said County.

Informant being duly sworn on the Holy Evangelists and examined, deposeth that on the night between the 13th and 14th of July last, informant's daughter, Ellen Hanly, between 15 and 16 years of age, was seduced to go with John Scanlan and Stephen Sullivan in a boat to cross the river Shannon, from Carrigafoyle to the county Clare, as informant is credibly informed by several persons, who will prove the same on being summoned in a proper manner; and informant sayeth that his said daughter was on the aforesaid night stripped of the clothes she then wore in said boat to her shift, and then tyed her with a rope by binding her legs, thighs, and neck together, and did then and there barbarously and feloniously break her arm, and throw her into the said river Shannon, west of Tarbert, and drowned her; informant sayeth, one Catherine Hogan, who is kept as a reputed concubine by said Scanlan, had devised, prompted, and put up the said Scanlan and Sullivan to murder and drown said Ellen Hanly as aforesaid, and that the said Catherine Hogan, after the aforesaid murder, had a pair of ear-rings, a locket, a silver thimble, and a gown, and other articles, the property of the said Ellen Hanly, which she was robbed of on the aforesaid night, and that there are several articles of her property distributed among several persons in Glin, Tarbert, and Ballylongford, and the neighbourhood thereof, who were privy to the aforesaid murder, a part of said articles being put and offered for sale by some of the aforesaid persons who sanctioned and encouraged said murder to be committed the day before the aforesaid night the horrid act was perpetrated.

the Court House, immediately on his conviction, through the country with a memorial for a respite to the judge. The memorial was influentially signed, and presented by a number of influential persons; but the judge inflexibly refused its prayer, stating that he had left for execution a poor man who was found guilty of a minor offence, and asking, how could he interfere in a case of such undoubted magnitude as Scanlan's. Scanlan was about 23 years of age, and of fair and prepossessing appearance.

In the year 1821, Thomas Westropp, Esq., left several bequests for the charities of the city; and in the same year Mrs. Bridget Honan left considerable bequests also for the poor of Limerick.

Informant bound to our Sovereign Lord the King, in the sum of £20 sterling to prosecute this information at the next General Assizes.

MICHAEL HANLY.

Sworn and acknowledged before me this 20th day of September, 1819.

THOMAS ODELL.

THE INQUEST.

County of Clare, To Wit. } An inquisition indented, taken at Carndotta, in the Parish of Killinna, and Barony of Moyart, in said County, in the 59th year of Our Lord, George the Third.

Before us :—

JOHN F. FITZGERALD, Knight of Glin.
GEORGE WARBURTON, and
THOMAS ODELL,

Magistrates—upon the view of the body of then and there found dead. Upon the Oaths of

PATRICK KELLY,

Michael Mangane,
Michael Connell,
Michael M'Donnell,
Pat. Connell,
John Driscoll,
Thos. Bennett.
Timothy Inerheny,
John Flanagan,
Michael Foran.
Matthew O'Connor,
Richard Cavanagh,

Ellen Walsh sworn—States that a person, a woman named Ellen Hanly, whom they saw about seven weeks since in company with certain men, at the Quay of Kilrush, in this county, and also at Carrigafoil, in the county of Kerry—whose names will be hereafter stated—and which woman was supposed to have been murdered, had remarkable teeth on each side of her *upper jaw*.

Patrick Keys, of Glin, sworn.

Patrick Connell, jun., of Carndotta, sworn.

Thomas Odell sworn.

When the following verdict was returned :—

We find, on a view of the body buried on the shore at Carndotta, that the woman exposed to our view was murdered.

We find that such murder was committed on the River Shannon.

We find that such murder was effected by strangling the body, with the rope found about her neck.

We find that such murder was committed by John Scanlan or Stephen Sullivan, or by both.

Pat. Kelly.

Michael Mangan,
Timothy M'Inerheny,
Michael ⋈ Foran,
Patt ⋈ Connell,
Thos. ⋈ Bennett,
Michael Cusack,
John ⋈ Flanagan.
Matthew ⋈ Connor,
John ⋈ Driscoll,
Richard ⋈ Cavanagh,

Michael ⋈ M'Donnell.

Taken before us this Tenth day of September, 1819, nineteen.

J. F. FITZGERALD, Knight of Glin.
GEORGE WARBURTON, Clerk.
THOMAS ODELL.

Present when acknowledged,
HENRY SMITH.

Early in the summer of 1822, there was great scarcity of potatoes and other provisions for the poor, in consequence of the very wet weather during

FURTHER INFORMATIONS.

County of Limerick, to wit. } The information of Ellen Welsh, of Glin, taken before John F. Fitzgerald, Knight of Glin, and Thomas O'Dell, Esq., Magistrate of said County. Informant being duly sworn on the Holy Evangelists, and examined, deposeth—That on or about the Thirteenth of July last, she left the town of Kilrush, in the County of Clare, in a boat, the property of John Scanlan, son of William Scanlan, Esq., of Ballycahane, in the county of Limerick, in which boat were said John Scanlan, a young woman named Ellen Hanley, the reputed wife of said Scanlan, Patrick Caze, Stephen Sullivan, the boatman of said Scanlan, James Mitchell and Jack Mangan, intending to go to Glin. Deponent further saith that all said party put into Carrigafoyle, in the county of Kerry, from bad weather and contrary tide, all said party remained that night in Carrigafoyle, during some part of which time Stephen Sullivan forced a gold ring off the finger of the aforesaid Ellen Hanley; early the next morning Patrick Caze, James Mitchell, and Jack Mangan, went by land to Glin, leaving deponent on Carrigafoyle Island with the aforesaid John Scanlan, Stephen Sullivan, and Ellen Hanley. Deponent further saith that said Scanlan requested her to remain on the Island until he returned for her, during which time he said he would get rid of the said Ellen Hanley; that deponent insisted on being put over the Creek, to enable her to walk to Glin, upon which Scanlan and Sullivan, accompanied by Ellen Hanley and deponent, went across the creek. Deponent then set out on her way to Glin, and saw the boat depart with the aforesaid John Scanlan and Stephen Sullivan and Ellen Hanley. Deponent further saith that said Ellen Hanley showed her several articles of wearing apparel which were in a trunk in said boat, and some on her person, and a gold ring. Deponent further saith that John Scanlan and Sullivan came very early into Glin the next morning, not having with them Ellen Hanley, saying that they left her at Kilkee; that the aforesaid ring was on Scanlan's finger. In a few days after deponent saw a silk handkerchief, a grey mantle, a frock, a skirt, two silk spencers, together with several other articles, in the possession of Mary Sullivan, sister of Stephen Sullivan aforesaid, and several other persons. All which articles now produced to deponent, she swears are the same she saw in the possession of Ellen Hanley the night they were at Carrigafoyle. Deponent further saith not.

Informant bound to our Sovereign Lord the King in the sum of £5 to prosecute this information at the next general assizes to be held at Limerick.

her
ELLEN ⋈ WELSH.
mark.

Taken, sworn, and acknowledged before us this 10th day of September.

J. F. FITZGERALD, Knight of Glin.
THOMAS ODELL.

Glin, Nov. 12, 1819.

Mary Sullivan sworn—Deposed that she got the grey cloak now produced from her brother, Stephen Sullivan, who told her he bought it; cloak was taken out of a round hair trunk in the possession of John Scanlan; Nelly Welsh told deponent that was the trunk she saw in the boat with the woman who lived with John Scanlan; John Scanlan gave deponent a shift, a pair of shoes, and a pocket, a cap and ribbon; deponent saw a plain gold ring on Sullivan's finger; saw a ring on Scanlan's finger; it was a figured gold ring; Scanlan had money; saw four gold guineas and a red leather pocket; never saw any woman's clothes with Sullivan or Scanlan till the last time they came to Glin; heard that Pat Scanlan's wife had silk stockings and a silk handkerchief; Sullivan told deponent that Scanlan, Nelly Welsh, Paddy Case, Mitchell, Jack Mangan, and the young woman, arrived at Carig Island the night before he came to Glin; the hair trunk was brought by Sullivan the morning after they said they were in Carrig Island.

Some days after deponent asked Scanlan where the young woman was; he said he left her at Klrush; in about a week after he told deponent that he left the young woman at Kilkee with his sister; Scanlan sent a letter to Ballycahane by deponent; saw Scanlan's sister at Ballycahane; on deponent's return from Ballycahane she told Scanlan that his sister was there, but did not see the young woman there; he immediately said that she went off with a captain of a ship.

Signed,

her
MARY ⋈ SULLIVAN.
mark.

Sworn before us this 12th day of September, 1819.

J. F. FITZGERALD, Knight of Glin.
THOMAS ODELL.

Grace Scanlan sworn—Deposeth that Stephen Sullivan gave her a yellow silk spencer, a sprigged skirt, a pair of silk stockings, a silk handkerchief, and a pink handkerchief. Deponent saw a trunk with a round lid; saw ten guineas in the possession of John Scanlan, and a five

the last harvest. The sum of £1122 1s. 6d. was collected in the city for their relief. The people of England subscribed over £100,000 in aid of the Irish poor at this crisis. Limerick, Clare, and Kerry, suffered most severely. In Ulster and Leinster, matters were far and away better. Several cargoes of potatoes were imported to Limerick from Scotland. Three soup kitchens were opened in the city, capable of feeding 6000 people gratuitously each day. On the 23rd of May, a vessel arrived at the Quay from London, laden with 45 tons of potatoes, 38 barrels of Scotch herrings, and 26 cwt. of dried ling, the gift of a benevolent lady in England, to the poor of the city.[1] On the 21st of the same month, the Mayor received from the Mayor of Carlisle £200 collected there for the use of the poor of Limerick. To give employment to the wretched labourers, who were in the utmost misery, the pavement of the new Bridge was torn up, and a powdered pavement was substituted. Breaking stones to mend the roads was generally resorted to, and the new road from the Crescent, leading to the new Barracks, was thus much improved.

The war between the citizens and the corporation continued. On the 23rd of May, the House of Commons appointed the following 28 members to form a committee to take into consideration the petitions of the citizens of Limerick, complaining of the Corporation taxation, and the misapplication thereof: Mr. T. Rice, Mr. Goulburne, Sir John Newport, Mr. Dawson, Mr. Abercrombie, Mr. Edward Wodehouse, Mr. Beecher, Mr. Butler Clarke, Mr. Buxton, Sir Nicholas Colthurst, Mr. Evans, Mr. Fitzgibbon, Mr. O'Grady, Mr. Grattan, Mr. John Smyth, Mr. Wellesley, Mr. Kennedy, Mr. Forde, Dr. Philimore, Mr. Geo. Lamb, Sir Lowry Cole, Mr. Paris, Mr. Rumbold, Mr. White, Mr. Thomas Ellis, Sir Robert Shaw, Mr. Leonard, and Sir Arthur Chichester. Five of these gentlemen, viz. Mr. Wodehouse, Sir Lowry Cole, Mr. Paris, Mr. Dawson, and Mr. Buxton, were members of the first committee who tried Mr. Rice's petition, when the opinions of the entire, except Mr. Daly,

[1] This excellent lady would not allow her name to be made known.

pound Bank of Ireland note, and some small notes, a red leather pocket book; saw a gold ring on Sullivan's finger and a gold ring on Scanlan's finger. Deponent asked Scanlan if he should ever see his lady; said he left her at Kilkee with his sister; expressed her surprise that Scanlan should permit Sullivan to make so free with the clothes. Scanlan then said that the young woman misbehaved with a captain of a ship; once or twice Sullivan wanted Scanlan to give him money, and on Scanlan's refusing it, said, I have as much right to it as you have. Deponent further saith not. All this happened since the beginning of July.

Signed,

her
GRACE ⋈ SCANLAN.
mark.

Sworn before us:

J. F. FITZGERALD, Knight of Glin.
THOMAS ODELL.

Witnesses were—Ellen Welsh, Patrick Keyes, Grace Scanlan, Patrick Connell, John Driscoll, Catherine Collins, John Connery, Mary Sullivan, Thomas Odell, John Fitzgerald, Knight of Glin; Thomas Spring Rice.

The indictment was a very lengthy document, entering fully into all the particulars of the case; and ends thus:—

"And to the jurors aforesaid, upon their oath aforesaid, do say that the said John Scanlan and Stephen Sullivan, the said Ellen Hanly, otherwise called Ellen Scanlan, &c. &c., in manner and form aforesaid, feloniously, wilfully, and of their malice prepensed, did kill and murder, against the peace of our said Lord the King, his crown and dignity, and against the statute in such case made and provided.

The bill is endorsed—

ELLEN WALSH,
E Y C, NO. 6.

True bill for self and fellow jurors, J. P. VEREKER.

(who was the nominee of Colonel Vereker) were in favor of Mr. Rice; and Dr. Philimore and Sir Lowry Cole were members of the committee on Colonel Vereker's counter petition, when he lost his cause by a majority of eleven to four; these gentlemen established the claims of the citizens, and secured Mr. Rice in his seat.

On the 10th of June a jury assembled at the Tholsel Court to examine the site of a new Lunatic Asylum, for the counties of Limerick, Clare, Kerry, and the city of Limerick; it is near Mr. Connell's brewery, and contains 7 acres, 2 roods, and 26 perches, valued at 20 guineas per acre, and allowing 20 years' purchase for same. The several claimants to be paid as follows:—

	£	s.	d.
To John Coull, part tenant, ...	1841	9	3
Daniel Gabbett, lessee, ...	708	19	6
Corporation, for reversion, ...	935	19	6
Mr. Connell, in lieu of water course ...	358	14	7
	£3,845	2	10

The heat was excessive in June. On the 19th (June) £6,000 granted by Government to employ the distressed poor in the Co. Limerick.

June 15th and 24th.—Men transported from special sessions held in Rathkeale and in city of Limerick.

July 5th.—On this day the hearth and window taxes expired in Ireland—the former took place in 1662, 14th K. Chas. II., the latter in 1806, 42nd K. Geo. III.

The several streets of the city, with very few exceptions, were repaired, the pavement taken up, and powdered pavement substituted. All done by the committee for the relief of the poor. The greatest improvement was effected by the levelling of aclivities of the new bridge (now Mathew Bridge.) Before this, the pavement of this bridge rendered the passage for horses, &c. extremely dangerous in frosty weather, and at all times the passage was difficult. "King William's Road" was also repaired—this road led to Park before the canal was cut.

July 31st.—The report of the Committee of the House of Commons, on the petition of the citizens of Limerick, presented May 23rd, complaining of undue influence and unjust abuse of public money, printed by order of the House.

August 3rd.—William Walsh, Edward Dooherty, Laurence Walsh, and William Martin, were executed at the new County Gaol for the murder of Thomas Hoskins, Esq., on the 27th of July, 1821. It is rather a singular circumstance that the unfortunate youth died of his wounds August 1st, 1821, and these wretched murderers were convicted August 1st, 1822, when they confessed their guilt. At this assizes upwards of forty persons had been convicted of capital offences, and awaited the sentence of the law. Mr. Thos. P. Vokes is said to have brought to justice the men for the murder of Mr. Torrence and Mr. Hoskins.

August 5th.—Five men were executed in front of the new Co. Gaol, for the murder and robbery of Henry Sheehan, a post-boy, conveying the mail between Rathkeale and Shanagolden; they acknowledged their guilt; the crime was committed on the 1st of March.

August 10th.—Jeremiah Rourke executed at the new gaol, for firing at Robert H. Ivers, Esq., a magistrate of this county.

Commissioner Parsons held a court on the 4th and 5th days of August, at Limerick, when 45 insolvents were discharged.

The assizes ended for the present this day, and adjourned to the 4th of September.

The following appeared in the public prints at this time, illustrating the cause of the present agricultural distress—but only one of them:—

In 1722.	In 1822.
The men to the plough,	Best man—Tallyhoe.
The wife to the cow,	And Miss—Piano.
The girl to the sow,	The wife—silks and satin.
The boy to the mow,	The boy—Greek and Latin,
And your rents will be netted.	And you'll all be gazetted.

August 17th.—Two men executed in front of the new gaol, pursuant to sentences at the assizes, for burglary and taking arms.

August 22.—A chimney erected in the distillery concerns of Messrs. Stein and Browne, 115 feet high—the first of its kind ever seen here.

The improvement in Thomond Bridge finished; it consists in the opening the E. end of the Bridge at the bottom of Castle-street, by enlarging three of the arches on the N. side, and by throwing down an old house that projected into the street; this passage had been long only eight feet ten inches width; it is now increased nearly sixteen feet—it is much to be wished that the improvement be continued to the centre of the bridge. The road to the North Strand, at the S. end of the bridge, widened and much improved.

On the 23rd of July, the Co. Limerick Central Relief Committee published their report:—

The present year was long afterwards memorable for a great depression in the value of the articles of life.[1]

The landlord who seven years ago might rate his income at £1,000 a year, did not this year net £300, except chief rents and old bargains. The next year was still worse, the middlemen were nearly annihilated. In the summer of this year great improvements were made in the North Strand, and several impediments were removed.

Again disturbances prevailed with the usual results, of which we give a specimen :—

October 19th.—Special sessions under the insurrection act sat in Limerick. One man was sent off for transportation.

October 26th.—Special sessions at Rathkeale under the insurrection act, two men sent for transportation for 7 years.

October 30th.—Sessions at Limerick, no conviction on this day. Some offenders against whom serious matters are alleged, held over.

[1] Those are the market prices of the past week :—

Red Wheat,	8d. to 10d. per stone,
White do.	9d. to 11d. "
Barley,	8d. "
Flour,	26s. to 30s. per bag,
Oatmeal,	10s. 6d. per cwt.
Tallow,	5s. 6d. per cwt.
Butter at different prices, according to quality.	£4 to £2 2s. per cwt.
Whiskey,	8s. 6d. per gallon,
Beef,	3d. to 3½. per lb.
Mutton,	2½. to 3d. per lb.

	£	s.	d.
By gross amount of receipts to this date as published, ...	9769	15	6
July 24th.			
Grant from the Lord Lieutenant, ...	1000	0	0
Grant from London Irish Distress Committee, for relief of the Parish of Kilgrane, and half Parish of St. Munchin's, Co. Clare, £50 British, ...	54	3	4
July 27th.			
Grant from Liverpool Irish Distress Committee, £100 British, ...	108	6	8
	£10,932	5	6

The total amount given by England to the several Counties in Ireland in aid of the prevailing distress, ... £128,921

August 31st.—Patrick Hyslane sentenced at the Sessions of Rathkeale to seven years' transportation, and again transported in the city for sheep-stealing in the Liberties.

September 4.—The assizes resumed, pursuant to adjournment; there were several convictions, among which were Thomas Halpin, John Dogan, Patrick Hennessey, and Edmond Hennessey, convicted of the murder of Buckley, a crown witness at a former assizes. These men were executed on the 9th of September, at the front of the new County Gaol; they all confessed their guilt, except Dorgan, who declared that he was not of the party. Same assizes, seventeen convicts under sentence of death, respited.

Sept. 17th.—The new church of Chapel Russell, West Pallaskenry, Co. Limerick, consecrated.

By the Census taken in 1821, there were 8,268 houses within the separate jurisdiction of the city—population, 66,042; in the city of Waterford, 4052 houses—28,782 inhabitants. The report signed by W. S. Mason.

1822, September 23rd.—A most abundant harvest; fruits in great plenty; a second growth of polyanthuses, sweet william, and other spring flowers.

September 27th.—Twenty convicts who had received sentence of death at the assizes for various acts of whiteboyism, sent off from the county goal for transportation.

The locks on the canal underwent inspection.

October 6th.—The ships on the Quay suffered from a heavy gale from N.N.W.

1822—A requisition to the High Sheriff issued by 52 magistrates, requesting a meeting at Adare on the 4th of November, to appoint 176 baronial constables of police in this county, under the Lord Lieutenant's proclamation for the better preservation of the peace during the following winter. Major Wilcox will have the choice and recommendation of this body of men.

In 1823 an act was passed for remodelling the Corporation of Limerick, which, for so very long a time, had been so obnoxious to the citizens of every party and persuasion, and so injurious to the best interests of the city in general. In the same year the Wellesley Bridge Act was passed. In 1825, another bill was passed for the erection of a bridge across the Shannon, at or near Athlunkard, and for making approaches thereto. The historical place selected for the erection of this bridge is near the spot where the army of William III. crossed in 1690 and 1691. In 1825, the exports consisted of 2654 tierces and 258 barrels of beef, 4417 tierces and 9100 barrels of pork, 19,750 cwt. of bacon, 65,000 firkins of butter, 61,000 barrels of wheat, 364,000 barrels of oats, and 12,500 barrels of barley. In 1792 the population, as estimated by Dr. Beaufort, was 40,000, with 4,900 houses. In 1821, as was ascertained under Act 55 George III. c. 120, the city contained 7,208 houses, 12,419 families, 28,117 males, 30,928 females, making a total of 59,045 inhabitants. During these and subsequent years, the conduct of the Corporation had continued to bring down upon it the indignation of the public. Mr. Rice grappled with the enormities of that body, but was unable to check its extravagance, which went on from day to day without

November 4th.—Three men sentenced in the County Court to transportation under the Insurrection Act.

November 6th.—176 Baronial Constables, appointed for the County.

November 14th—A violent gale of wind from the S.E., raised the tide to a great height, burst open the gates of the dry dock at Kidgell's Quay, (now the Steam boat Quay,) and threw a brig in it, under repair, on her beam-ends. The tower on the Beeves' Rocks much injured,

November 16th.—At a meeting of the magistrates this day, in the County Court, 44 Constables and 132 Sub-constables of police were appointed to preserve the peace during the ensuing winter.

The police consist of one chief magistrate, his Secretary; one chief constable, and fifty constables, and fifty sub-constables, six of which are mounted cavalry; chief magistrate,—Drought, Esq.; Secretary Mr. Gostlett; Chief constable, Mr. Dames.

The Chamber of Commerce, at considerable expense, &c., have renewed the navigation of the Shannon safe—and noticed the several members over buoys, rocks, shoals, &c.

December 5th.—A most furious gale from S.W.; did much damage in town, threw down many chimneys and stripped several houses. Said to have been the most inclement day ever remembered. 50 large elm trees were blown down in the demesne of the Bishop of Clonfert; £4000 damage sustained at Carton, the residence of the Duke of Leinster; and great losses on the grounds of several noblemen and gentlemen in the County of Meath. 500 vessels of different descriptions are said to be wrecked off the coast of England, Wales, and Scotland. Two ships were sunk in Liverpool Docks, so terrible was the storm.

The City Militia staff reduced, and 30 of the County staff.

December 13th.—A Supersedeas arrived to the Clerk of the Peace, ordering a *residing* of the magistrates of this county. It contains the names of two who are dead; eighteen who reside out of the bailiwick; and fourteen who reside in the county.—A most useful measure of justice.

The mail coach which runs from Dublin to this City, is conveyed by 17 sets or relays of horses; each relay consisting of four, in all 52 horses. This was in order that it should perform a journey of 94 miles in 15 hours.

December 23rd.—Special Sessions in Rathkeale under the Insurrection Act. Two men sentenced to 7 years' transportation.

December 25th.—A neat organ opened in St. John's Church; it came from London and cost £150, the maker, a Mr. Layman.

It is estimated that the jubilee loan, which commenced in 1810, has lent out up to the conclusion of this year, 1822, a sum of seventy thousand and eighty-five pounds.

The annual amount of Dr. Hall's charity in 1822,	£441 17s. 6d.
Of Craven's Charity in 1822,	£224 14s.

December.—Messrs. Brotherton of Liverpool have renewed proposals for running the mail coach between Dublin and Limerick, at an accelerated rate: *viz.*, to arrive at 10 o'clock, A.M. and be dispatched at 4 P.M.. On market days it is proposed that the coach should arrive an hour earlier (at 9 o'clock), It now arrives at 11 A.M., and is dispatched at 3 P.M.

December 25th.—A serjeant's guard placed in the old main guard house, on George's-quay.

The amount of money lodged in the Limerick Savings' Bank at the conclusion of this year—£17,000. In Cork the amount for the year is £119,136 18s. 10d.

the slightest compunction or remorse on the part of its members. To mark the appreciation of his public services, the Chamber of Commerce had a full length portrait of Mr. Rice painted by Sir Martin Archer Shee, President of the R.A. at a cost of £300, which was placed in their Reading-room on the 19th of December, 1822.

Just about this time, too, the Catholics of Ireland were up and stirring to obtain Emancipation, led by the illustrious Daniel O'Connell, who, by the fire and impetuosity of his character, infused vigor and courage into ranks which contained, hitherto, too many who were pusillanimous and cowardly—too many who were wavering between the temptations of government and the stern behests of duty. Some relaxations had been made in a partial shape in the penal code. Catholics filled the office of grand jurors in cities and counties—they had long been in the first place as merchants and as traders—they had pushed the old monopolists and task masters off their stools in various cities, and no where more than in Limerick, where they now numbered amongst them some of the first merchants, &c., in Ireland. No where had the Liberator more influential friends than among his supporters in Limerick, and these supporters always sustained his cause to the fullest extent. The Catholic rent was collected with the utmost regularity, and whenever O'Connell addressed his hearers in the old rooms at the Corn Exchange, Dublin, he never forgot the aid he received from the patriotic men of Limerick.

Liberal opinions, in the midst of the events that were passing, were making steady headway and beating down the malignity and oppression of the old Corporate system. Mr. Rice, the popular member, who had proceeded to Dublin, in December 1822, with the Mayor and Sheriffs of Limerick, in order to present an address to the Marquis of Wellesley, on his escape from the bottle-throwing Orangemen in the Theatre Royal, was waited upon, on the 1st of January, 1823, by the Lord Mayor, the Sheriffs, Town Clerks, and Common Councilmen, in full costume, and with sword-bearer, mace-bearer, &c. to congratulate him, in a complimentary address, on his Parliamentary conduct. This address and the freedom of Dublin had been voted to Mr. Rice on the 18th of October, previously, but there was no means until now of presenting it in due form. The Lord Lieutenant, incapable from indisposition of attending to public business, did not receive the address of the Corporation of Limerick on this occasion, but he appointed the 30th of the same month, when Mr. Rice and the Mayor again proceeded to Dublin, when the address was read, and a suitable reply was returned by His Excellency.

At this particular juncture a serious check had been given to the prosperity of Limerick, which, in its trade and commerce, had been falling away from the high ground which it had for so many years occupied. Foreign shipping had almost deserted the quays; there was a diminished trade with England. The revenue of the port was little over that of Newry, and not near the revenue of the port of Waterford. The old rival, Galway, had gone down in this respect, many years before; and Limerick threatened to follow to a similar level. While the revenue of Cork was £234,010—and that of Waterford £94,643—and Londonderry £72,137—Limerick was but £60,437—Belfast, at this time, was not near Newry, the revenue of the former being but £302,762. A contemporaneous writer ascribes the decay of Limerick to the prevalence of too much showiness and idleness on the part of those classes who ought to have been engaged in business pursuits; but the real

cause of the temporary decline may be discerned in the overwhelming miseries which befel the agricultural classes, on whom, in a great measure, the prosperity of the city had always depended. These classes, at this time, were suffering from various causes, and particularly from the fall in prices, the exactions of the tithe system, the oppressions of middle-men who were dying out, and the great changes which had come over the country since the declaration of peace. The Corporation, too, was rapidly on the wane. At the Spring assizes of this year (1823) there were only nineteen names on the City Grand Jury; and among those was the name of Denis O'Brien, Esq. of Newcastle, a Catholic gentleman of fortune, for the first time. At the County of Limerick assizes, a trial of considerable importance and of deep interest took place, that of Patrick Neville and James Fitzgibbon for the murder of Richard Going, Esq. They were ably defended by Daniel O'Connell and other leading Counsel. They were, however, found guilty, and on the 14th of March were executed. Fitzgibbon, who is represented to have been a hardened culprit, suffered much owing to the inexpertness of the executioner. The north liberties of Limerick continued to be greatly disturbed by nightly insurgents: houses were set on fire, among others the house of one Allen, a respectable farmer, who lost fourteen cows on this occasion, and the blaze of incendiarism was seen to arise from many other rooftrees during some months. A return to Parliament was now made of the yeomanry corps in the four Provinces,—an inefficient and at all periods a partizan force. The total was 30,753, thus distributed:—

In Leinster, 5,915.	In Ulster, 20,131.
In Connaught, 2,356.	In Munster, 2,351.

Sir Robert Peel's police force had not as yet done much towards proving their activity; both country and town were subjected to multitudinous evils, owing to the distracted state of society.

On the 27th of March, in consequence of these outrages, a special sessions was held under the Insurrection Act, when John Halloran was indicted for being absent from his house after prescribed hours—he was arrested by the police on the night of the 22nd of that month, when Mr. Allen's cowhouse and cows were burned. Halloran was sentenced to seven years transportation and conveyed to Cork at seven o'clock on the same evening—he was the son of an industrious and respectable father, an independent farmer, and neighbour to Allen. A short time before he had been tried for the murder of Allen's son and was found guilty of manslaughter. The prosecution being carried on by the deceased's father, it was generally believed that he owed Allen what they called in this country "Sweet's revenge;" but he was not tried for the burning. He was rather in a better class of life, and well educated; his example, it was considered, would strike terror into others. The disturbances, however, not only continued in and about the liberties and in the counties of Limerick and Clare, but spread to those parts of the County of Cork, which adjoin Limerick, where there was a great deal of agrarian suffering and outrage.

In April and early in May, special sessions under the Insurrection Act were held at the County Court House of Limerick, and at Rathkeale, when one man was sentenced to seven years transportation at the former, and two men to the same measure of punishment at the latter place. The Palatines had been about this time subjected to nightly attacks, their cattle slain or houghed, and their houses burned. The result was that many of them

emigrated. Sessions were held in Bruff on the 16th of the same month, at which two men were sentenced to seven years transportation for setting fire to the village of Glenasheen in the preceding April. On the 20th of the month, an adjourned sessions were held at Rathkeale, at which thirty men were charged with being absent from their dwellings on two nights previously. Their defence was, that they had been at the wake of a deceased friend; nine of them were relatives of the deceased; these were acquitted, twenty-one were committed and received sentence of transportation for seven years. Such was the severity of the times. On the 20th of June following, a sessions was also held in the County of Limerick Court House, under the Insurrection Act, when two men were sent off from the dock for Cork, to be transported for seven years. Early in July another sessions was held at Rathkeale and in Limerick with similar result; and a few nights after—viz. on the 9th, Gerald Blenerhasset, Esq. and Chief Constable Keilly of the Constabulary, discovered sixty-eight pike-heads concealed in a wall on the most remote part of Knockfierna Hill, in the County of Limerick.

Whilst the country continued thus disturbed, and the wail of sorrow was heard in many an humble homestead; whilst the hulks were crowded with the victims of the law, and the gibbet groaned under its human burdens, there was a most active movement drawing to a successful issue, between the independent citizens and the city member, Mr. Rice, and the Corporation and its abettors. On the 6th of May, in the House of Commons, Mr. Rice's Bill for the better regulation of the city of Limerick[1] was read a second time. Captain O'Grady,[2] one of the County representatives, had stood up in his place, and moved that the bill be read that day six months; when Mr. O'Grady having sat down, and the Speaker asked who seconded the motion? there was a dead silence, in the midst of which Mr. Rice again stood up, and made many animadversions on the conduct of the hon. and gallant member. Meantime, the Wellesley Bridge Act[3] had received the Royal assent, and public notice was given to that effect by the directors of the Chamber of Commerce. A meeting of the forty-eight commissioners named in the Bill, was convened for the purpose of electing additional new commissioners. The Corporation now began to set its house in order—in other words, to distribute among its members, the remnant of the property of the citizens which had survived up to this period the almost general plunder and spoliation of the public revenue. The Regulation Act was passed in the teeth of an insolent opposition; but two days before it came into operation, the Corporators made a lease for ever to Sir Christopher Marrett, Knight and Alderman, and one of the Committee of Accounts, at the rent of £34 2s. 6d. Irish, of the ancient island of Scattery, which had been granted to the Corporation by Queen Elizabeth. The island contains 103 acres, of which four are in possession of the Government, having been purchased from the Corporation in 1810 for the Ordnance Service.[4] For some lengthened period, the Chamber of Commerce, anxious to free the city from the intolerable nuisance and oppression to which farmers had been subjected heretofore, had carried out an agreement to pay the Corporation £1500 a-year for all their claim on tolls on corn and potatoes, with the intention of relieving potatoes from any charge, which they did accordingly.[5] This bargain was annually renewed from 1808 to 1823; the

[1] The Limerick Regulation Act, 4 Geo. IV. cap. 126.
[2] Son of the Chief Baron O'Grady.
[3] 4th Geo. IV. cap. 94.
[4] Report of the Commissioners on Municipal Corporations in Ireland.

Chamber of Commerce profited from £400 to £1000 a-year by the arrangement; but the war against the Corporation lost none of its bitterness notwithstanding; and the year at which we have arrived, witnessed, to a great extent, the realization of the hopes of the citizens, by a curb being applied to the overgrown licentiousness and irresponsible malversation of the public funds by the Corporation. During the prosecution of the suit in Parliament, serious charges were brought by Mr. Rice against Chief Baron O'Grady. These charges became the subject of investigation: the principal charge against the Chief Baron being for alleged instituting and receiving exorbitant fees, not warranted by law, in the matters brought before his court. It was decided by a majority of the House on the 11th of July, that it was not necessary to proceed farther with the investigation. Captain O'Grady, on this occasion, made a defence for his father which elicited general approbation manifesting as it did fine natural feeling, and noble self-possession. The Royal assent, however, was given to the Regulation Act on the 18th of July; it having passed the House of Lords on the 14th without a division. Universal joy prevailed throughout the city. The principal source of income of the Corporation was from the tolls and customs, which had been rapidly increasing every year, and which for the year ending 1833, were let for £3,706. The gross annual produce of them under favorable circumstances, had been estimated at £5,000 per annum.[1] This money was not expended in improving the city, or in relieving the citizens in any shape or form. The enormous sum of £10,393 19s. 10½d. was spent before 1821 in the political contest between the Corporation and the Independents; while to sustain the tottering power of the spoliators, a sum of £1011 14s. 7½d. was laid out for stamps provided for the admission of honorary and non-resident freemen alone[2] This expenditure entailed embarrassments of so serious a nature on the Corporation, that bonds were passed in 1824; and the discharge of those bonds, until 1833, and indeed during the term of its existence until 1841, not only deprived the Corporation of any surplus available to the public uses and charities of the city, but plunged it into debt. The Independents, in this long contest for their rights, did not spare their purses, but with open hand gave freely of their money to the good cause; and it has been estimated that it cost them £30,000 in the prosecution of the contest against the Corporation.[3]

Never did a body of men act with a truer sense of what they owed to themselves and to the important interests of which they were the guardians, than the Limerick Independents, composed of Protestants and Catholics; a feeling of liberality prevailed between them, arising from the fact that they were engaged in a common cause, and that mutual co-operation was essential for the success of the paramount objects on which they had set their hearts. They went on hand in hand, setting an example of perseverance and energy, while, though the Corporation continued to drag on a miserable existence for some few years, and expended annually a sum of £3,000 in the payment of the Mayor, Chamberlain, Corporate Staff, &c. it held no place in the estimation of the citizens, but on the contrary was pronounced to be a disgrace and an abuse even by

[1] Report of the Commissioners, &c. [2] Ibid.

[3] As an instance of the generosity of the citizens, we have the fact on the best authority, that the firm of Edmond Ryan and Son, merchants, gave no less than £1500 to the cause of the Independents in subscriptions. Edmond Ryan, the venerable patriot and friend of O'Connell, was grandfather of E. F. G. Ryan, Esq., R.M., Middleton, Co. Cork, and of Michael R. Ryan, Esq. J.P., Templemungret, Limerick. Mr. Creagh gave a subscription of £500.

those who in social life were on terms of intimacy and friendship with its members.[1] For several years before it was dissolved by the Municipal Reform Bill, it had permitted the guilds of trade, which in the last century exercised such influence at Municipal and Parliamentary Elections, and which were designated "the fifteen Corporations," to dissolve their connexion with it, simply because those guilds had ceased to be composed of Orangemen, and could no more control the votes of Tory partizans in favor of a particular candidate. It possessed scarcely a trace of the forty ploughlands which King John granted to the City, and of which there was an inspeximus by Henry VI.[2] and which we must confess were spoliated, to a considerable extent, a long time before. It made away with or scattered to the winds the records of its proceedings and misdeeds, so that except in the Birmingham Tower and the British Museum, where a few of its old books have found their way, there would be but little to tell of the evils it perpetrated, except in Law Courts, where true to its instincts, it has left its trace in a series of bootless, but to the citizens, ruinous law suits.

An effort being made in 1824, to revive the Merchants of the Staple, who had been created by charter of James I., and who had become extinct, by order of the Lord Lieutenant in Council, on the 14th of August, 1824, thirty-two members of the guild were named, one of whom only was a member of the Common Council, though several of them were freemen. That effort failed—the guild became inoperative. The Chamber of Commerce, on the other hand, went on steadily and well. Their funds were at first derived from rateable subscriptions paid by each member according to the extent of his export trade in the port of Limerick, and a schedule of

[1] In 1833 the Corporation proposed to borrow from the Commissioners of public warks £9,000 on the security of the surplus revenues of £1,000, for the purpose of rebuilding Thomond Bridge. The bridge was built, but the money was never paid by the Corporation.

[2] Report of the Commissioners, &c.

The noticeable events of this year were:—

1824, January 31st.—The warrants appointing six magistrates under the Limerick Regulation Act issued; the names of these gentlemen are as follows:—The Hon. John Massy, City of Limerick; Rev. Josiah Crampton, Rector of Sradbally; Alderman Joseph Gabbett, City of Limerick; Major-General Richard Bourke, Thornville, South Liberties, William Roche and John Kelly, Esqrs.—Before this time the justices were constituted by Charter Jas. I., March 3rd, 1609, and limited to six, the Mayor and Recorder for the time being always two of them. The remaining four were elected the second Monday after Michaelmas day, and it was usual to appoint the late Mayor when he had served his office, a charter justice for the succeeding year.

February 7th.—Great joy prevailed in Limerick, on the arrival of the news that Mr. Rice had obtained the Lord Lieutenant's approbation of a grant of £60,000 for building the Wellesley Bridge.

February 17th.—On the evening of this day a very unusual circumstance occurred at the funeral of a Mr. Laurence Durack, in St. John's Churchyard. The Rev. Mr. M'Carthy, a Catholic Clergyman, in stole and surplice, recited the usual prayers, &c., and was resisted by the Rev. John Fitzgibbon, Protestant Vicar, who remonstrated to no purpose. The surrounding crowd pushed and jostled Mr. Fitzgibbon and called him hard names. The ultra Protestants were annoyed; but the affair did not create a feeling beyond them.

March 3rd.—From a Parliamentary document just issued, the value of silver and copper coins now in circulation is estimated according to the market price of silver and copper:—

Silver—the Crown or 5s. piece, at	4s. 6d.
Half-Crown or 2s. 6d.	2s. 3d.
The Shilling,	10d.
The Penny,	one Farthing.

March 12th.—The Excise district of Ennis, annexed to Limerick, by which one Chief collector, one surveyor, and some subalterns are out of office.

March 22nd.—James Bridgeman, aged 22 years, executed in front of the county gaol for the murder of Richard Going, Esq., late Chief Magistrate of Police of the County of Limerick,

these rates was fixed by a bye-law of the Chamber; but this becoming too heavy on individuals, some of whom paid a contribution so high as £40, a maximum subscription of £12 was fixed, which, about forty years ago, was reduced to a subscription of £5 annually from each member. They first undertook the management of the butter trade of Limerick, by which they increased the export trade in that article wonderfully, and derived a good income. They applied their funds to the improvement of the port and harbour of Limerick, by clearing away rocks and shoals in the river, and mooring buoys; in encouraging the linen trade; in expending £1500 in one season of distress by purchasing provisions for the poor, and selling them at a reduced rate; and about £1200 in opposition to the Corporation before the Committee of Appeal in 1820, on the rights of freedom.

The population returns of the County of the City of Limerick in 1821 was 59,045, and in 1831 according to the population returns printed by order of the House of Commons, it was 66,554 showing an increase in ten years of 7,509. The population of the parishes forming the city as built upon, was estimated in 1831, at 49,769. The number of inhabited houses in the county of the city by the returns of 1831, was 7,820. The number building 138. The number uninhabited 427. The number of families 11,953 —of which there were chiefly employed in agriculture 2,798—in trade, manufactures and handicraft 4,057—all other families not comprised in the two preceeding classes 5,098. The proportion of females to males as 6 to 5. The number of males over twenty years of age 15,663—labourers employed in agriculture 2,561; ditto not employed in agriculture 3,618. Persons employed in retail trade or handicraft as masters or workmen 5,106 —capitalists, bankers, professional and other educated men 1323—occupiers

14th October, 1821. The culprit acknowledged to be at the murders of Major Hare, and Mr. Bushe. It appeared from the declaration, that the murder of Mr. Going was in contemplation for three months, before an opportunity for executing it presented itself. Mr. Going, on the night previous, slept at Castletown, the residence of John Waller, Esq. He had choice of three roads which led to Rathkeale, on each of which four ruffians were posted, so that escape was impossible. Bridgeman appeared to have been the chief planner of all the mischief. He had been discharged at Spring Assizes, 1823, for want of prosecution.

March 26th.—A Mr. Porter of London, on the part of the United General Gas Company, has agreed to light the Parish of St. Michael, from the first October next, with gas—oil being hitherto used in the public lamps. Mr. Porter promises to do so at a saving of £30 a year to the Parish Commissioners, and to furnish the requisite apparatus, &c. at his own cost. He anticipates an expenditure of £4000 before the work is completed.

March 31st.—Ten convicts embarked on board the convict ship at Cove, Co. Cork; they pleaded guilty at last assizes for an attack on Glenasheen barracks, in the County of Limerick, and received sentence of transportation.

April 6th.—For the first time in Limerick, a Columbian printing press, introduced by Messrs. Watson.

April 10th.—Thomas Shehan executed in front of the county gaol, pursuant to sentence at last assizes, he being an accomplice in the crime of cutting Mr. Nagle's throat at Kilmallock.

April 14th.—Labourers employed this day in clearing quarries from which stones are to be raised for the Wellesley Bridge.

April 17th.—Three men executed at the county gaol pursuant to sentence at the last assizes.

In the house of Lords, Earl Darnley states that the population of Ireland is 7,000,000, and that 50,000 of the number only are of the Established Church.

April 24th.—Donovan and Russell executed in front of the county gaol for attacking Glenasheen barracks. They neither denied nor acknowledged guilt.

St. George's Day, (April 23rd), the newly appointed time for celebrating the King's birth-day, happening in Easter week, firing of troops, &c., did not take place till the 29th inst.

May 2nd.—The Emigrant Brig, Maria of Pembroke, from New Ross to Quebec, put into the harbour of Limerick in distress; 89 passengers on board, in the utmost want. A subscription raised of £72 11s. 3d. for them. The Rev. P. Hogan, P.P., St. Michael's, realized £20 additional for them by a charity sermon.

and others not included in the foregoing 3,055. The quantity of corn bought in Limerick in 1830 and 1831 was:—

	1830.	1831.
Wheat, ...	147,400.	169,993.
Barley, ...	85,558.	85,560.
" Oats, ...	296,070.	315,732.

The increase of the grain trade in the forty years preceding, appears from a petition on the subject of tolls, presented to the Irish House of Commons in 1790, which states in the past year 1789, there were exported from Limerick:—

21,693	Barrels	of	Wheat.
24,906	„	„	Oats.
568	„	„	Beans,
526	„	„	Barley.
1360	cwt.	of	Flour.
714	tons	of	Oatmeal.

The tonnage too of vessels had increased in the same ratio, and Limerick was giving evidence of its progress in every respect notwithstanding a partial check to its prosperity a few years before this period.

Concurrently with these improvements and projects, the Catholics of Limerick began to take energetic measures to join in the struggle for Emancipation: O'Connell had already established the Catholic Association, and projected the Catholic Rent. Limerick immediately threw its weight into the scale. On the 21st of June, 1824, a meeting of the Catholic parishioners of St. Michael's was held in the Parish Church; resolutions were unanimously adopted to sustain the collection of the Catholic Rent, which was set on foot and pushed with vigorous alacrity. The parish was divided into districts; the subscription was not less than one penny, or more than two shillings per month, from each contributor. A few days after the establishment of the Association in Limerick, a solemn service was celebrated in the same parish church for the repose of the soul of Francis Arthur, Esq., who had lately died at Dunkirk, in France, and of whose trial and sufferings, and escape from an imminent death at the hands of military executioners and civic plotters, we have given an account in a preceding chapter.

The Protestants of Limerick were, generally speaking, in favor of an adjustment of the Catholic claims; there was, they said, but little use in

May 13th.—A diving bell imported from Waterford, to be employed in the erection of the Wellesley Bridge—the first ever seen here.

May 14th.—The first stone of the central building of the new Lunatic Asylum laid with much ceremony by Stephen Edward Rice, Esq., (as proxy for his son, Thomas Spring Rice, Esq., M.P. now attending his Parliamentary duties), in presence of the directors and several gentlemen. Johnson and Murray; Williams and Cockburn, architects.

May 14th.—A young gentleman of the name of Barnes, shot himself at the mail-coach hotel in George's-street—he languished in great agony till the morning of the 17th. Disappointed love was the cause.

May 30th.—Keeper Hill covered with snow.

The revenue establishment at Kilrush and Scattery Island done away with.

The Castle Barracks ordered to be taken down and rebuilt in the most perfect manner.

June 1st.—Great drought: a boy forded the Shannon from Custom House Quay to the House of Industry on the North Strand.

May 30th.—Died in Dublin, Richard E. Crosbie, Esq., aged 68 years; the first who ascended in a balloon at Dublin or any where else. He ascended from the rere of the House of Industry, on the North Strand, on the 27th of April, 1786, of which the *Hibernian Magazine* gives a lengthened account.

A woman aged 60, named Catherine Glynn, gave birth to a daughter at the Lying-in Hospital.

June 14th.—A sum of £300,000 per annum said to be drained out of Ireland by absentees.

resisting the rapid progress of liberality. A statement had been just made in the House of Commons which showed that in Ulster there were only five-eighths of the whole population, or 1,250,000 Protestants—in Leinster, one-fifth; in Munster, one-twelfth; in Connaught, one in twenty-five; in all, 1,840,000 Protestants to six millions of Catholics. The question of Emancipation was simply one of time. A return was published of the resident and non-resident Protestant clergy throughout Ireland; and from this return it appeared that, while there was a very large proportion of non-resident clergymen elsewhere, the diocese of Limerick showed a larger aggregate in this respect than any other, there being no less than 47 non-resident clergymen to 95 benefices. By another return it also appeared that the estates of the Protestant Bishop of Limerick consisted of 6,720 acres, and the reserved rent £2,102 18s. 11d., and the customary renewal fines an equal profit. The total amount of acres in Ireland owned by Archbishops and Bishops (Protestant) 427,365 acres.

One of those trials of deep interest between the Corporation and the Independents took place at Cork assizes this year; it was of great importance to Limerick. Denis Lyons, Esq., merchant, represented the plaintiffs—the Chamber of Commerce. A verdict was given for the defendants. The trial occupied three days, and a vast deal of old and new matter was produced, which it was thought would prove to be the forerunner of future litigation. It was alleged that the Corporation was possessed of immense estates. The charters of John, of Edward I., of Henry V., the two charters of Elizabeth, and the charter of James I., were referred to fully. Nothing practical, however, eventuated from the trial for the citizens.

Lord Combermere, Commander-in-Chief of the Forces in Ireland, arrived in Limerick on the 9th of September, and inspected the troops in garrison on the parade of the New Barracks.[1] Immediately after, his Lordship left Limerick for Rockbarton, the residence of the Chief Baron O'Grady.

[1] These Barracks were built in 1798, and occupy about a square mile. They are capable of containing about 1000 men, including officers' quarters. They are on an elevation to the south-west of the city. In 1845 a district Military Prison was added, which in 1865 contains 87 prisoners, and a staff consisting of chief warder and seven warders and servants. The prison consists of three corridors and fifty-nine cells.

July 27th.—Prospectus of an Irish Provincial Banking Company issued; local committees have been formed in different towns and cities. The following committee formed in Limerick:—John M'Namara, President, and J. N. Russell, Vice-President of the Chamber of Commerce; Joseph M. Harvey, John Kelly, Martin Creagh, John Hill, Michael Ryan, Ralph Westropp, and William White, directors of the Chamber of Commerce for the current year.

August 20th.—The sentinel at the Excise Office door made an attempt to break it open; there were £1200 in an iron safe in the office. The sentinel, whose name was Wm. M'Kenny, a native of Ballyshannon, deserted.

September 13th.—The Assembly House on Charlotte's Quay, having been again fitted up as a theatre, opened this evening with Shakspere's tragedy of King Richard III. The celebrated actor, Kean, played Richard. Kean left Limerick on the morning of the 18th of September, displeased at his reception—he had engaged with Mr. Clarke, the manager, to play twelve successive nights—he only played five nights, and those to almost empty houses. It is supposed his receipts did not cover his expenses. He returned for the races, and fulfilled his engagement, playing alternately tragedy and comedy. Country families attended the plays.

Major Hedges Maunsell built the flour mills at Plassy, within two miles of Limerick—mills probably inferior to none in Ireland. They were afterwards occupied for several years by Mr. Reuben Harvey. Mr. Richard Russell, J.P., rebuilt Plassy House in a superb style in 1863, and has added to the power of the mills considerably.

September 29th.—The coach between Limerick and Tralee commenced running this day. Leaves Limerick at 11½, a.m., and arrives at Tralee at 11, p. m.: returns from Tralee at 3, a.m.,

The country continued very much disturbed; and the expense of the old Constabulary was excessive: for the half year, on the county of Limerick, it amounted to £1,846 12s., and the new police for the same time was £1,941 8s. 9d.

The Corporation on the 11th of October this year, let the Lax weir, in Court of D'Oyer Hundred, to a Mr. Thomas Little, at £450 per annum: the weir had been for some years wholly neglected, and abandoned, and had become altogether unproductive of any revenue. A Mr. Kelly had been for some months previously, engaged on the part of the Government in suppressing all private weirs and obstructions, both in the river Shannon and in the small rivers that run into it. From this it was conjectured that the take of salmon would prove to be abundant. Forty years before this time, salmon sold in Limerick for one penny and three halfpence per lb. It is stated that in old apprentices' indentures, masters were bound not to give apprentices salmon more than three times a week for dinner.[1]

In this year a return to Parliament was made of the number of magistrates in Ireland: 4507 is the total number; 1932, acting and resident; 266, acting though not resident,—187 attached to Limerick.

Manufactures a few years after this time began to appear again in Limerick, which is largely indebted to one firm for sustained and persevering efforts to locate manufactures in the city.[2] Messrs. J. N. Russell and Sons, one of

[1] In 1865, the price of salmon early in the season is 3s. and 2s. 6d. per lb., and throughout the season it is seldom below the sum of 1s. 8d. per lb. William Malcomson, Esq. of the firm of Malcomson Brothers, Portlaw, county of Waterford, the tenant of the great Lax weir, sends off enormous quantities each day to the London, Dublin, and other markets in England and elsewhere. The take is fully as large, if it be not larger, than it ever had been. The trade in it realizes a vast revenue. Besides the fishery at the Lax weir, there are several boats employed by Mr. Malcomson in the fishery, and many fishermen who had been on their own account, are at present in the employment of Mr. Malcomson. Ice is used in preserving the fish fresh, and ice houses have been built near the weir, and at the Terminus of the Waterford and Limerick Railway, for the purpose.

[2] The Russells of Limerick (who were once numerous) are an old Protestant family that can clearly be traced to the time of Cromwell; though further trace of them is here lost, it is probable that their progenitors were citizens of Limerick at a period much more remote. The 9th Mayor of Limerick was John Russell, (styled John Russell, alias Creagh), and the 56th Mayor of Limerick was John Russell. Since then several of the name have filled the office of Bailiff and Sheriff. By inscription on front of the Old Exchange it appears it was rebuilt in 1777, Walter Widenham being Mayor, and Francis Russell and Charles Sargent, Sheriffs. This Francis Russell was grandfather to Francis William Russell, the present Representative in Parliament for the City of Limerick, and the last member of the family that filled the office of Sheriff, was his brother, Thompson Russell; Hughes Russell was Sheriff for the city in 1837, and took part as a public officer in the civil and military procession through the streets of Limerick on the occasion of proclaiming Victoria Queen

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and reaches Limerick at 2½, p.m.—route through Patrick's Well, Adare, Crough, Rathkeale, New Bridge, Foynes, Loughill, Glin, Tarbert, Listowell, and O'Dorney—performing a journey of 50 miles and 3 furlongs in 11½ hours.

The expense of the mill house, tread mill, and machinery for scutching flax, at the County of Limerick Gaol amounts to £806 2s. 5d.

About the commencement of September, the foundation of a new Convent and Chapel for the Franciscan Friars laid in Henry-street.

Nov. 3rd.—John Collins, aged 114 years, died at Manister, in this county.—*Limerick Chronicle.*

The Limerick Jubilee Loan gave on loans up to the end of this year (1824) £81,563.

Bryan Salmon, a shoemaker, died in Mungret-street, aged 104 years. He retained his faculties to the day of his death.

The Catholic rent collected in Limerick from May until the end of December (1824) amounts to £814 17s. 1d.

the oldest, and for many years the largest merchants and manufacturers in the south-west of Ireland, in 1827, for the first time, added flour milling to their previously extensive business. They were the first in the city to see the advantage of steam power applied to manufactures, and in this year fitted up the Newtown Pery mills with steam machinery, much to the surprise and wonder of the people, as no one considered the plan either rational or feasible.[1] It is idle now to say that the new power did succeed, and as the business grew and enlarged itself under the upright, liberal, and

of Great Britain and Ireland, and the first stone of the new Church of St. John's was laid by John Norris Russell, the year that he filled the office of Sheriff. In former days there was a branch of the Russells in Limerick who were of this family, but the connection was remote, having descended from the brother of one of the progenitors of the present family (Philip Russell, born in 1650). They have long since left Limerick, and are at present represented by the Venerable John Russell, Archdeacon of Clogher, whose sister Elizabeth was married to the late Right Rev. Charles Dickinson, Protestant Lord Bishop of Meath. There have been from time to time, and are at present, several of the name residing in Limerick, unconnected with this family. The burial place of the Russells is St. John's in Limerick, where for many years they used to inter in the interior of the old Church, until such interments were prohibited by Act of Parliament. The last person whose remains were interred in the interior of the old Church, was the widow of a Philip Russell (Miss Fosbery, of Clornne, in the County Limerick). Consequent on her decease having taken place a short time after the passing of this Act, her remains were interred outside the Church in the morning, and at night, with the sanction of the Vicar of the parish, who was a particular friend of the family, they were secretly removed, and placed in the tomb near the remains of her late husband. The tomb was situated near the passage leading from the communion table to the vestry room in the old Church, on the site of which the new one has been raised.

There are now three vaults in the burial ground outside the Church, belonging to different branches of the family, one of which has lately become extinct by the decease of Francis Philip Russell, of St. Thomas's Island. Over the organ loft, in the new church, is a handsome wheel window with richly stained glass, in the centre of which are the arms of the family.

The name of Russell is identified with the ancient Cathedral of Limerick so far back as the year 1272, Henry Russell being one of the Canons of the Cathedral at that period.

Mayors of Limerick of the Name of Russell.

John Russell, (styled John Russell, alias Creagh).
John Russell.

Bailiffs of Limerick of the Name of Russell.

Pierce Russell.				
David Russell,	...	...	...	*twice.*
Philip Russell,	...	...	...	*twice.*

Sheriffs of Limerick of the Name of Russell.

Francis Russell.
William Russell.
Philip Russell.
Abraham Russell.
Francis Philip Russell.
Hughes Russell.
John Norris Russell.
Richard Russell.
Thompson Russell.

[1] In front of the Newtown Pery store, in Henry Street, built in addition to the mills in 1837, is inserted a stone, which was formerly in front of the old Mayoralty house in Quay Lane, and was purchased by Mr. J. N. Russell, when that building was taken down. On either side of the stone is the date of the erection of the store, 1837; over this stone, cut in relief also, are the Russell arms, with the name underneath—

JOHN NORRIS RUSSELL.

In addition to the Newtown Pery Mills, the machinery of which is already—so rapid have been the improvements in steam machinery since its erection—old fashioned and comparatively expensive to work—the Messrs. Russell hold Lock Mills, situate where the canal joins the

prudent course always before and since pursued by the firm, other mills fell from time to time into their hands, until they are now, in 1865, the largest millers in Ireland, if not in Great Britain.

Abbey River; the large mills at Corbally, just above the last regulating weir on the Shannon; Plassy Mills, farther up the river; Garryowen Mills, a large steam concern; and extensive mills at Askeaton, situate several miles below the city, one of which is also driven by steam. These concerns give large employment to the people, and largely contribute to the commerce of the port, both by imports of grain, coals, etc., and by exports of flour and other commodities. A great portion of this is done by the sailing vessels of the firm, and by the line of steamers which they have largely contributed to maintain. The public benefits at all times resulting from these enterprises, need not be enlarged upon; but the advantage to the community was especially found, during the disastrous years of the famine, when the Messrs. Russell were enabled to provide breadstuffs to an enormous and unprecedented extent for the consumption of the neighbouring unions, then dependent on almost instant supplies to prevent famine taking possession inside the workhouses. At one period, in 1858, it was in contemplation by the guardians to apply for advances from the imperial treasury, in anticipation of the poor rates, for payment of the supplies provided, which their funds were unable to meet. Before the era of steam navigation the English and Scotch trade with the port was carried on by a line of sailing packets, of which Messrs. Russell were large proprietors; but in 1850, when steam vessels became necessary to supersede the liners, they did not hesitate to take a very leading part in establishing the Steam Ship Company.* In 1858, when the Company was suffering from the opposition of railway competition, and the general depression of Irish public enterprise, Messrs. Russell took the shares of those whose confidence was shaken, and devoted themselves largely to restore the line. The success of these efforts is seen in the prosperity of the undertaking now, and the river vessels of larger size and power added to the fleet, which now can boast of having as fine vessels of their class as any port of Great Britain or Ireland. In addition to ample accommodation for the general import and export trade of the city, this line is now enabled to provide large supplies of coals, and thus keep a wholesome check on the enormous prices and extreme fluctuations which always existed when the supply of coals was entirely dependent on sailing vessels. In 1851, Messrs. Russell commenced the erection of Lansdowne flax spinning and weaving factories at North Strand, and such was the energy devoted to this entirely new branch of manufacture here by them, that the buildings and machinery of the spinning factory were erected and started in October, 1853, and shortly afterwards the power loom factory was erected, giving further large employment in the manufacture of the yarns into lines. These fine, well proportioned buildings, all built of dressed limestone, are, in a mere architectural sense, an ornament to the city, and the advantages of the steady employment both factories have since given to large numbers, chiefly of the younger portion of the population, otherwise utterly unprovided with well-paid work, are not easily over-estimated. The firm has regularly engaged, in all their various enterprises, about 2,000 people. The founder of the firm, the late Mr. John Norris Russell, died at a ripe old age in 1859, having lived to see his sons successfully carry into operation all the enterprises which he with them had originated. His eldest son, Mr. Francis William Russell, was returned one of the members for the city in 1852, and has since worthily represented it in the House of Commons. The contributions of the firm to the local charities, without distinction of creed or party, have always been in liberal keeping with their other acts.

* Previous to 1817, the only mode of river conveyance between Limerick and Kilrush, was by turf boats. About that period three sailing packets, the Royal George, Lady Frances, and Vandeleur, were established for the conveyance of goods and passengers; and in some years after a steamer, called the Lady of the Shannon, commenced to ply—(she was the property of a Limerick Company)—but having proved a failure in some time after was broken up. Consequent on want of steam power, she was not alone slow in movement, but unable to proceed against the tide when there was a strong head wind.

In 1829 the Dublin Steam Packet Company placed a powerful boat on the station, called the Mona, and have since continued to run steamers between Limerick and Kilrush; a new route is also now opened by the Foynes Railway.

CHAPTER L.

NEW AND OLD BRIDGES OF LIMERICK.—WELLESLEY BRIDGE.—ATHLUNKARD BRIDGE—PARK BRIDGE—BALL'S BRIDGE—THOMOND BRIDGE.—NEW AND MATHEW BRIDGE.—PROJECTED RAILROADS.—WATERWORKS.—BARRINGTON'S HOSPITAL.—STATISTICS OF TRAVELLING, &C. &C.

WITH the growth of the New Town and the augmentation of trade and commerce, the necessity arose for new bridges to span the Shannon, and docks to protect the shipping frequenting the port. In 1759, a grant was made of £3,500 to the Ball's Bridge Commissioners for enlarging the quay, building a bridge to Mardyke, and clearing the river of rocks from the quay to the pool. In 1765, a further grant of £2,500 to the Ball's Bridge Commissioners was made for continuing the new quays; but the requirements of the port and harbour at the period at which we have arrived were larger and more imperative in this respect; and accordingly, as we have seen in the previous chapter, the Wellesley Bridge Act was passed in 1823; in 1825, the Athlunkard Bridge Act was passed. In the same year, an act was passed for supplying the city and suburbs of Limerick with water. In 1826, an act was passed to make a railroad from the city of Limerick to Carrick-on-Suir, in the county of Tipperary—the first project of this kind in the South of Ireland. In 1830, Barrington's Hospital Act was passed; and in the same year was passed an act for rebuilding Ball's Bridge. It was a time of enterprise and action, and several of the projects, though numerous and of great magnitude, were carried out to successful completion, not only with speed, but with skill and science which could not be surpassed, if equalled, in any other city in the British Empire. The preamble of the act for the erection of the Wellesley Bridge—one of the noblest structures in the kingdom—set out the fact of the wealth and importance of the city of Limerick, the extension of its commerce, and the likelihood of the increase of that commerce—the want of a direct communication or passage from the west side of the Liberties, and from the counties of Clare and Galway, except by the one very old and narrow bridge—Thomond Bridge[1]—which was "inconveniently remote from the new and trading parts of the city"—the necessity of a canal for the passage of ships and boats above and below the projected bridge—the want of a floating dock for shipping of a sharp form, or copper-bottomed, commonly used in the trade of the Atlantic, which could not now be safely brought to the quays of the city. The act appointed the following commissioners for erecting the bridge, &c.:—viz., the Right Hon. Wm. Vesey Fitzgerald, Sir Edward O'Brien, Bart.; the Hon. Richard Fitzgibbon, Thomas Spring Rice, Bolton Waller, Thomas Fitzgibbon, the elder; Joseph Massey Harvey, Richard Bourke, George Gough the younger; John Kelly, Edward Croker, William Gabbett, Thomas Roche, William Roche, John Vereker, John Mark, William Monsell, the younger, Thomas Gibbon Fitzgibbon, John Brown, John MacNamara, John

[1] The Old Thomond Bridge stood exactly on the site of the present one It was inconveniently narrow, and there was no flagway for foot passengers. It was provided with small chambers or recesses over each of the piers, that people stood in when two vehicles were passing each other, and by their means accidents were prevented.

Hartigan, Daniel Leahy; Joseph Gabbett, William Howley, Ralph Westropp, Richard Kenny, Robert O'Callaghan Newenham, Michael Furnell, John Perrott, Edward Villiers, John Connell, Robert Maunsell, the elder; Martin Creagh, James Fisher, John Staunton, John Green, John Norris Russell, Michael Ryan, Daniel Gabbett, Martin Arthur, Michael Gavin, William White, John Stephenson, Reuben Harvey, Stephen Dickson, Daniel Barrington, and Robert Keane Charles, and their successors. The place selected was from Brunswick-street across the river to the North Strand. Extensive powers were granted to the Commissioners, and among other powers given them, was one by which they were enabled to borrow a sum of one hundred thousand pounds for the purposes in question, on the credit of the tolls, rates and duties to be levied. No one applied himself more zealously to the successful realization of this project than Mr. Thomas Spring Rice, M.P. Several objections had been raised to the advance of money for the proposed Bridge; but on the 6th of February, 1824, Mr. Rice addressed a letter to the President of the Chamber of Commerce, announcing that the Marquis of Wellesley, Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, had approved of the report of the Commissioners, recommending a grant of £60,000 for the intended Bridge and Docks at Limerick; and expressing his assurance that no further doubts or difficulties could arise, nor could any new obstacles be interposed to defeat a measure which would be found no less important to the unemployed tradesmen and labourers of Limerick, than to the commercial interests of the city and the adjacent counties. It was thought, in fact, that the tolls would considerably exceed the estimate of the Commissioners, and bring in a revenue of over £5,000 a year. Mr. Rice anticipated a reduction in the tolls in consequence of the revenue, and eventually the opening of a free port. In these anticipations he and the public have been completely deceived. The revenue from the tolls never arrived at anything whatever even remotely approaching to the estimate. Year after year the tolls have been decreasing, until in 1865 they are rented at £400 per annum to the eminent firm of Messrs. John Norris Russell and Sons, who have rented them for several years for about the same sum. The laying the foundation stone of this bridge on the 25th of October, 1824, was attended with all possible ceremony and eclat. The plans were drawn by Mr. Alexander Nimmo, the eminent engineer, on the plan exactly of the beautiful Pont Neuilly over the Seine above Paris, and they were carried out with faultless precision by Messrs. Clements and Son, the contractors. The bridge has five river arches, with a swivel bridge and two quay arches. The Earl of Clare laid the foundation stone, in the absence of the Marquis of Wellesley. The entire garrison were under arms on the North Strand, where the stone was laid—the artillery firing, &c. On a stone in the middle of the western parapet of the bridge is the following inscription:—

THIS BRIDGE WAS ERECTED A.D. 1831,
UNDER AN ACT OF THE IV. OF GEORGE IV.,
INTRODUCED INTO PARLIAMENT BY THE
RIGHT HONORABLE THOMAS S. RICE, M.P.
FOR THE CITY OF LIMERICK.

This Bridge is a noble ornament to Limerick; and if it has not realised the expectations of its projectors, it must be admitted to be a structure beautifully planned and executed.

The Bridge took eleven years to build, and the Commissioners spent no less a sum than £89,061 in its completion. It was opened by the Earl of Mulgrave, Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, on the 5th of August, 1835. A sum of £30,000 would have sufficed for an excellent suitable bridge.

During the years that were occupied in building the bridge, the promised dock lay in abeyance, and the commercial community were compelled to pay exorbitant dues for an unfinished bridge, which inconveniently interfered with the traffic of the port. They viewed the proceedings of the Commissioners with dissatisfaction, more particularly as the bridge and the port were different undertakings; the bridge to benefit the landed interest, while the port was for trade and commerce.

A memorial, signed by the principal merchants and others, was presented to the commissioners in 1833, in which complaint was further made of the dangerous condition of the harbour, caused by the bridge encroachments, and of the misapprobation of the revenues of the port, which ought solely to have been applied to the construction of the promised docks.

In the year 1834[1] a new act was procured, under which a sum of £45,000 was raised by loan from government, and was expended upon an engineering project, which was subsequently abandoned as impracticable. This project had for its end the construction of a dam across the river, and the conversion of the stream into a large floating dock. Engineers, however, of eminence reported that such a dock would occasionally lay a great part of the city under water. The advantage derived by the city from the £45,000 thus expended was the construction of a noble line of quays. In 1847, a third act was procured; and an additional sum of £54,000 was advanced, which was expended in the construction of the existing dock, which was opened, as we have stated in the first chapter of this work, in 1853. The dock covers a space of eight acres, and was constructed by John Long, Esq, C.E. The dock is capable of accommodating eighty sea-going vessels, large and small, and is entered by dock gates seventy feet wide. The depth is from twenty to twenty-five feet. The total cost was £54,000, a moderate expenditure on a work of such extent and depth.

When the original act of 1824 was procured, the estimate was that the income of the port would be £1,025, and of the bridge about £6,000 a year. The income from the bridge is almost nothing, but that from the port has risen from £1100 in 1825 to over £9,900 in 1856.

The Board of Public Works which has had possession of the bridge tolls and harbour dues, has kept one general account of their receipts without

[1] Under the powers of this Act the ancient office of Water Bailiff, with a revenue of about £1100 a year was abolished. The Water Bailiff was appointed by the Corporation, and collected his own charges off the vessels, and of which he rendered no account. His badge of office was a silver oar. He enforced all magisterial and judicial warrants against the shipping and seamen frequenting the port. £5000 was awarded him by way of compensation.

discriminating between the sources from which they were derived. On 31st December, 1862, the following is their statement of the account :—

Date of Loan.	Principal.	Principal Repaid.	Principal now Due.	Interest.	Interest Repaid.	Interest now Due.	Total remaining Due.
1824.	£	£	£	£	£	£	£
25th May,.....	55,384	...	55,384	71,816	71,816	...	55,384
1832.							
24th October,...	25,000	5,722	19,278	24,709	23,937	772	20,050
1837.							
31st May,.....	40,000	...	40,000	40,482	27,062	13,420	53,420
1839.							
21st August,...	5,000	...	5,000	5,722	2,344	3,378	8,378
1848.							
23rd June,.....	54,000	...	4,000	31,214	181	31,033	85,033

By the last account rendered it would appear that the commissioners then owed the government the sum of £222,265, and this amount has not been lessened.

The merchants of Limerick have been for sometime energetically engaged, and with every prospect of success, in demanding a readjustment of this account. It was never the intention of the government or the merchants to prejudice the port at the expense of the bridge—the only thing to be said is, that the advances for the bridge had been made on an estimate that has proved completely illusory. In 1864, a movement begun by the Harbour Board and Chamber of Commerce, and which has been sustained by the representatives of the city and by the municipal corporation, was set on foot for the purpose of pressing on government the absolute necessity of readjusting the accounts. A few years previously, a proposition was laid before the Corporation to make the bridge debt a liability on the rates of the city, the amount due to be in the first instance diminished very considerably by the Lords of the Treasury. The Corporation rejected the proposition by a considerable majority.

On the 26th of April, 1824, labourers were employed in opening the street from the end of Park Bridge, to communicate in a line from thence, and cross Mary-street to Quay-lane. The labourers could work only in the Abbey, (then part of the county of Limerick by charter) as the houses in Mary-street which were to be taken down had not been at the time presented for by the City Grand Jury. Ultimately the presentments were made, and Athlunkard-street was formed. James Kennedy, Esq., a banker, about twelve years before, projected a bridge from Corbally across the Shannon to Allan Court, cleared a passage through a pit at great expense, and laid a solid abutment. The project, however, was not carried through, though it had obtained general concurrence. It was at the conclusion of the session of Parliament this year that St. Francis's Abbey, theretofore in the county, by charter of James I., March 3rd, 1609, was attached to the city, and placed under the control of the city magistrates. Mr. Nimmo, the engineer, gave his opinion that a chain bridge could be thrown across the river at Allan Court for a sum not exceeding £2,000, but the idea of a chain bridge was abandoned.

The Bill for the erection of a bridge across the Shannon at Athlunkard, to make a direct communication or passage from the northern parts of the counties of Clare and Galway, into Limerick, thus became law in 1825. Before

this period there had been no means of communication between the northern and eastern parts of these counties and the city of Limerick; and Park Bridge,[1] a plain structure of three arches, which crosses the Abbey river a short distance above the Abbey slip, and leads to the beautifully improved suburban townland of Corbally, the greater portion of which was purchased by the late Alderman Pierce Shannon, in 1833, for £22,000, from Colonel William Thomas Monsell,[2] of Tervoe—led only to Corbally, where the

[1] Park is a townland within the municipal boundary of Limerick. Park House is the residence of the Catholic Bishop of Limerick. The inhabitants of Park are among the most thrifty and industrious in any part of Ireland. They pay from £8 to £10 an acre for their patches of land, the largest holders not renting more than from three to four acres. They cultivate vegetables, with which they supply the citizens; they rear cattle and pigs, and grow potatoes and turnips to feed their cattle and pigs, and for their own use also. They manure the land very highly, and being within the Borough they are subject to high rates and taxes. There has been much emigration from Park in recent years, of young men and young women especially. The names generally of the residents are Cunneen, or O'Cunneen, one of the most ancient names in the South of Ireland, tradition having it that it was with a chieftain of that name Saint Patrick dwelt when he visited Singland, which forms part of the parish of St. Patrick in which Park is situated; Hannan, or Hanneen, Quilligan, Clancy, and MacNamara, or by abbreviation Mac, of which there are a great number in Park. The MacNamaras are said to have settled in Park since they were driven from Clare in the wars of the seventeenth century. It was through the old road of Park that King William is said to have passed to the Shannon in 1690, when he made his inspection of the river, in order to obtain a knowledge of the passage of it, which was effected so successfully the year afterwards by Ginkle. The site of the Bᾶṫ Aṇ Ṛiġ, or the King's gate, which divided Park from Corbally, and from which William passed, is yet pointed out, within a short distance of the river. There are several very handsome residences at Corbally, including the beautiful one of Pierce Shannon, Esq., grandson of Alderman Pierce Shannon. The ancient cemetery of Killeen, is situated in the "Killeen field," at Corbally. It has ceased for many years to be a burying place. Recently fragments of cannon balls and human bones have been found in this field.

[2] Monsell of Tervoe. The name of Monsel or Moncel occurs in some of the earliest MSS. documents connected with the city and diocese of Limerick: "Dominus Robertus Moncel" is the name of one whose signature appears to a lease of certain Church lands set forth in the Liber Niger, or Black Book of Limerick in the thirteenth century. Sir Bernard Burke, however, states that the Trevoe branch of the family settled in Ireland early in the reign of Charles I. Monsell and Maunsell is the same name—and in a detailed pedigree of the Maunsell family* which is in existence, a branch of the arms of that family are given in the pedigree, and they are the same as those borne by the Monsells of Tervoe. changes of spelling have frequently taken place in Ireland from the pronunciation of English names by the Irish tongue. The name had been evidently known in Limerick, as appears above, many ages before the period stated for the settlement of the family in Ireland, by the great authority on Irish Genealogy;† but the first mention of the Monsells in more recent ages in the neighbourhood of Limerick occurs in a history of the Siege of Balyally Castle, near Ennis, in 1641, against the O'Gradys, to which Siege we have referred in our note on the O'Grady family,‡ the Seneshal being William Monsell. Thomas the son of Samuel Monsell of Tervoe, married first the daughter of William Burgh, of the ancient Dromkeen family—by whom he had a son who d. unm.—He married secondly in 1751, Dymphna, sister of Edmond Viscount Pery, and speaker of the Irish House of Commons—and by her was

* The Maunsell family has been also one of high respectability in Limerick. Richard Maunsell, Esq., represented the City of Limerick in Parliament in 1741, and died in 1770—he was grandson of Colonel Thomas‖ Maunsell, who so gallantly defended the Castle of Maccollop, in the County of Waterford against Cromwell's forces in 1650, as mentioned in the inscription on his tombstone in the Churchyard there. This family is descended from William Maunsell, the third and youngest son of the celebrated John Maunsell, Chief Justice and Chancellor of England, Provost of Beverley, &c., temp. Henry III. Walter Maunsell held, while he lived, the Capital Serjeancy of the County of Limerick, temp. Edward II. Thomas Maunsell of Chicheley, (England), son of Thomas Maunsell who died A.D. 1582, was ancestor of all the Maccollop family and of different other branches of the family who now reside in Ireland as well as of the Maunsells of Thorpe-Malsor, in the County of Northampton. Thomas was born 17th April, 1577, and early entered the Navy, in which he distinguished himself against the Spanish Armada, he retired from active service in 1609, for in the summer of that year he received an order from the Privy Council to the Lord Deputy to all Governors, Captains &c., to furnish him with every protection and assistance in selecting a place in which to reside. The following is a copy of the order; the

† Sir Bernard Burke's Landed Gentry of Ireland.

‡ See pp. 59–60.

‖ Ferrar in his History of Limerick erroneously states that it was Colonel Richard Maunsell.

Shannon divided it from Athlunkard, in the county of Clare. Park Bridge was built about the year 1798.[1] The building of Athlunkard Bridge, which

father of Colonel William Thomas Monsell of Tervoe who sat in the Irish Parliament, born in 1755, who married in 1776, Hannah, daughter of Amos Strettle, Esq., and by her had, with four daughters, Dymphna, married to Thomas Ellis, Esq. M.P. for Dublin; Hannah, married to Thomas Wilson, Esq., Diana, died unmarried, and Frances, married to Sir Hunt Walsh, Bart., William, his heir, Amos died unmarried, Thomas in holy orders and Archdeacon of Derry, married Jane Rae, and had a daughter Diana, and three sons, John, married to Miss Anne Waller of Castletown; William; and Charles Henry, married to the Hon. Harriet O'Brien, sister of Lord Inchiquin; William Monsell, Esq., of Tervoe, born in 1778, married in 1810, Olivia, eldest daughter of Sir John Allen Johnson Walsh, Bart., and died in 1822, leaving an only son, the present Right Hon. William Monsell of Tervoe, a member of the Privy Council, Colonel of the County of Limerick Regiment of Militia—Vice-Lieutenant and Member of Parliament for the County of Limerick, High Sheriff in 1835—Late Clerk of the Ordnance, when he reorganised the war department in conjunction with Lord Panmure, and President of the Board of Health, born 21st September, 1812, married 11th August, 1836, Lady Anna Maria Charlotte Wyndham Quin, only daughter 2nd Earl of Dunraven, and by her (who died 7th January, 1855), had issue a son and heir, William, born in March, 1841, died 1845. Mr. Monsell married secondly, 1857, Berthe, youngest daughter of the Count de Montigny, younger brother of the Marquis de Montigny, and has a son born 5th March, 1848, and daughter Margt. Tervoe desmesne contains about 500 acres, and adjoins the famous Castle of Carrigogunnell, which is also on the estate of Mr. Monsell, is about three miles from Limerick, and is beautifully situated on the river Shannon below the city, from which there is a fine view of its picturesque woods, and of the excellent family mansion, of one of the most estimable of gentlemen, who in every relation of life, public and private, has won and retains the very best affections of every class and party.

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original was destroyed when Joseph Maunsell's house was burned down, who resided in the County of Galway:—

Copy of Document given to Captain Thomas Maunsell, R.N.

"ARTHUR CHICHESTER,

BY THE LORD DEPUTIE.

Wee greete you well, whereas this gent. Captaine Thomas Maunsell, is come into this Kingdome wth. entent to take a viewe and enforme himselfe of the ports and most convenient places for him to settle in, and especially in the Province of Ulster and some ptes. of Connaught, to wch. ende he brought unto us leres. of recomendatons in his behalfe from the lls. of his Matie. most honorable Privie Councell wch. wee received this day signefiinge his Matie: and theire pleasures in that behalfe. These are, therefore, to wille and require you and every of you his Maties. officers, mynisters, to take notice hereof and not only to suffer and p'mitt the said Captaine above named, wth. his servants peaceablie and quietlie to pass by you to and fro as he shall have occasion to veowe, searche, and enquire as aforesaid; but also to bee aydinge, comportynge, and assistinge unto him wth. post horses and guydes from place to place in his travell, and if neede require to give hime the best knowledge and furtheranoe you may in you owne mons for effectinge his desire according to his Matie. and the lls. pleasure unto us signefied as aforesaid whereof you and every of you may not fayle as you will answer the contrary at your p'rlls,. given at Melefant, this 28th of July, 1809.

To all Governors, Captaines, Maiors, Sherefes, Justices of Peace, Headborowes, Constables, and to all other his Mats. officers and lovinge subjects to whome it shall or may app'aine.

GEO. SEXTEN.

He settled in the County of Cork, at Derrivillane. John, a fourth son of his a Captain in the Life Guards and settled first in Ireland, was ancestor to the Maunsells of Ballybrood and Thorpe-Malsor. Mrs. Alphra Maunsell, the mother of a numerous family, having resided for some time in England, returned to Ireland and resided with her son John at Ballyvorneen, near Caherconlish, where she died prior to 1662. She was buried in the Church of Caherconlish where the following memorial was erected to her by her son:—

Here lyeth the Bodye of ALPHRA MAUNSELL,
My dear Mother, daughter of Sir William Cragford of Kent;
Here also lyeth my dear Wife, MARY MAUNSELL,
Daughter of George Booth, Esq., of Cheshire;
And of my sister ALPHRA PEACOCK; and of her
Daughter ANNE PEACOCK.
Erected by me JOHN MAUNSELL, ESQ., and
Intended for myself and rest of my family
This 12th October, 1662.

The Maunsells fought throughout for the Royalist cause in the person of Charles I. and on the restoration obtained grants of land in the counties and liberties of Limerick, Galway, and City and County of Waterford. Thomas Maunsell of Annaghrostin, County Limerick, was one of the Commissioners of the Peace for Limerick, and appointed May 10th, 1683. He died

is of five arches, was commenced in June, 1826, and finished in December, 1830 at a cost of £7000. It has a toll gate at the city side, but the income from the tolls, which are set up each year to auction produces in the year 1865 about £200, a sum not at all equal to dis charge the interest on the money advanced for the structure. There never was a toll on Park Bridge.[1] On a stone on the west side of the bridge is this inscription :—

THIS BRIDGE

WAS DESIGNED AND BUILT

BY

JAMES AND GEO. RICHD. PAINE,

ARCHITECTS.

Commenced, June, 1826. Finished, Decr. 1830.

In the year 1830 an Act of Parliament (11 Geo. IV., c. 126) was passed for rebuilding Ball's Bridge,[2] than which there have been few, if any, more ancient bridges in Ireland. This bridge, for which there had been three or four proposals, was given to Messrs. Paine to build at a cost of £600. It has one arch of 70 feet span, with a rise of 15 feet. It bears the following inscription on one of the parapets :—

THIS BRIDGE WAS ERECTED BY VIRTUE OF AN
ACT OF THE XI. OF GEO. IV.
THE RT. HON. THOMAS SPRING RICE, M.P.
FOR THE CITY OF LIMERICK.

COMMENCED TAKING DOWN THE OLD BRIDGE, NOVEMBER, 1830.
THE NEW BRIDGE FINISHED, NOVEMBER, 1831.

JAS. AND G. PAINE, ARCHITECTS.

unmarried and was the first of his family who was buried in St. John's Church in the City of Limerick, where the family vault has continued, He served the office of Sheriff of the County Limerick in 1697.

Richard Maunsell, Esq., who was M.P. for Limerick from 1740 to 1761, represented the family after the death of his brother, Joseph, of Cahir, Co. Galway. Richard Maunsell left several sons; his eldest son, Thomas, was senior King's Counsel, was M.P. for Kilmallock, and he left three sons, Thomas Maunsell, Esq., of Plassy, who was M.P. for Edwardstown, Co. Kilkenny, for 16 years; and Robert Maunsell, Esq. of Bank Place, whose two sons, living in 1865, Henry Maunsell, Esq., J.P., and Lieut.-General Frederick Maunsell, represent the families in both county and city of Limerick. The late Archdeacon Maunsell of Limerick is represented by Lieutenant-Colonel William Maunsell, East Kent Militia, of Northamptonshire family, where his brother, Colonel Thomas Maunsell, represented Northamptonshire for several years, and retired in consequence of old age.

[1] A curious clause in all the old leases of the Corbally tenants states that they shall have an abatement of £2 per acre in the rental of their lands should Park Bridge at any time go out of repair. The rents were raised when the Bridge was erected, and the landlord was obliged to keep the Bridge in repair, &c. The rental of Corbally in 1865 is £6 : 16 : 6 an acre. Since the passing of the Athlunkard Bridge Act, Park Bridge has been one of the approaches to Athlunkard Bridge, and has ceased to be a private bridge, and the roadway over it is maintained by the Athlunkard Bridge Commissioners.

[2] The locality of Ball's Bridge was celebrated in old times for a hard fought conflict between the O'Briens and John de Burgo, commonly called John of Galway; and less than a century ago was a fashionable promenade.

There is no bridge the origin of which, as far as I am aware, so little is known as of Ball's Bridge—even the name itself of the bridge is uncertain; in Irish it is called Droichead mear Luimneach, viz. "the Bald Bridge of Limerick." In White's MSS. it is written, the Bald Bridge, (*bald* meaning without parapets, which it probably was), and in White's MSS it is written in

On a stone tablet on the other parapet of the bridge, is the following inscription :—

> THE ANCIENT BRIDGE OF FOUR ARCHES
> WHICH OCCUPIED THIS SITE, WAS TAKEN DOWN,
> AND THIS BRIDGE ERECTED AT THE EXPENSE OF
> THE NEW LIMERICK NAVIGATION COMPANY,
> INCORPORATED 1830.
>
> CHAS. WYE WILLIAMS, ESQ., CHIEF DIRECTOR.
> JAS. AND G. R. PAINE, ARCHITECTS.

Old Ball's Bridge was a structure of four arches, the land ones having sprung from the Quay walls. Where the abutments of the present arch stand was formerly part of the water course. During the time that Limerick was a fortress within the limit of the town wall, (it then having consisted of the English and Irish towns only) the inconvenience of the limit of ground to build on was much experienced. To meet this difficulty in part, the Earl of Shannon to whom the bridge belonged permitted the building of two ranges of houses on it, which so contracted the roadway that it was almost impassaable. After the Siege and surrender of the City to King William's troops, the houses on the east side were purchased and taken down by Act of Parliament, which was a great improvement. The range on the west side, which were a good class of shops in their day, remained until the bridge was removed in 1830. The New Bridge, now Mathew Bridge crosses the Abbey river also.[1]

One of the great wants which the New Town continued to suffer from was that of a sufficient supply of water for domestic use, &c. Though in the immediate proximity of a superabundance of the vivifying stream, there was no means hitherto of bringing it to the houses of the citizens. Mr. R. Leadbetter, an engineer made an estimate for supplying the desideratum by means of subterranean pipes. The estimate was lodged in the office of the Clerk of the Peace on the 9th of January, in 1825, and it amounted to the sum of

Latin Pons Calvus. It is also written Baal's Bridge. It was known in the fourteenth century, and is quartered, as already stated, on the Galway arms, in reference to the battle that was fought on it in 1361, in which John of Galway was the victor. It is mentioned in the *Hibernia Pacata* as the Ye Bridge, and in old maps printed in Leyden in the seventeenth century, as the Thye Bridge. It was a quaint old structure—a sort of old London Bridge in miniature—with its old-fashioned houses on both sides, its shops, &c. Tradition speaks of it as having been originally built, in far distant time, by one Baal, whom St. Patrick converted to Christianity when at Singland. It has been frequently the subject of legislative enactment, and in the Acts of Parliament it is called Baal's Bridge.

[1] It should be remarked of the "New Bridge," where the Mathew bridge now stands, of which we have already treated in a previous chapter, that what was formerly called the New Bridge stood on the site of what is now called the Mathew bridge, forming a direct communication between Quay-lane and Bank-place. Previous to its erection in 1762 for some years, there was a ferry established. It was a bridge of three arches, the centre one forty-one feet wide, being so much larger than the other two particularly in height, that it was found from the steep incline of the road-way at both sides of the centre, or crown of the middle arch, not alone to be inconvenient for traffic, but in frosty weather actually dangerous. It was for this reason, (though quite sound in preservation, as the year it was finished), taken down and rebuilt. Like the old Ball's bridge, the land arches sprung from the Quay walls, so that what now forms the abutments of Mathew bridge, was formerly part of the water course of the New bridge. There were two iron lamp-posts set opposite each other on the centre of this bridge, which were made fast to the parapets. From their construction they were found to answer the purpose of a gallows, and were used by the authorities in the rebellion of 1798, for hanging purposes.

£43,333 6s. It was proposed to have two reservoirs of masonry, containing 600,000 gallons of water, with an engine of 40 horse power, (or 200 men) for filling the reservoir from the Shannon. The Water Works Company which undertook this gigantic work, obtained an Act of Parliament (6 Geo. IV. c. 172), in the course of the same year, and the project was speedily completed to the entire satisfaction of the citizens. The reservoir was made on the place traditionally known as Cromwell's Fort, and close by those remarkable localities which in the civil wars, from the time of the Danes and downwards, have been famous as the field of sanguinary battles.[1]

This was an age of speculation and improvement, as well as of political excitement caused by the intense struggle for the obtainment of civil and religious liberty. An Act was obtained for the purpose of accomplishing the Railway from Limerick to Carrick-on-Suir, in the year 1826, (7 Geo. IV. c. 139). The project was not realized at this time; nor was it perfected until the year 1848, when the line of railway was opened between Limerick and Tipperary, and afterwards to Waterford in October, 1854.. The opening of this railway has been followed within very few years by the extension of several other important lines of communication between Limerick and Dublin, also Cork, and and more recently nearly every one of the intermediate towns, to Castle Connell, opened 28th of August, 1858—Ennis, opened viz. :—17th of January, 1859, to Clare Castle and afterwards to Ennis—total length to Ennis 24¾ miles.—Foynes, opened October, 1859, total length, 26 one-eighth miles.—Cork direct, opened 1st of August, 1862.—Dublin by Nenagh, opened October 5th, 1863, and to Bird Hill Junction, joining the Castle Connell and Killaloe line, in June, 1864.—Rathkeale and Newcastle, length 10 miles, opened in 1865; an extension of this line is proposedto Listowel in the county Kerry, length 22 miles. The amount of capital invested in these lines of Railway is enormous.

Waterford and Limerick line	£1,237,759
Castle Connell	82,333
Ennis	225,000
Foynes	175,000
Cork direct	133,000
Rathkeale and Newcastle	66,000

Not including the Nenagh line, the amount of capital invested in these lines represents a figure of ... £1,919,092

An extension of the Ennis line to Galway, joining the Midland line at Athenry, is in course of construction this year 1865, capital, 266,000, length, 36 miles. The traffic between Limerick and Dublin by Railway was opened on the 4th of May, 1848. The effect of these railways on traffic is worthy of notice.[2]

[1] In 1859 these works were further extended under the inspection of R.W. Mylan, Esq., Engineer, of London, up to which year the city had but a supply of water every alternate day, when the works were placed under the local direction of M. R. Ryan, Esq. J.P. Limerick is at present (1865) well supplied with water, as besides the Corporation street fountains, others have been erected by private gentlemen at the railway terminus, on the Quay and in Athlunkard street, by M. R. Ryan, Esq. William Malcomson, Esq. &c.

[2] Some particulars as to travelling will be of interest here :—Until about the year 1760 there was no public mode of conveyance between Dublin and Limerick or any other two cities in Ireland. The Country was then much under wood, the roads few and indifferent, and travelling on them very dangerous, consequent on their being infested with highwaymen who lived by plunder, and were totally reckless of life when it suited their purpose. To meet these difficulties it was a fixed arrangement for persons going to Dublin from Limerick to travel in company, a particular day being decided on to leave, it was posted on a sheet which was placed over the mantel-piece in the coffee room in Quay-lane, and those who intended travelling affixed their

Sir Joseph Barrington, Bart., a name inseparably interwoven with the history of these times in Limerick undertook in 1829, with his sons Matthew (afterwards Sir Matthew), Daniel, Croker, and Samuel to found a charitable institution for the relief of the poor of their native city. An Act of the legislature was obtained in the year after, (11th Geo. IV. c. 72), constituting the Hospital for the County and City of Limerick. By this Act the Mayor is an ex-officio governor of the hospital, which is otherwise unconnected with the Corporation, though for a period commencing in 1854, a certain number of the Corporation were appointed on the Committee or board of Directors, the Corporation at this time and afterwards until 1864, contributing to its funds; but as the Corporators could not vote at any of the meetings of the Committee or Board, they declined to act on the Committee; they deemed their presence at the Board useless and nugatory. The hospital was opened for the reception of patients on the 5th of November, 1831. It is situated on George's-quay, on the site of the old main guard house, is of cut stone, presenting a handsome front, surmounted by an illuminated clock, and for a long time the only one of the kind to be seen the south of

names to it. On the day appointed they all set out well armed, and provided with the best means they could travel by. The journey being then performed in five days, (the same horses being used all through), unless the weather proved very unfavourable. About this time a stage coach was started which left weekly, taking its departure from what was called the Head Inn in Cornwallis street. This house is still standing, and is situated at the left hand side as one walks from William street to John's Church, about midways in the street, and will be easily known from its having a hall door in the centre and windows at either sides of it, and it was here as already stated that Mrs. Siddons and the actresses and actors who, frequented Limerick, lodged. The coach then proceeded by John's-square, through the Irish town, over Ball's bridge, through the English town, over Thomond bridge, and thence by Killaloe, passing over part of Keeperhill in its route to Dublin.

This Coach which was called the Fly accomplished the journey with punctuality in four days. In some years after the travelling was greatly improved by using a lighter built coach, and having the relays of horses ready harnessed when it arrived at the different stages, instead of using the same set of harness all through, which was attended with great loss of time and inconvenience; with these and other improvements the journey was made in three days, the coach that performed it being called the Balloon, from what was then considered its rapid movement. An experience of twenty years having pointed out much that was wrong with both the Fly and Balloon, resulted in further alterations and improvements amongst them the route was changed, and the road newly constructed. Instead of going over Thomond bridge and by Killaloe, the coach proceeded by Clare-street, and direct to the town of Nenagh, changes so happy in the result that the journey to Dublin was then performed in two days, and ultimately in one, but to accomplish this, there was an early start and a late arrival. In the present days of comfortable and expeditious travelling by rail this sketch of the past may appear exaggerated, but this is not the case; about the period referred to, 1760, the roads in Ireland were very few and badly engineered (if this term be at all applicable) no care having been taken to avoid hills or cut through them; they were also indifferently constructed and so ill cared that in bad weather parts of them were almost impassable.

The coach first started (the Fly) was very large and heavy in construction, great strength being necessary for the work it had to go through. The horses too were harnessed after the same style, many unnecessary straps and buckles being used, which were afterwards dispensed with. When stage coaches were first established, and for some years after, the mails were conveyed from Limerick to Dublin three times a week, being small (usually letters only and comparatively few); they were carried in saddle bags placed at either side of a horse which was ridden by a courier who travelled a fixed distance, usually ten miles; the charge was then handed over to a fresh man and horse, and so on until they reach their destination, which however could not always be relied on, as highwaymen sometimes interfered, the great preventative to which was avoiding to enclose anything of value that could be made available. The application of steam power for propelling ships being at this time unknown, the mails between England and Ireland were conveyed in sloops, the sailing of which being controlled by the wind made their arrival very irregular. The gentleman who started the Fly between Limerick and Dublin was a Mr. Buchannan of Thomond Gate.

I have already given in Chapter XLVIII. some particulars relative to the rise and progress of the great car establishment of Charles Bianconi, Esq., D.L. The further and fuller particulars of the state of that establishment, which had its first connection with Limerick, have been furnished to me by Mr. Bianconi, cannot fail to be of deep interest to the readers of this History:—

Ireland.—The Barrington family expended £10,000 on it. By the Act of

	Established.	Distance.	Miles worked Daily.	Discontinued.
Clonmel &Limerick	1815	50	100	1849
Do. and Thurles	1815	31	62	1849
Do.& Waterford, 10 o'Clock	1816	32	64	1853
Do. and Ross	1818	15	30	1836
Waterford and Wexford	1819	40	80	1839
Do.&Enniscorthy	1819	36	72	——
Clonmel&Waterford Regulator	1820	32	64	1853
Do. & Do. Telegraph	1821	32	64	1853
Do. and Cork	1821	65	130	1853
Do. & Kilkenny	1821	33	66	1854
Kilkenny & Waterford	1822	32	64	1851
Clonmel & Thurles	1822	31	62	1841
Thurles & Kilkenny	1822	31	62	——
Roscrea&Portumna	1822	28	56	1857
Tipperary & Cashel	1824	13	26	1847
Waterford and Dungarvan	1824	28	56	——
Wexford Mail	1825	40	80	1846
Thurles and Roscrea	1826	23	46	1842
Tipperary andClonmel, 3 o'Clock	1828	30	60	1852
Do. Do. Night Mail	1828	30	60	1849
Limerick and Cork	1830	40	80	1849
Clonmel and Dungarvan	1831	26	52	——
Athlone &Longford	1831	24	48	——
Waterford and Kilkenny	1831	32	64	1853
Birr andBallinasloe	1831	26	52	——
Sligo and Longford	1832	56	112	1861
Limerick andTralee	1833	62	124	——
Do. & Do. Coach	1833	60	120	1853
Ross and Carlow	1833	30	60	1847
Galway and Tuam	1833	22	44	1860
Limerick & Galway	1834	64	128	——
Kilkenny and Mountmellick	1835	37	74	1852
Killarney and Caherciveen	1836	37	74	——
Tralee and Do.	1836	16	32	——
Ballinasloe and Westport	1836	75	150	1853
Do. and Galway	1836	34	68	1853
Mitchelstown and Mallow	1837	21	42	1858
Longford and Castlerea	1837	27	54	1851
Galway andClifden, 9 30 o'Clock	1837	50	100	——
Limerick and Killarney	1839	15	30	1853
Ballinasloe and Athlone	1839	15	30	1851
Ross and Fethard	1840	20	40	1856
Longford & Ballina	1840	71	142	1851
Clonmel & Roscrea	1842	56	112	1849
Ennis & Ballinasloe	1844	38	76	1849
Ballina & Belmullet	1844	41	82	——
Mullingar and Longford	1848	26	52	1855
Westport Mail Coach	1849	62	124	——
Sligo Mail	1849	82	164	1862
Sligo Day	1849	82	164	1862
Longford & Ballina Mail Caach	1849	71	142	1862
Mullingar and Galway Mail	1849	70	140	1852
Do. and Do. Day	1849	70	140	1852
Waterford &Goold's Cross	1849	51	102	1862
Templemore and Athlone	1849	51	102	1857
Clonmel & Goold's Cross	1849	21	42	——
Athlone & Ballina	1851	70	140	1859
Galway and Boyle	1851	50	100	1861
Athlone and Roscommon	1851	19	38	1859
Galway &Westport	1851	52	104	1851
Limerick & Tipperary	1851	23	46	1861
Galway andClifden Mail	1851	50	100	——
Limerick and Ennis Mail	1852	22	44	——
Sligo and Strabane	1852	71	142	——
Sligo & Enniskillen	1852	30	60	——
Sligo and Westport	1852	62	124	——
Kilkenny &Durrow	1853	16	32	——
Athenry and Westport, Car	1853	61	122	1861
Waterford and Maryborough	1853	62	124	1862
Limerick andEnnis, Day	1854	22	44	1859
Killarney & Mallow	1854	41	82	1864
Tralee and Do.	1854	51	102	1864
Longford & Ballina				
Strabane and Letterkenny	1836	13	26	——
Bandon and Skibbereen, Mail	1857	33	66	——
Bandon and Skibbereen, Day	1857	33	66	——
Ballinasloe and Ballybrophy	1858	48	96	——
Oranmore andEnnis	1859	36	72	——
Enniskillen and Omagh	1860	64	128	——
Do.andBundoran	1861	30	60	——
Castlerea & Ballina	1864	43	86	——
Westport andSwinford	1864	27	54	——

The total number of miles traversed daily, was 6524.

—— This mark shows where the cars or coaches continue to ply in 1865.

Parliament all donors of a sum not less than twenty guineas are constituted Governors for life; and every person who shall subscribe and pay any sum not less than three guineas annually, to be an annual Governor. Subscribers of two guineas to have power to recommend two patients, and of five guineas, five patients annually. The hospital contains in 1865, 45 beds; patients are only admitted on the ticket of a Governor, unless in case of persons accidentally injured, who are always immediately received. A Committee of Management is elected annually from among the Governors, on the second Monday in the month of January.

The Hospital is capable of containing 120 beds; it has an annual income of £100 from rents of houses in Mary-street, from the city Dispensary, which is accommodated with a portion of the hospital, and from the Mont de Piète,[1] Subscriptions from Government, and others, £45 a year; Anne Bankes's Bequest £30 a year; the Bequest of the late Marquis of Lansdowne, the interest of £3000: in all about £300 a year.

In seasons of severe epidemic, as at the outbreak of the cholera morbus in 1832, the hospital was of incalculable benefit to the citizens, as it has been also in all cases of accidents, whenever immediate relief is demanded by the sufferer. It is supplied with a large broad room in which there is a well painted portrait of the founder, surrounded by his sons, projecting the charity. The Board Room is furnished with surgical apparatus, a library for medical reference, and a remarkably well-executed picture of the Barrington family, founders of the Hospital, which was painted by Cregan, President of the Royal Hibernian Academy. There are two other pictures in the Hospital, one, of the Good Samaritan, and the other, of Christ healing the Sick, which were painted by John Murphy, a young Limerick artist, and protegèe of Sir Matthew Barrington, in London. It would be a great pity that so deserving an institution should decay or fail from want of spirited support. In addition to the hospital, the late Sir Matthew Barrington projected, and in 1837, built a Mont de Piète or charitable Pawn office, which while it existed gave relief by way of loan or pledge at a very moderate rate of interest. The Mont de Piéte which was founded on the plan of those of the same name in Italy, France, Belgium, &c., has ceased since 1845, to have an existence as such; it is built in close proximity to the hospital, and is an object of architectural ornament to the city. Since 1847 it has been converted into a police barrack. Sir Matthew Barrington's intention in building the Mont de Piéte was that the profits which he anticipated would arise from it, should be allocated to the exigencies of the hospital, which even in its incipiency did not meet with the support which it merited. He placed an active manager over the Mont de Piéte, but though debentures varying from £5 to £500, bearing interest at the rate of six per cent were freely taken, by which its capital was created; it did not realise the sanguine expectations of its benevolent and enterprising founder. From 1837 to 1840, the gross profit was £3940 10s. 2½d. The total number of pledges received since the opening of the establishment up to March 19th, 1841, was 460,895; the amount lent on pledges in the four years above stated was £78,595 9s. ¼d.—the amount received for released articles, £71,005 8s. 7d. Sir Matthew Barrington had another design in establishing this institution, namely that the humbler classes who have been in the habit of frequenting pawn offices should not pay the higher rate of interest on loans which are charged in private establishments. In the palmiest days, however, of the Mont de Piéte there

[1] Now and since November, 1847, George's Quay Police Barrack.

were twenty licensed pawn offices in Limerick, and the business in such establishments has not declined, nor has the number of them lessened, on the contrary it has gone on increasing since then. The Mont de Piète like other useful local institutes, fell from its original purposes in consequence of gross neglect. It forms rather a remarkable object, even yet, with its cupola, pillars, railing, and small grass enclosure.

CHAPTER LI.

THE STRUGGLE FOR EMANCIPATION.—THE CLARE ELECTION.—EMANCIPATION.—REMARKABLE EVENTS.—GUNPOWDER EXPLOSION.—PARLIAMENTARY REFORM—MUNICIPAL REFORM.—DEATH OF WILLIAM IV.—PROCLAMATION OF QUEEN VICTORIA.—A GENERAL ELECTION.

THE limits to which we are necessarily confined will not permit us to do more than take a rapid glance over a wide field of events, commencing with 1825, in the last month of which year the Right Rev. Dr. John Ryan was consecrated Catholic Bishop of Limerick in St. John's old Chapel, by the Most Rev. Dr. Laffan, Archbishop of Cashel and Emly; and passing on through the struggle for Catholic Emancipation—the glorious victory in Clare in 1828—the remarkable contemporaneous events, and those which followed—the agitation for a repeal of the denationalising act of Union, for Parliamentary and for Corporate reform—the triumph of the popular cause, the temperance movement, the growth of manufactures, &c., until we arrive at the last portion of our work, intended to illustrate the civil and military history of Limerick. In a subsequent part of the History, devoted to the Bishops, the Churches, the Religious Houses, the list of Mayors, and the enumeration of the charters, &c., granted to the Corporation, we shall supply what may possibly be omitted in these chapters. It is true that the history of the three great movements for Emancipation, Reform, and Free Trade, is still to be written in formal book shape, but the leading circumstances connected with these movements are so much identified with the general history of Ireland, that a mere passing reference to them is all that will be expected in this History.

There was no city in Ireland for which O'Connell had entertained more affection than for Limerick: it was in Limerick, in 1821, that he issued two of his most remarkable letters in reference to the controversy which he then had with Mr. Sheil on the subject of Mr. Plunket's Bill in reference to the Catholic Clergy. These letters appeared in a local journal, which has long since ceased to exist.[1] It was in Limerick that he ordered the waiter of the bar mess to take the shoes of Mr. M'Mahon (afterwards Sir William M'Mahon, Master of the Rolls,) from the fire-place, where they had been put inside the fender to air by an obsequious barrister, O'Connell stating, in the presence

[1] The Limerick Herald.

of M'Mahon,[1] that they ought to be kicked out of the room, an expression for which M'Mahon applauded him.[2] Some of his best speeches were delivered at Catholic meetings held in Limerick,[3] and at the Court House in the defence of prisoners. He lodged, during his periodical visits, at the house (No. 6, Patrick-street, then occupied by Mr. Sheehan, a saddler, where he was constantly besieged by attorneys and clients; and his appearance, as he walked with a thorough air of complete independence, "kicking the world before him,"[4] to and from Court, or through the city, always attracted a large and enthusiastic crowd of admirers. Going to or returning from his beloved mountain home in Kerry, he usually rested for a night in Limerick; and it was his usual habit on these occasions to address the throngs by whom his carriage was ever surrounded, when he never began a speech without, in the first place, attacking the local Tory journal, and asking, "How is Andy Watson?" its proprietor. He retained a strong hold on the affections of the citizens up to the very last visit which he paid to Limerick, which was towards the close of the summer of 1846, when, breaking down in health, and sorely disappointed in hope, he was no longer the eloquent and enthusiastic orator that he had been. During the Clare election, in 1828, Limerick was as it were the centre of operations of O'Connell and his friends. The citizens were absolutely wild with excitement. As O'Connell proceeded to Clare, to open that great county, and strike the final blow for Catholic freedom, the entire population of Limerick became well nigh frantic in their demonstrations in favor of the cause in which the nation and its avowed leader had embarked.

The return of O'Connell for Clare was an achievement hitherto unparalleled in history—it was the cutting of the gordian knot which could not be untied, and the cutting of that knot with the sword of the constitution. The immense military force with which Limerick had been filled, and which occupied every village and hamlet in Clare, had no effect in controlling the feelings of the people: it no more overawed them than did the frowns and threats of a baffled and beaten aristocracy. Every barony in Clare gave a majority to the Man of the People, over the nominee of the aristocracy, Mr. Vesey Fitzgerald; and when, at the close of the poll on the 2nd of July, 1828, the High Sheriff declared that there were 2027 votes recorded for Daniel O'Connell, and only 936 votes for his opponent, giving to the former

[1] The late Sir William M'Mahon, Master of the Rolls, was brother of Major-General Sir Thomas M'Mahon, Bart. K.C.B. commanding at Portsmouth. Sir William was born 12th July, 1776, and married in May 1807, Frances, daughter of Beresford Burston, Esq. King's Counsel, by whom he had issue two sons, and having married again in 1814, Charlotte, sister of Sir Robert Shaw, Bart. has had issue four sons and three daughters. He was created a Baronet, 6th May, 1815, with the rank of Privy Councillor, and the office of Master of the Rolls, in which he succeeded John Philpot Curran. The deceased Baronet was succeeded in his title and estates by his eldest son, Sir Beresford Burston M'Mahon, Bart. The father of Sir William M'Mahon was Comptroller of the port of Limerick.*

[2] Fagan's Life of O'Connell. [3] See O'Connell's Life, by his Son, John O'Connell.

[4] Grattan's Sketch of O'Connell.

* *Comptrollers of Customs of Limerick.*

James I.—Samuel Johnson.
Charles I.—Pierce Arthur.
Will. III.—Humphrey May.
Geo. I.—William Westby.
Geo. II.—John M'Mahon, Sen. and Jun.
Jas. I—Francis Cave.
Chas. II.—Mountiford Westropp.
Anne—Benjamin Chetwode.
Geo. II.—Daniel Carrington.
Geo. III.—Wm. M'Mahon, 23rd Sept. 1801.

Elgar Pagden was the last Comptroller of the Customs of Limerick, the office having been established in 1858.

a majority of 1091, after a contest unequalled since the commencement of Parliamentary elections, the joy that diffused itself everywhere knew no bounds. On his return to Limerick from Clare on the Monday after his victory, O'Connell was escorted into the city by the congregated trades, with banners and heralds bearing wands wreathed with laurel. A vast concourse of people swelled to thousands the crowds by which his triumphal car was surrounded. He arrived at his hotel in George's-street,[1] where he addressed the assembled myriads, demanding of them if ever before they had seen a Catholic member of Parliament? He bestowed lavish abuse on the ministry, on the corporation of Limerick, as well as on that of Dublin; he denounced the local Tory press in unmeasured terms. He left town on the 8th of July in a green barouche and four, loudly cheered, and accompanied by "honest Jack Lawless." To shew the extent of the preparations made to quell the people by the Government at this time, there were brought into the Limerick district a brigade of Artillery from Athlone, three troops of the Bays from Carlow, three troops of the third Dragoon Guards from Mayo and Galway, two companies of the 5th Foot from Athlone, three companies of the 64th from Galway, 62nd Regiment from Templemore, 75th ditto from Mullingar, in addition to an enormous strength of military that had been before this in Limerick and Clare. Many of these soldiers sympathised heartily with O'Connell and his cause, and declared their feelings in terms not to be mistaken.

As a counterpoise to this victory, Brunswick Clubs were now established everywhere throughout the country by the ascendancy party. At Rathkeale, a great meeting of the gentry of the county of Limerick took place, at which a Brunswick Club was initiated, and of which Lord Muskerry became the President. At Charleville a club was likewise initiated. At Nenagh, the Tories of the Ormonds established a Club.[2] A Protestant declaration, drawn up in Limerick in favor of Catholic claims, lay for a fortnight at the Commercial Buildings, and had not received a dozen signatures during that time. Liberal and Independent Clubs started up side by side with the Brunswick Clubs. It was action and counter action—plot and counter plot. The Order of Liberators, which had been established by O'Connell, who first spoke of his intention to that effect at the great Waterford election in 1826, between Villiers Stuart and Lord George Beresford, received new accessions every day to its members. In the Catholic Association Richard Sheil thundered with Demosthenic fire, while "Bully Boyton"[3] fired from behind some "Constitutional" Club, in sustainment of principles which had already become exploded. The faction feuds which had hitherto divided and destroyed the people, ceased in general reconciliations, particularly between the factions in Limerick and in Tipperary, where on one occasion, during this year, 50,000 men assembled, and swore on the altar of their country that they never would fight again among themselves, an event which more than any other struck terror into the hitherto dominant faction.[4]

[1] Then Moriarty's—afterwards Cruise's Royal Hotel, which he never left without calling for Mrs. Cruise and thanking her for her elegant hospitality. This hotel is now (1865) rented by Mr. John Joseph Cleary, and retains its high character.

[2] A powerful satire was composed on this club, and sung to the air of "Tally-i-ho in the morning."

[3] The Rev. Charles Boyton, F.T.C.D., a powerful speaker on the Protestant side.

[4] Such a reconciliation, which is well described in a contemporary ballad by John Banim, occurred again at Emly in the winter of 1862, when the Three Years Old and the Four Years Old Factions were reconciled by the Archbishop of Cashel, the Most Rev. Dr. Leahy, after a mission given in that parish by the Redemptorist Fathers of Limerick.

Emancipation could be no longer postponed; and though O'Connell could not take his seat in the House of Commons without an oath which he rejected with utter scorn, the Duke of Wellington and Sir Robert Peel discovered that it would be better policy to repeal that oath and concede Catholic claims, than risk a civil war. On Wednesday, the 18th of March, 1829, the Relief Bill was read a second time in the House of Commons by a majority of 180, and contemporaneously with the vote a bill for the disfranchisement of the forty-shilling freeholders. It is not our purpose to depict the state of things by which this great victory was surrounded. The Clare election continued to be a thorn in the side of the Tories, and of the aristocracy. Mr. William Smith O'Brien, at the time, issued a manifesto, which gave mortal offence to the friends of O'Connell, and which was followed by a hostile meeting between Mr. O'Brien and Mr. Steele, the confidential follower of the Liberator. The local memorabilia during these days of gigantic agitation, were few and unimportant, absorbed, as the people appear to have been, in the vortex which drew within its gaping jaws nearly every other consideration.

One of the fiercest contests that had taken place after the Clare election, was that which occurred in the county of Limerick in 1830, when the candidates were Colonel O'Grady and Mr. Massy Dawson. The contest, as usual, lasted several days; and at the conclusion Colonel O'Grady had a majority of 215 votes on the gross poll.[1] In two years afterwards—viz. in December, 1832, a contested election took place in the county of Limerick, when there voted for Colonel Fitzgibbon, 1056; Colonel O'Grady, 1040; Godfrey Massy, 760; Alexander M'Carthy, 751.

[1] The particulars of this extraordinary election, the names, &c., of the parties who were mixed up with it, together with a number of songs and ballads, which were sung in the interest of Colonel O'Grady, appeared in a brochure printed in Limerick in this year, and being dedicated to Daniel O'Connell, it is called Quinbus Flestrum—the Man-Mountain.* Some of the ballads were piquant. The following stanza of a jeu d'esprit is a fair specimen of the entire.

THE COALITION OF THE PEERS.

AIR—"*Old Erin's Native Shamrock.*"

"Lords KINGSTON tall—and CLARE quite small,
With MASSY, cold and hollow,
Together came—a man to name,
Their plots and schemes to follow.—
Says MASSY, 'see, our choice must be
'Where talent's not expected,
'For oh! the light of Genius bright,
'I always have rejected.'

Oh! the Blockheads, the proud and senseless Blockheads,
To think again, that Free-born men
Would bow to titled Blockheads."

Lieutenant-Colonel S. O'Grady, who represented the county of Limerick in several parliaments, was the eldest son of Chief Baron O'Grady. He joined the 7th Hussars early in life, and on the return of Buonaparte from Elba, he sailed, having then the rank of Lieutenant, with his regiment for Brussels, to take part in the brilliant series of manœuvres in which Wellington was then engaged; and which ultimately resulted in the total downfall of the Emperor, and in his banishment to St. Helena. There were few officers of the age and rank of O'Grady whose conduct was so conspicuous at so early a period, and so marked by the approbation of his superiors. When Lieutenant Standish O'Grady, he was placed in command of the 7th Hussars at the desperate enterprise at Genappe,† the result of which was to secure a safe counter-march for the British troops to the plains of Waterloo, where they were destined so shortly afterwards to win by their valour imperishable fame. At Waterloo, Lieut.-Colonel O'Grady again distinguished himself, but nearly thirty years elapsed before a tardy recognition of his services promoted him to the

* See Gulliver's Travels.

† For the full particulars of this action, and of the gallant conduct of O'Grady, see Captain Siborne's History of Waterloo.

It is scarcely necessary to give details of these events, or of the misdeeds of the Corporation of Limerick, during the years that elapsed between the

position of Aide-de-Camp to the Queen. with the consequent rank of full Colonel. A singular circumstance occurred at Genappe. The French soldiery charged the 7th Hussars with an irresistible and powerful body of lancers. Opposition on the part of O'Grady and his war-worn followers was evidently useless, and the only chance of safety lay in getting into a field at the side of the road, from which it was separated by a ditch full of mud and water, nearly three feet wide, and a bank at the other side, four feet high. O'Grady rode a beautiful white charger, steady in battle as a rock, and implicitly obedient to his master's voice. But never since the horse was foaled had threat or bribe been sufficient to make him cross the most footy fence. Meanwhile, the French lancers approached rapidly; a rush was made at the fence. Most of the horses took the leap in good English style; and O'Grady's horse took it the most gallantly of all! Those who failed to cross the fence were butchered by the French. Colonel O'Grady, after the occupation of Paris, brought over the charger to whom he owed his life to Cahir-Guillamore, where a rich paddock was allotted to him for life. Efforts were often made by the young men of the family to compel the charger to jump some trifling thing, such as a stump of a tree, &c. But all to no purpose—the faithful charger made but the one leap in his life, and thereby saved his gallant master from a French lance—a second leap he never tried, either before or after. Lieut.-Colonel O'Grady shortly afterwards retired on half-pay, as the forty years' peace opened but few prospects for military promotion. He married in the year 1828 Gertrude, daughter of the Hon. Berkeley Paget, and niece of the Marquis of Anglesea, the Uxbridge of Waterloo, then Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, by whom he had a numerous family. On the death, in 1840, of his father, the Chief Baron, who had been created a Viscount in 1831, Lieut.-Col. O'Grady succeeded to the title and estates as second Viscount Guillamore.

Lieut.-Colonel O'Grady was engaged in a great number of contested elections, and his family had the reputation (for good or for evil) of being the best electioneerers in Ireland. Standish, second Viscount Guillamore, died in the year 1843, and was succeeded by his eldest son as third Viscount.

CAPTAIN THE HONORABLE ADOLPHUS VEREKER.—In the above brief biographical sketch, we have referred to the brilliant services with which Lieut.-Colonel O'Grady commenced his military career. Captain Vereker commenced his military life with services yet more brilliant; but alas! while the highest honors were opening before him, the cold hand of death was laid upon one who would have added another glorious name to—

"Limerick—the nurse of heroes; honor's crest;
By beauty gem'd; Circassia of the West!"

Captain Vereker was nephew of Colonel O'Grady, grandson of Colonel Vereker, of Colooney, and fifth son of the present Viscount Gort. He was born at Roxborough, near Limerick, in the year 1833. In March, 1855, he was appointed to an ensigncy in the 20th Regiment, and resigned, as a necessary consequence, an office he held in the Ordnance Department, and a lieutenant's commission in the 6th West York Militia. He shortly afterwards sailed for the Crimea, and was ordered to assist in the combined attack by the sea and land forces of the British and French against the Russian fortress of Kinburn. He took his turn with the other officers in the fatigues and dangers of the trenches at Sebastopol, while he held at the same time the position of Captain in the land transport service. Of his services at this time, Harte states, in the Official Army List, "Captain Vereker, at the siege and fall of Sebastopol, from 3rd Sept. 1855, and also at the capture of Kinburn, *Medal and Clasp—a Turkish medal.*" At the close of the Crimean War he returned to England, where he was not destined to remain long, in consequence of the Indian revolt and mutiny. On landing in India, he was embodied with the "Selected Marksmen" of his regiment, who were generally employed on all occasions where a small European force was intended to operate with crushing effect against the hosts of the mutineers. The first serious engagement in which he took part was at Chauda where Brigadier Frankes* defeated a body of mutineers, 25,000 strong, with twenty-five guns. He took an active part in the battles of Umeerpore and Sultanpore, and the storming of the fort of Dhowraha, and a vast number of minor operations. He bore a distinguished part in many other important and perilous operations. In the despatches giving accounts of this long series of brilliant operations, Vereker's name will often be found mentioned in terms of the highest praise—a very rare thing in the case of a lieutenant. The following is the official statement in Harte's Army List of Vereker's services in the Indian insurrection:—"Served in the Indian Campaign of 1857—1859, with the selected marksmen of the regiment, in the actions of Chauda, Umeerpore, Sultanpore, fort Dhowraha, seige and capture of Lucknow, subsequent operations in Oude, and affairs at Churda; fort of Musjeedia and Baukee, as adjutant to a detachment. Served as orderly officer to Colonel Cormick, commanding Gonda Column, in the operations in the trans-Gogra, in March and April, 1858, and was present at the

* Query, a Limerick man?

period at which we have arrived and the dissolution of that body by the measure of Municipal Reform in 1841. The same names, with very few exceptions, constituted the common council; the same spoliation of the public revenues marked their proceedings; the same reckless admission of freemen was practised. The Mayor was largely reimbursed for "expenses," of which there does not appear to have been ever a clear account given.

At Adare, in October, 1830,[1] the Duke of Northumberland, then on a visit to Lord Dunraven, was addressed by the Corporation, who proceeded to Adare Manor, headed by the Mayor, when the freedom of the city was unanimously awarded to his Excellency, as also to Sir Edward Blakeney, General Sir Charles Doyle, &c. Early in 1831, the Corporation addressed the Marquis of Anglesea on his accession to the Viceroyalty.

In the latter part of the year 1852, an interesting event occurred which ought not to be omitted: an address, numerously and respectably signed, was at this time forwarded to Thomas Moore, Esq., the National Bard,

[1] This year (1830) saw the last of the sedan chairs. Bringing the judges fully robed to court in sedan chairs was an old custom in Limerick, only given up about the year 1809. Sedan chairs were much used by ladies going to balls, and were found a great convenience by day in bad weather. A sedan chair was an upholstered seat, completely covered in, with a door in front about five feet high, with glass in it; outwardly it was covered with leather,* and was carried by two men between poles, who moved at a tolerable pace, in a kind of trot, equal to perhaps four miles an hour. They continued in use until 1830, their stand being in George's street, near William-street, where there were generally eight or ten of them ranged. Forty years before their stand was at the Exchange, in Mary-street.

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affair of Muchleegawn, attack on Cawnpore mutineers in Kookee jungle, and pursued to Nagowar —*mentioned in despatches—medal and clasp.*"

At the conclusion of the Indian revolt, Vereker returned to England, and in Nov. 1860, obtained his company. In 1863, he was again ordered to India; from whence he proceeded to China, and shortly afterwards, in consequence of the threatening aspect of affairs in Japan, he proceeded with his regiment to that Island. Captain Vereker was quartered at Yokohama, where his health, which had suffered very much in China, rapidly improved. Late in September, he dined with the Governor, Sir R. Alcock, and before he retired to rest he finished a letter to his relatives in England, written in the highest spirits, and under the influence of the brightest prospects. He doubtless felt, as he glanced at the *brilliant* staff by whom the Governor was surrounded, that few of his standing in the army had shared the glories of more well-won fields, and that the time was not far off when his seniority and services would entitle him to a separate command, and thus enable him to display that coolness, judgment, and military capacity, which he so eminently possessed. Meantime, Destiny, with her iron pen had traced a stern and cruel decree. Captain Vereker was attacked with small-pox; but already worn out physically and mentally by the severe military labors he had gone through, the disease rapidly gained ground, and in a few days he surrendered to illness that life which had been so often and so freely exposed in the cause of duty. Near Yokohama, but far from his native land and all he loved, Captain Vereker sleeps a soldier's sleep, and the affectionate regards of his companions in arms have erected a monument to mark the place. But few will read this sketch without regretting that one whose morning of life was glorious beyond his fellows, should have been cut off by inexorable fate, just as the brightest prospects were beginning to open to his view. But—

"When future bards shall sing of life,
Its loves, its cares, and all its strife,
The grace and moral of the song,
Shall to *their checker'd fate* belong,
Whose wayward fortune will supply
The brightest tint and deepest dye:
These, soldiers yet unborn, in pride shall raise;
Relate their triumphs and renew their praise."†

* At present this description of a sedan chair can be of little interest, but in fifty years' time, few will be living in all probability that ever saw one, and they may then be numbered with the curious things of by-gone days.

† From an unpublished poem, of singular beauty and merit, by the Rt. Hon. Chief Baron O'Grady.

inviting him to stand for the representation of the city. The address embodied the wishes of the most influential of the electors, and had the additional recommendation of being presented by a distinguished citizen of Limerick, of European celebrity, Gerald Griffin, the novelist, who, however, failed in his mission, of which he has left a very pleasant account,[1] Mr. Moore's engagements not permitting him to take advantage of the offer.

Nothing continued to prosper under the corrupt corporation system of the day. The city revenues became worthless for the public good. The great Lax weir had fallen away. Mr. Poole Gabbett having been declared the highest bidder for it, at a meeting of the Corporation on the 6th of January, 1834, it was resolved that his proposal of £300 a-year be accepted, and a lease granted to him for 99 years, on the same terms as heretofore held by Mr. Little. The works of Corporate corruption, however, had become fully laid bare, in consequence of the Commission of Inquiry which was held in Limerick from the 26th of September to the 11th of October, 1833.

O'Connell was now stirring the popular mind to its very depths, and no where was he more ardently responded to than in Limerick. Early in the year 1834, he published a manifesto to the people of Ireland in favor of a Repeal of the Union—and thus "nailed his colours to the mast"; the anti-tithe movement, which embraced the greater portion of the country in its immense proportions, went hand in hand with a demand for a Parliament in College Green; the minister trembled, and Irishmen showed that they were in earnest by a quick response to the call of the great Leader. Mr. William Roche and Mr. David Roche, members for the city, declared in favor of the great national question. The popularity of Mr. Spring Rice, to whom a colossal pillar and life-like statue had been a few years previously erected in Pery Square by his appreciative fellow-citizens, had been for some time on the wane, and was now completely forfeited by the decided opposition which he offered to the cause of Repeal, and he fell rapidly in the esteem of even those ardent admirers of his who for several years had followed his chariot wheels as they rolled in triumph over the prostrate faction of the corruptionists in Limerick. The debate on O'Connell's motion in the House of Commons in April this year (1834) for a Committee of Enquiry on the

[1] See the Life of Gerald Griffin, p. 311, by his brother, of which the author of this history possesses the MSS. This gifted son of genius was born in the city of Limerick, December 12th, 1803, and died in April, 1840, at the Monastery of the Christian Brothers, Cork, of which religious order he was a member, and in whose little cemetery he lies interred, with the simple inscription, "Brother Gerald Griffin."

1834—January 18.—Mr. Steele writes "*To the Limerick Chapter of Liberators*," resigning the office of Patron and President of that Society. A transient misunderstanding between him and the Liberator is avowed.

Prospectus of the *Limerick Star* and *Evening Post* published—to appear on Tuesday, 4th February, 1834.

March 6th.—At the Assizes this month a libel case was tried, of Samuel Dickson, Esq. v. W. R. Yeilding, Esq. proprietor of the *Limerick Herald*—damages were laid at £5,000. Mr. Dickson was held up to ridicule, not only by writings but by woodcuts, in the *Herald*. The jury gave a verdict for the plaintiff with comparatively small damages. Mr. Dickson was a gentleman of high position, and an active politician with rather liberal tendencies.

April 19th.—A new Catholic chapel projected by the Rev. Denis Buckeley, P.P. for the mountainous Parish of Glenroe, Co. Limerick.

April 23rd.—John Dempsey and Denis Cahill fined £10 at Petty Sessions for selling one copy of the *Dublin Satirist*, unstamped paper, in the public streets.

May 4th.—Mr. Sheridan Knowles and Miss Jarman visited Limerick.

Mr. Lawless publishes a letter in the *True Sun*, in which he disapproves of Mr. O'Connell's proposition to grant glebe-houses to the Catholic Clergy of Ireland.

Repeal, in which Mr. Spring Rice championed the cause and originated the phrase of "West Britain," topped the climax of his unpopularity. O'Connell's motion was rejected by a majority of 523, which pronounced in favor of an amendment of Mr. Rice, whilst 38 members voted for enquiry. In the minority the names of the two Roches of Limerick were prominent.

Just as the great debate was going on, one of those fatal tithe affrays which were not uncommon at this time, occurred at Mahoonagh, in the vicinity of Newcastle West, county of Limerick, where three men, named Browne, Griffin, and Sullivan, were shot dead by the soldiery, then collecting for the Rev. Mr. Locke, of Newcastle. O'Connell made the most of the catastrophe in the House of Commons; nevertheless, even after this event, Major Miller, with a detachment of military and police, scoured the country to enforce payment of the impost. Mr. David Roche, M.P., proposed a plan for the settlement of the tithe difficulty, which plan met the approval of O'Connell.

Ministers, however, took up the tithe question on their own account; and in August the Church Temporalities Bill, and the Irish Tithe Bill went through their stages in both Houses of Parliament, and received the royal assent in due course next summer.

It was now that O'Connell gave the aid of his powerful influence to the establishment of a National Bank for Ireland, pronouncing the Agricultural and Commercial Bank, which had a strong party of supporters in Limerick, "a wild scheme." In Limerick the project of the National Bank was taken up with spirit. In the month of October the Mayor (William Piercey, Esq.) presided at a meeting in the Commercial Buildings, when resolutions were adopted in its favor—the capital of the Limerick Branch was proposed to be £250,000. A committee was formed,[1] and everything went on favorably.

[1] The Bank was established in the house in Brunswick-street, which had been the residence of Mr. David Roche, M.P., and from it removed to the more spacious premises in George's street in 1856. This house in Brunswick-street is now (1865) the Union Bank.

June 11th.—The Astrea, filled with emigrants, bound from Limerick to Quebec, reported to be lost, with 240 lives. Supposed that she got upon the ice off Halifax in a fog.

September 13th.—A branch of the Agricultural and Commercial Bank established at a public meeting in Limerick—John Dobbs, Esq., in the chair.

September 27th.—The Rev. Thomas Enraght, C.C., St. Mary's, writes a public letter, in which he states that not less than 25 families are living in one house in that parish, where misery and destitution prevail to a woful extent.

Mr. Rhodes, Government engineer, who recently surveyed the port and harbour, in order to extend improvements, was this week in Limerick, with a view to acting upon the specifications detailed in his report, under the Wellesley Bridge Amendment Act.

The Provincial Bank propose to transfer the business of their establishment to a more commodious and suitable concern in George's-street, having purchased the site of the "Round Church," as St. George's Church, in George's-street, was called. This Church was built by the Pery family in the last century as a chapel of ease. Near it a terrible murder was perpetrated, long before houses had been built in George's-street, and when the church was in the fields. Though called the "Round Church," it was a plain square building, with the gable to the front of George's-street, and a stone ball topped with a weather-cock on it.

The Provincial Bank of Ireland was established in Limerick before any other Joint Stock Bank, and eighteen months before the branch office of the Bank of Ireland.

October 3rd.—John Vereker, Esq., Mayor, obtains the unanimous thanks of the city magistrates, at Petty Sessions assembled, on the motion of William Roche, Esq., M.P., on his retiring from the mayoralty. Mr. Vereker left a few days after to join his regiment, the 7th Fusileers, at Malta.

October 18th.—Mr. Cobbett, the celebrated public writer, visited Limerick. He lectured in Limerick; and dined and slept at the residence of the very Rev. T. O. B. Costello, P.P., Murroe.

Signor de Begnis, the celebrated vocalist, visits Limerick.

A new era was brightly dawning on Ireland. Earl Mulgrave, the most popular Viceroy that Ireland had ever seen, was, to use O'Connell's own words, "mulgravising" Ireland. His Excellency visited Limerick in August, 1835, and was feted, caressed, cheered, and lauded, as no Viceroy had ever been before. It was on this occasion that he opened Wellesley Bridge, as we have stated in the preceding chapter.

The depression, however, among the working classes of Limerick at this period was unexampled. English competition had completely annihilated the weaving trade, which had flourished in Garryowen, in Thomond Gate, at Park, &c., where weavers had been numerous. Hundreds of these poor operatives were now thrown out of employment, and in this year (1835) a memorial from them was presented to the Corporation, signed by no less than 259 weavers, when a vote of £50 was passed by that body to enable the Mayor to send as many as he could of the number to England, whither several of them went.

Though this depression was great, the amount of exports had been nearly doubled since 1822; yet a distinguished traveller,[1] who had visited the city this year, admits that no where did he meet with more destitution; he states that he entered forty abodes of poverty, and that to the latest hour of his existence, he never could forget the scenes of utter and hopeless wretchedness that presented themselves. Commissioners of Poor Enquiry had been sent down the year before, and had sat for several days, obtaining facts as to the distressed state of the people, and public works had been going on, were it not for which the misery would be intensified beyond bearing; and a system of poor laws was now advocated by many as the grand remedy, though private charity had been constantly put in requisition to mitigate the sufferings of the poor. That system of Poor Laws, which had been supported by Dr. Doyle and opposed by O'Connell, came soon afterwards; but with what permanent advantage to the poor is a question on which there are conflicting opinions. The blight of the Union had long been felt in the annihilation of manufactures, in the decay of trade, in the exhaustion of the artizan and the labourer; and though in the march of events, men beloved by the people had become recognised for their worth and merit, and had obtained the guerdon of their deserts at the hands of a now liberal Government, which for the first time sympathised with the masses, the permanent prosperity of the country was not materially affected by legislative improvements.

On the 3rd of January, 1837, a catastrophe of a most lamentable charac-

[1] A Journey throughout Ireland in 1834, by Henry D. Inglis, 2 vols. London, 1835.

Dec. 17.—Monday, the Parish Priests of the diocese of Killaloe assembled at Newmarket-on-Fergus to elect a Coadjutor Bishop to the Rt. Rev. Dr. M'Mahon. The three candidates returned by the Clergy for the choice of the Pope, were the Rev. Mr. Kennedy, P.P., of Birr, *dignissimus*; Rev. Mr. Fahy, P.P. of Tulla, *dignior*; and Rev. Mr. Vaughan, P.P., of Killaloe, *dignus*. The Prelates present were—the Most Rev. Dr. Slattery of Cashel, Right Revs. Dr. Murphy of Cork, Dr. Egan of Kerry, Dr. Ryan of Limerick, and Dr. M'Mahon of Killaloe.

February 8th, 1837.—Influenza most prevalent in Limerick.

1837—March 25th.—The Postmaster-General acceded to the request of the Chamber of Commerce of this city, to run the mail hence to Dublin at the rate of nine and a-half British miles per hour, after the 5th July next.

Custom duties received at the port of Limerick last year, £126,291, being an increase of £3,856 over the preceding year's amount.

April 4th.—Mr. Craven, son of Puller Craven, Esq., of Gloucester, drowned in a cot at the fall of the Leap, Doonass, while fishing. Near the same place, six years before, the Honorable

ter occurred in Limerick, by an explosion of gunpowder in the premises of one William Richardson, a gun-maker and vendor of gunpowder, No. 1, George's-street. Eleven persons were killed by this explosion, viz. Margaret M'Mahon, John M'Mahon, Bridget O'Donohoe, John O'Brien, Patrick Doolan, Mary Barry, John Enright, Bridget Doolan, John M'Mahon, and Michael O'Neill, a watch-man. The cause of the catastrophe could never be clearly ascertained, as the only person in the part of the house where the gunpowder lay was blown up, and his body torn in pieces. The terrific details of this dreadful affair[1] cause a shudder of horror whenever they are brought to memory, while the miraculous escape which some respectable families had from being involved in the worst consequences of the explosion, is referred to the special agency of Providence. Every effort was made by the Mayor and magistrates to mitigate the sufferings of the survivors. A deputation laid the matter before the Lord Lieutenant, who gave his active

[1] There were four persons under the roof at the time, three of whom were killed, while a young man named Teskey, an apprentice, escaped with his life, though he had been blown to a great height, and came down senseless in the street, at a considerable distance. At the house No. 2, George's-street, the widow of Michael Ryan, Esq., one of the most extensive and esteemed merchants in the city, resided with her family, two sons,* a daughter and a sister-in-law; they were all in bed, being instantly stunned after lying unconscious under the ruins for an hour, the first recital or perception that Mrs. Ryan remembered was hearing her daughter, Barbara, a child of eight years old, who slept with her, crying, "Mamma, where are we?" they were at the time buried amid the debris. A long and fruitless search had been made for them—it was suggested that they had gone to the country; further exertions were about being relinquished when the almost inaudible cries of the child were heard under the ruins. Efforts were again made, and the child was heard to cry "to take care of Mamma"—whose collar bone had been broken—their persons having been overwhelmed in rubbish between the shop and the underground apartment yet supported by two doors having came together, in their fall, so as to form an arch over them—the legs and feet, however, were so crushed that they could not change their position. One of the sons, William, was blown up in the air on the matrass where he was sleeping and came down in the street with it blazing about him—he asleep all the while! He sustained no injury. The elder brother Edmond was not blown up—but the corner of the floor whereon his bed stood could be seen for days after from the street, like a shelf without support attached to the tottering wall. Mrs. Catherine Ryan, the sister-in-law of Mrs. Ryan, had no perception of anything having happened until the next morning when she found herself in a public house on Arthur's Quay—having been blown out, so stunned as to be senseless, buried under a heap of rubbish, and lying for an hour in the street with a beam of timber over her. A servant who slept in the room next to Mrs. Catherine Ryan's was blown into the hall of the house No. 3, belonging to Mr. William Wilson. Mr. Ellard who resided near the corner of Denmark-street, opposite to Richardson's, was lifted off the ground and with a whirling motion dashed across the street and buried under a heap of rubbish, from which he was dug out. His respectable family had a most narrow escape—as had also the family of Mr. Thomas Tracy, who lived in No. 13, of Mr. J. Hallowell, No. 10; of Mr. J. Burke, No. 18, &c. &c. The gas throughout the city was on this occasion extinguished, and windows were broken on the North-strand at the opposite side of the Shannon. The verdict of the Coroner's jury threw blame on the incautious manner in which Richardson had exposed the gunpowder for sale.

Mrs. William Massy, of Belmont, while passing over in a cot to Hermitage, at Christmas, in a fog, was drowned.

May 24th.—Universal sorrow in the city of Limerick, consequent on the death of John Vereker, Esq., brother of Lord Gort.

June 7th.—Considerable sums raised by public subscription in the city for the relief of the poor.

June 26th.—The Masters and Wardens, and the great body of the Congregated Trades of Limerick, in full dress, bearing the standards and insignia of each craft, waited upon the Mayor, at Cruise's Hotel, George's-street, with a complimentary address, in which they manifested the most anxious desire for his re-election to office.

* Edmond, afterwards Mayor of Limerick in 1846, and now (1865) R. M. of Middleton, County Cork, and William, afterwards drowned.

sympathies, and a public subscription was raised, to which every one contributed.

We turn from this appalling scene to the state of local politics and parties. Between O'Connell and William Smith O'Brien, a strong feeling of antagonism had prevailed since the Clare Election—and in this year an interchange of lengthened letters showed that their differences on public questions were widening, and that there was but little hope of reconciling them. The popular party was gaining strength. Baron O'Loghlen was elevated to the proud position of Master of the Rolls, with a Baronetcy—and never did a public man better deserve the honor than Sir Michael O'Loghlen. Mr. Woulfe, afterwards Chief Baron, was appointed Attorney General—and re-elected for Cashel—Mr. Brady, (now Lord Chancellor Brady), Solicitor General, and Mr. Pigot, (now Chief Baron Pigot), law adviser to the Castle.

Parallel with these events, went the Irish Municipal Reform Bill in Parliament, and the motion for the expulsion of the Bishops from the House of Lords for which the two "Limerick Roches" gave their votes, but which was rejected by a majority of 197 to 92. Grand Jury Reform, tithe adjustment—though with the abandonment of the appropriation clause on which the Whig party had got into power—Poor Laws, &c., now became the order of the day; in the midst of agitation, King William IV. died; and Her Most Gracious Majesty Queen Victoria—a maiden queen, radiant with youth, and of highest promise, ascended the throne in the month of June this year (1837), amid the acclamations of Her Majesty's Irish subjects. Limerick was full of animation, to witness the customary pomp and pageantry of proclaiming a new Sovereign. The Union Flag floated from the Commercial Buildings; the ships in harbour hung out their ensigns; the Cathedral Bells exchanged a peal of joy for the mournful toll at the King's death. The streets were gay, crowds having come in from the country. A procession formed at the Exchange, according to programme. General L'Estrange gave the military force to the civic authorities. The various Trades mustered in great numbers, with insignia descriptive of each Guild. The Mayor, Sheriff, Aldermen, and Civic Officers, in full Corporate robes, occupied the centre of the procession. Archdeacon Maunsell and the Protestant Clergy; the Very Rev. Dr. Hogan and the Catholic Clergy; John Kelly and William Howly, Esqrs. Deputy Lieutenants; the President and members of the Chamber of Commerce, citizens, &c. were present at the ceremonial. Having traversed the principal streets, repeating the proclamation at stated places, the procession finally separated in Bank Place. The windows along the route were occupied by elegantly dressed ladies. The Mayor entertained the military Officers, Clergy, Gentry, Freemasons, and heads of all the trades at the Council Chamber of the Exchange. A general election followed the immediate dissolution of Parliament by the

July 5th.—Change in the dispatch of Mails, by the Post Office Department, commencing Thursday, 6th inst., at 6, P.M., when the mail coach leaves this for Dublin, and arrives here on the morning of Friday, the 7th instant, at 30 minutes past seven. The Ennis and Galway mail leaves this every morning at 45 minutes past 7—the Cork and Tralee mail coaches at eight every morning.

July 12th.—Judge Crampton repaired to Court this morning, at nine o'clock, to try Mary Cooney for the wilful murder of Mrs. Anne Anderson, widow, of Harstonge-street, on the evening of Monday, the 6th of March last, by inflicting a mortal wound with a knife on that lady's neck, of which she instantaneously died. The Jury, after a short consultation, found a verdict of guilty. Hanged on Monday, the 7th August.

Queen—and Limerick, county and city, became again the vortex of the political excitement. In the month of July O'Connell arrived from Dublin, on his way to Cork, and held a public meeting, John O'Brien. Esq. of Elm Vale, afterwards M.P. for the city, in the chair; when O'Connell delivered with characteristic freedom his opinion of certain members of the aristocracy, who happened at the time, or whom he believed to be opposed to the popular cause, denouncing as usual the Corporation in the most unmeasured terms of reproach. He extolled the Messrs. Roche as friends of the people, and adherents of a liberal Government.

The election for the city commenced on the 1st of August, it was marked by the utmost excitement. The windows and doors of the houses in Francis-street of the anti-popular candidates had been smashed the night before. The candidates were William and David Roche, Esqrs. on the popular interest; and William Monsell, Esq. and Mr. Wilson on the Tory interest. The following was the result of the gross poll:—W. Roche, 563; David Roche, 555; W. Monsell, 176. The Court rung with acclamations from the friends of Messrs. Roche, who having returned thanks, the Sheriff adjourned to next morning. There was no chairing of the City members.[1]

CHAPTER LII.

FOUNDATION OF TWO CONVENTS IN LIMERICK.—THE TEMPERANCE MOVEMENT. —TRIUMPHANT VISIT OF FATHER MATHEW.—GREAT REPEAL DEMONSTRATION.

THE year 1837 was rendered remarkable by the introduction into the city of the nuns of the Presentation Order from Cork, whose admirable convent was founded that year in Sexton-street, chiefly through the instrumentality and zeal of the Very Rev. Patrick Hogan, P.P., V.G., St. Michael's, who gave the ground, at a moderate rent, on which the Convent and Schools were built, and who built the spacious Schools at his own expense for the instruction of poor female children by the nuns. Mrs. King, a native of Waterford, who had joined the order some time before in Cork, brought a considerable fortune to the new establishment which was speedily joined by ladies from the City and County of Limerick. This noble establishment soon gave evidence of its strength and usefulness—its schools became fre-

[1] In October following a grand banquet was given in the Northumberland Buildings, to the city members, when 150 citizens were present.

William Hawkins Bourne, Esq. of Terenure, near Dublin, died in September this year in London. He it was that first established a Mail Coach between this city and Dublin; while by pushing the sphere of his operations, he also opened new and explored sources of profit to the merchant and agriculturist throughout the South of Ireland, by forming splendid roads, and providing safe and expeditious conveyances on various lines of route. His large establishment gave employment to a vast number of persons, who deeply deplored the loss of their benefactor.

quented by hundreds of children, and the great work in which the nuns were engaged prospered admirably. James F. Carroll, Esq., M.D., an eminent physician of Limerick, and a devoted Catholic, contributed a sum of £500 to build the beautiful chapel of cut limestone which is attached to the Convent, and to his memory, a white marble tablet is erected in the chapel with this inscription :—

PRAY FOR THE SOUL OF
JAMES F. CARROLL, ESQ., M.D.,
WHO BEQUEATHED
THE SUM OF FIVE HUNDRED POUNDS
TO BUILD THIS CHAPEL.
HE DIED SEPTEMBER 17th, 1837.
REQUIESCAT IN PACE,
AMEN.

The Schools having been found incapable of containing the great numbers of children who frequent them, the foundation stone of a new school-house was laid on the 4th of August, 1864, at a cost to the nuns of £400. These additional schools are now (1865) also in operation, and afford a moral, religious and industrial education to nearly 1,000 children who should otherwise be destitute of so great a blessing. The late Right Rev. Dr. Ryan, Catholic Bishop of Limerick, was a munificent benefactor of these schools and of this truly excellent establishment.

The progress which religion and religious institutions were making throughout the city was really marvellous. On the 24th of September, 1848, the convent of the Sisters of Mercy on the site of a convent of the Order of Poor Clares, who had been there some years previously, and in a locality famed in ancient days for the great convent of the Friars preachers or Dominicans. Mrs. Macauley, from the Parent House, Baggot-street, Dublin, was the foundress of the new convent; and was accompanied by Mrs. Moore, a native of Dublin, who became superioress, and who for several years has presided over the laborious duties of her office, with incalculable benefit to the interests of religion and of the poor. In the old convent of the Poor Clares were two lay sisters when Mrs. Macauley arrived in Limerick; and these, with pious solicitude, she admitted into her establishment. The house which was prepared for the accommodation of the Sisters of Mercy was small; four or five ladies joined during the first year. The growth of the establishment became vigorous, fostered as it was by the constant vigilance and munificence of the Right Rev. Dr. Ryan, who encouraged the pious sisterhood in their unwearied labours, and who gave them the most substantial proofs of the deep interest which he took in their successful progress. The grounds occupied an acre, with room sufficient for building purposes and extended accommodation. School-houses, a Refuge for Servants, an Orphanage, &c., were soon erected, and brought within the reach of the destitute and the forlorn. Thousands of pounds were expended by the community in increasing the accommodation for these merciful objects; the Refuge of Servants was at once prepared and occupied, and in 1865, there are no less than forty servants out of place in the Refuge.

In 1844 the Orphanage was founded, within the Convent grounds; but not having been spacious enough for the accumulating numbers who were

daily offering themselves for admission, the Sisters of Mercy founded a new Orphanage, Mount St. Vincent, on the 3rd of April, 1850. On the 5th of July, 1851, the foundation stone of the present really ornamental and commodious building was laid at Mount St. Vincent by the Rt. Rev. Dr. Ryan, who was attended on the occasion by a large number of clergymen connected with the city. The Limerick Convent has established several foundations, including Kinsale, 15th April, 1844; Killarney, 30th April, same year; Mallow, 13th October, 1845; Glasgow, August, 1849; and Edinburgh, 7th July, 1858. The branch convents in immediate connection with the Limerick house, are, St. Catherine's (Newcastle West), 24th October, 1849; Rathkeale, opened 19th August, 1850; Roscommon, 1853; Ennis, 1851; Adare, 1854. The handsome Convent of Adare has been built near the Catholic parochial church, at the sole expense of the Earl of Dunraven. The Sisters of Mercy were introduced to the Union Workhouse Hospital on the 4th of January, 1861. A Widows' Asylum, founded by the Very Rev. W. A. O'Meara, O.S.F., for 18 widows, was begun near the Orphanage of Mt. St. Vincent, in 1861. The Tipperary branch house was opened on the 6th of October, 1864. The community now (1865) numbers 60 nuns, who devote their time to the instruction of the children of the poor, to the visiting of the sick, &c. During his life-time, the Right Rev. Dr. Ryan gave very large sums to the Orphanage, to the Convents of Newcastle, Rathkeale, &c. The following is a list of the schools under the care of the Sisters of Mercy :—

Convent Schools	Teachers.	Average on rolls for 12 months.
St. Mary's.....	Sisters of Mercy.	... 788
St. John's-square.....	do.	... 475
St. John's.....	do.	... 372
Pery-square.....	do.	... 457

Over the portico of the convent, in large letters, are these words :—

AD MAJORAM DEI GLORIAM.

On the 20th of December, 1838, the Limerick Poor Law Union, which ranks as the first, was declared. It lies partly in the county Clare and partly in the county Limerick, and embraces the entire city of Limerick. It comprehends an area of 125,085 acres.

Feb. 21st, 1838.—At the reform dinner given to O'Connell, at the Crown and Anchor Tavern, London, on the 18th evening—a dinner celebrated for the speech in which O'Connell charged the Tory Parliamentary Committees with perjury, for which a vote of censure was passed against him—the chair was taken by a very distinguished Limerick man—namely, Sir de Lacy Evans—who pronounced O'Connell "the object of the attention of the whole empire, and the admiration of the best and most enlightened men, not only of England, but of the world."

January 6th, 1839.—One of the most terrific storms ever remembered visited Limerick; several lives were lost.

July 12th, 1839.—On this day the first number of the *Limerick Reporter* was published.

July 22nd.—A great meeting was held, presided over by General Sir Richard Bourke, to address Earl Fortescue, Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, on his way through Limerick to visit his brother-in-law, Lord Courtenay, at Newcastle.

At Cork Spring Assizes, was called the case of the Rev. James Raleigh, falsely charged with having struck a lady in St. Michael's Church, versus Dartnell, the proprietor of the *Limerick Standard*, and Massy, Rector of Bruff, for libel. On the suggestion of Judge Jackson, the case was settled out of court, the defendants paying full costs, and making a most ample apology to the Rev. James Raleigh.

Sunday the 3rd of December, 1839, was rendered for ever memorable in the city by the arrival of the Apostle of Temperance, and the greatest excess which popular enthusiasm ever reached in this country has hardly ever exceeded the curiosity and intense admiration manifested by the people towards him, from his arrival to his departure. On Friday and Saturday streams of people flowed in from all directions to get themselves enrolled beneath the Temperance Banner, and on those days there could not have been less than 5000 in the city without the luxury of a bed—the lodging houses being crammed to excess. As it was known that the Rev. Gentleman was to arrive by the mail from Cork, the concourse flowed in that direction. His friends had a car in waiting for him, but still he was obliged to show himself to the crowds, and then proceeded to the residence of his brother-in-law Mr. Dunbar, in Mallow-street. Sunday was peculiary fine, and never a morning broke on a more glorious scene than Limerick presented. The entire length of George's-street was a mass of beings at an early hour. The quays and bridges were thickly peopled, yet the utmost order prevailed. At the sermon vast crowds assisted, the Church being crowded to excess; Col. Maunsell, and Capt. Fitzgerald, and many liberal Protestants were present, were present. Half-past two was the hour for the sermon. When the Rev. Gentleman appeared he was a little flushed, but recovered his self-possession. He read the text of the day—asked the congregation whether the practice of charity was not the true road to blessedness in heaven. The drift of his discourse which continued nearly an hour, was in advocacy of a collection for the Convent Schools. The giving of pledges was begun at the Court House on Monday. The rush at Mr. Dunbar's house was fearful, and one pregnant poor woman was precipitated into the area, by the falling in of the rails. She died from the injuries inflicted on her chest. About nine o'clock Father Mathew proceeded to the Court House, and received pledges till three o'clock. At least 10,000 people knelt down in Mallow-street, and received the pledge. He then proceeded to the Steam boat quay, and administered it to 700 men from Kilrush, not allowing them to disembark. The concourse in fact was now so great in the city, that the prices of provisions rose greatly. He continued to receive people from the four adjoining counties on Tuesday. He now became so hoarse, that the Rev. Gentlemen with him had to call out the words of the pledge. He left for Cork on Wednesday.[1]

[1] The results of drinking may be inferred from the quantity of spirits consumed in England and Ireland in 1839, viz:—

England,	...	...	...	12,341,469 gallons,
Ireland,	...	...	...	12,293,464 gallons,

seven pints one-ninth per head in England—more than thirteen pints per head in Ireland.

Sept. 4th.—On this day several net fishermen were put in jail, for fishing in the Abbey river.

£30,000 per annum said to be laid out at this time in Limerick for Scotch herrings.

Sept. 30th.—At the swearing in of the civic officers, the Mayor and the Mayor's Sergeants wore the usual orange and blue lock of wool in their cocked hats—Sir R. Franklin, Mayor.

Great numbers of people proceed to Father Mathew to Cork to take the pledge of Temperance at his hands.

150 citizens petition the Lord Lieutenant against Ministers' Money.

October 14th.—Mr. W. S. O'Brien publishes his annual address to his constituents of the Co. Limerick, in which he passes in review the great national events of the year.

December 17th, 1839.—Account of the death of Lady Monteagle, received in Limerick with much regret.

January 10th, 1840.—Seizure of gunpowder at Richardson's, gun maker and powder vendor.

Penny postage rate comes into operation this date.

On Wednesday, the 7th October, 1840, the congregated trades of Limerick, attended by a host of other repealers including many from the neighbouring towns, who altogether, according to Mr. O'Connell himself, amounted to some 60,000 persons, marched in grand procession to welcome the Liberator, who drove amidst enthusiastic multitudes to the Treaty Stone, when he was presented by the trades with an address, and made one of his celebrated Repeal speeches. On this occasion the trades deplored the distressed condition of the citizens and manufacturers, concurring with O'Connell in the declaration, that the only resource was a domestic Legislature. O'Connell pointing to Thomond Bridge, said that he remembered seeing eleven men who were taken out on it together, for execution, under martial law, on which occasion a lieutenant of militia struck Father Hogan, a friar who went to give them spiritual assistance, but who was promptly revenged by some one behind the lieutenant who killed him dead with a blow from a "Clealpeen." One of the most noticeable objects in this procession was a large and highly decorated boat, moved by men on the stern, on which, beneath a richly festooned canopy, sat one of the strand fishermen who personated Neptune the god of the water. The day's proceedings finished with a grand dinner at the Theatre, at which over 1,000 persons were present. Limerick thus effectually belied the assertion which had been some time made as to its being cold and apathetic in the cause of Repeal. On this occasion as usual, honest Tom Steele was a conspicuous actor and speaker. He identified himself in a particular manner with the congregated trades, associating himself with the coopers. The spectacle was one of the most remarkable ever witnessed in Limerick.

CHAPTER LIII.

LIMERICK UNDER THE REFORMED CORPORATION.

AFTER the success of the magnificent Parliamentary campaign under Earl Grey and Lord Russell, backed by the "Imperial Guard" of 1832, and so well maintained and supported by Brougham and by O'Connell, and the other popular leaders, the question of municipal reform had been only a question of time, and was in fact ceded a few years after the carriage of the Reform Bill; but the reader would be greatly mistaken if he imagined that it was won without a severe struggle, or that champions of corporate corruption were wanting to enact the same part in the municipal agitation as Peel, and Lyndhurst, and Inglis, and Wetherell had played in the struggle against the measure of Parliamentary reform. It is true that the old Corporators were eventually betrayed by some of their oldest friends, or as O'Connell humorously adopting the words of Dryden expressed it, were—

"Deserted in their utmost need,
By those their former bounty fed."

Death and funeral of the late Alderman John Vereker, died on Wednesday, 8th of January, in Dublin. Trades attended—Catholic and Protestant Bishops were in the procession.

January 20th.—A terrible storm visited Limerick, nearly equal in its destructive effects to the storm of 6th January, 1839.

But in the case of the Corporation of Limerick there was no lack of sturdy defenders of corruption up to the very last moment, and the tenacious grasp which the Corporators still endeavoured to retain of the many good things which were, however, rapidly slipping from them, resembled the last desperate clutch with which the drowning man holds out to the last. It seems almost incredible at the present time, that men having the same blood in their veins as the men of the present generation, could ever have been such uncompromising champions of the old Corporations. But place, pelf, and power will effect wonders, and the old habits engendered by ascendancy had become so inveterate from long prescription, we can only wonder that the same feelings were not transmitted to their children with the rest of the family possessions, by many more than the ancestors of the would-be ascendancy party of the present day, who, however, are still numerous enough to stand in the way of many useful and even necessary reforms. But the reformed municipality went to work at once and with a will; and the Corporation of Limerick, which was once so notorious for its illiberality, soon became equally celebrated for the opposite quality, and established a character which it has never yet forfeited.

Corporate reform was now an accomplished fact. On the 10th of August, 1841, a proclamation was issued by the Lord Lieutenant, in which Limerick was declared within the operation of the Municipal Reform Act. Unbounded joy prevailed when the glad tidings were diffused throughout the city. On the evening of that glorious and welcome day, a procession of unparalleled magnitude went through the city, following as it were the remains of the old Corporation, which were borne on a funeral car in a coffin of enormous magnitude; bands of music playing the funeral march accompanied the procession, with a vast array of mourners. The cortege passed along, amid myriads of people, through the principal streets, until its arrival opposite the office, in Rutland Street, of the tory newspaper which had so long upheld the reign of corporate monopoly and spoliation. Here the procession halted; the coffin was brought from its car, laid on the pavement, and with loud shouts of exultation consigned to the flames.

Proceedings were at once adopted to place the city under the operation of the new Act. Aldermen and Town Councillors were elected. On the 11th of November, the newly-constituted body assembled to elect a Mayor; two candidates for the honour presented themselves, viz. Alderman John Boyse and Martin Honan, Esq. The former withdrew, when the latter was elected by acclamation to an office which he filled with dignity, prudence, and justice. John F. Raleigh, Esq., was elected Town Clerk in open court. There were two other candidates for the office.

The Lord Lieutenant's proclamation, however, had fixed the day for the Act to come into operation in Limerick prematurely, as twelve months had not elapsed from the certificate of the Poor Law Commissioners of the making of a rate for the relief of the poor. In consequence of this error, the Court of Queen's Bench, at the prosecution of the Hon. Charles Smyth Vereker, the Mayor elected by the old Corporation, declared all the proceedings connected with the introduction of the Municipal Reform Act null and void, including the making of the Burgess roll, the acts of the Revision Court, the election of Aldermen and Town Councillors, and elec-

[1] Under the Act of 3 and 4 Victoria, cap. 108.

tion of Mayor. In order to prevent the confusion that would arise from this state of things, Lord Elliot, the then Secretary for Ireland, introduced an act which got the royal assent in July, 1842, legalizing all these proceedings, and settling the new Corporation in office as elected under the Lord Lieutenant's proclamation. Pending these events there were two Mayors in the city—the one *de jure*, and the other *de facto*,—and a considerable degree of annoyance resulted. A deputation waited on the Hon. Mr. Vereker, to give up possession of the Exchange, the books, records, and corporate property. Mr. Vereker gave a direct refusal to this request, stating he was advised that all the proceedings taken under the Municipal Reform Act were illegal, null, and void, and warning them from exercising any authority or jurisdiction within the limits. The old Corporation placed on record an account of their liabilities, which amounted to over £12,000, and which was left as a burden on the new Corporation.[1]

The last official act of the old Corporation was to present Lord Gort with his portrait, which had graced the Council Chamber for many years.

During the confusion which prevailed under the two mayors, resistance was offered by the people to the collection of the tolls, the lessee of which waited on the new Mayor and Corporation for protection whilst he endeavoured to collect them; the consideration of his petition was postponed. One of the earliest acts of the new Corporation was to select the names of twelve gentlemen of the council to be presented to the Lord Lieutenant, from whom to choose magistrates, as the term of the Charter Justices was to expire on the 12th of the following December (1841). Six Catholics and six Protestants were chosen by the council, which in this instance manifested the liberality for which it has subsequently been distinguished, as the great majority of the members were Catholics. The gentlemen who had filled the offices of Town Clerk and Chamberlain of the old Corporation were formally removed by vote of the new. A code of bye-laws was prepared and adopted. The birth of the Princess Royal afforded the new body an occasion for the exhibition of loyalty in addresses of congratulation to the Queen and Prince Albert, and the Duchess of Kent. An attempt to continue the office of Recorder for the city was resisted successfully; and after some time the jurisdiction was transferred to the Chairman of Quarter Sessions, in whom it has continued to repose. The collection and lodgment of the public funds became a matter of importance; a treasurer was appointed in the person of Francis John O'Neill, Esq., who held the office until his death in 1860. Early attention was directed to the neglected condition of the streets, etc., of the old town, which the old Corporation had

[1] From this statement, it appears that they owed Messrs Furlong and La Touche,

Attorneys	...	...	...	...	...	£212	10	8
Board of Works mortgage, for erecting Thomond Bridge,					...	9000	0	0
Mr. Paine, Architect, for erecting approaches to the Bridge,					...	1855	0	0
The Sheriffs,	...	...	...	...	...	120	0	0
For Lighting the old Town,	...	...	...	...	...	109	15	0
To Chamberlain,	...	...	...	...	...	85	4	10

And miscellaneous items, nine in number, varying from £68 15s. 6d. to £22.

In June, 1841, Mr. Joseph Fogerty, an enterprising citizen, after having taken down a circus which he had built in Queen Street, built a theatre—the present Theatre Royal—in Henry Street, on a plot of ground which he took from the Earl of Limerick. The theatre is 110 feet long, 66 feet wide, and 30 feet high, and has sitting accommodation for 1,300 persons. With the exception of the Theatre Royal, Dublin, it is considered the best building of the kind in Ireland, and cost £1300.

abandoned to utter ruin. The separation of the ancient liberties from the city by the Municipal Bill, at once became a subject of deep interest to the public. In this year (1841) the Limerick Union Workhouse, which had been formed under the Poor Law Act, was opened on the 18th of May for the reception of paupers.[1] Early in 1842, a memorial was presented to the Lord Lieutenant, in which the Corporation stated, that whereas the liberties, comprising 14,825 acres, were separated from the city, the city now comprised but 816 acres, and taxation should be curtailed as much as possible. There had been a constabulary force of 46 in number, including an inspector, a sub-inspector, and a head constable; and the memorial prayed, among other things, owing to the wonderful decrease in drunkenness, in consequence of the Temperance movement and the general diminution of crime, that twenty sub-constables, with an inspector and sub-inspector, be allocated, as quite sufficient, to the city. Deep distress was suffered during the spring and summer of this year by the working classes, who had no employment; provisions, too, rated very high; and a meeting was held early in June for the purpose of applying remedies. In that month an attempt having been made on the life of the Queen in London, the Corporation met and presented an address to her Majesty, to which a gracious reply was returned. Up to 1842, as we have just seen, the reformed Corporation had been placed in an awkward position; but the Act of Parliament which was passed by the influence of the government, effectually removed the difficulties that legal technicality had opposed to the free and immediate introduction of the Municipal Act into Limerick; and from this date the old Corporation may be regarded as extinct, and the reformed body proceeded in its course unfettered by the obstacles which had been thrown in its way for no other object than to subserve a disreputable purpose. Mr. Vereker, the Mayor, submitted; the Chamberlain, Town Clerk, and Common Speaker, however, continued obstinate; and it was not until they were forced by law[2] to give

[1] LIMERICK UNION.—Land under Workhouse, 9a. 2r. 5p.
Rent of do. per annum, £70.
Total number of inmates in Workhouse, April 8th, 1865, 2099.
Number in Fever Hospital, 72.—Number in Infirmary, 760.—Total, 832.
Date of appointment of Sisters of Mercy to the Hospitals, November, 1860.
Electoral Divisions since change of Boundary in 1850, 34.
Valuation of Union in 1865, £189,526 15s.
Population do. in 1861, 90,728.
Electoral divisions previous to change in 1850,—19 as follow.—Abington, Ballybricken, Cappamore, Caherconlish, Castleconnell, Crecora, Derrygalvin, Doon, Fedamore, Killockennedy, Kiltannonley, Kilscely, Kilfeenaghta, Kileely, Kilmurry, Limerick, Murroe, Mungret, and Patrickswell.
Date of declaring Workhouse fit for the reception of paupers, 18th May, 1841.
Date of first admission of paupers, 19th of May, 1841.
Number for which House was originally built, 1600.
Average number of paupers maintained for quarter ending 24th June, 1842, embracing nine weeks, 1302.
Date of declaration of first rate, 5th September, 1840.
Date of declaration of Union, 20th December, 1838.
Date of order to borrow for providing a Workhouse, 23rd September, 1839.
Amount borrowed, £12,900.
Amount of contract, £10,000.

[2] Mr. Cripps, in August, 1842, handed to Mr. Potter, Law Agent of the Corporation, one hundred and twenty-one parchment documents; twelve unimportant parcels of proposals and other papers connected with the tolls, as also twelve parcels of papers relative to the Lax weir—Corporation Tenants' Account Book, expired leases, only four leases made since 1800, none of the original charters, old maps, rentals, or contracts for leases, nor any document referring to the leases given up, under which the rents now appearing to be payable are reserved—*Minutes of the Reformed Corporation*, A.D. 1842.

up the record, leases, charters, etc., etc., that they did so. Among the property that survived the general spoliation was the advowson, or perpetual right of presentation to the living of St. Laurence, in the gift of the Corporation. One of the early acts of the Corporation was to dispose of this advowson, for which purpose an advertisement was published; and in February, 1843, it was sold to the Trustees of the Asylum Episcopal chapel.

In their incipient condition and early struggles to meet the demands which were left unliquidated by their predecessors, and to discharge accumulating claims and liabilities, the new Corporation experienced very great difficulty: already a sum of over £10,000 was required to pay debts and meet current requirements. The Mayor (Mr. Honan), on his own responsibility, advanced a sum of £1,500 to enable the Corporation to take up the property which had been mortgaged to the Board of Works, for which and for other equally admirable acts during his mayoralty, a requisition was presented to him, to which he acceded, and he was appointed Mayor for 1843.

The Master of the Rolls, Sir Michael O'Loghlen, Bart., having died in Dublin in October, regretted by every class and party, as a mark of public sympathy and respect, the Mayor and Corporation of Limerick attended his funeral in mourning costume, as it passed through the city on its way to Clare.

An object of very great importance for the citizens was to obtain possession of the King's Island. The influence of the city and county representatives was enlisted in the cause; but there were serious obstacles thrown in the way, and a treaty with the Commissioners of Woods and Forests for the sale ended without any result.[1]

As a mark of appreciation of the services of brave Limerick men abroad, a vote of thanks was passed by the Council, on the 2nd of January, 1843, to Sir Hugh Gough, his aide-de-camp, Captain Gabbett,[2] Major John Sargent,[3] and his son, Ensign Sargent,[4] of the Royal Irish Regiment, and Captain Thomas Bourchier, R.N., five Limerick heroes, for their distinguished and noble conduct in China, but without expressing any opinion on the character of the war in China.

Certain leases, of which we have already spoken, had been given of corporate property to favourites of the old corporators, and to the corporators themselves, and it became an object of importance to the new Corporation to

[1] By an inquisition taken 33rd Henry VIII., and preserved in the Birmingham Tower, it appears that "the pasture and grassing of the said island—the King's Island—appertaining to the said King's castle, and that the inhabitants of the said cittie, had their ingresse for their pasture without any interruption".

[2] Gabbett: this is an old and influential name in Limerick. The first of the family who settled in Ireland was Robert Gabbett, of Acton Burnell, Shropshire, Exon of the guard of Henry VII. His descendant Robert died at Cashel, A.D. 1652. William Gabbett, who was married to Alicia England, of Lifford, Co. Clare, acquired the estates of Caherline and Rathjordan, in the county of Limerick, A.D. 1685, and from him have descended the Caherline and Rathjordan, Castlelake and High Park families, who intermarried with the ancient family of the Burghs of Dromkeen, the Coxes of Ballynoe (who claim descent through the Plantagenet Kings from William the Conqueror), the Wallers of Castle Waller, the Studderts of Bunratty, the Lanes of Lane's Park, Co. Tipperary the Lloyds of Castle Lloyd, the Joneses of Mullinabroe, the Riches, and many other families of distinction in the counties of Limerick, Tipperary, and Clare. Several of the family filled the office of High Sheriff of the county of Limerick. The late William Smith O'Brien, Esq., was married to Miss Gabbett, daughter of the late Alderman Joseph Gabbett of Limerick. Edmund Gabbett, Esq., who died deeply regretted, on the 24th of February, 1865, filled the office of Mayor of Limerick in 1858.

[3] In some old documents the name is written O'Sargent. The Sargents have filled the office of mayor, bailiff, sheriff, etc.

[4] Now Colonel John Sargent, C.B., late of 3rd Buffs.

break those leases. A resolution was adopted to that effect. Expensive litigation resulted in no corresponding advantage to the citizens, the lands and rentals remaining as follows, with the exception of the Lime Kilns, the lease of which was broken :—

Gortaklins, ...	...	£100	0 0
Part of Clino bog ...	...	92	6 2
Corkanree ...	...	160	0 0
Rhebogue Island ...	...	130	15 4
Scattery Island, ...	...	31	10 0
Lime Kilns, ...	...	62	3 8
The Lax Weir, ...	...	300	0 0
		£876	15 2
Additional rents received by the Corporation,		146	0 0
Making a total rental of	...	£1022	15 2,

the small remnant of the enormous property in land, etc., which the Corporation once enjoyed, and even this rental, some few years afterwards, was mortgaged for a loan of £20,000.

The great question of a Repeal of the legislative Union, being now paramount, a petition to Parliament in favour of Repeal was adopted by the Corporation, by a majority of 28 to 6. Six members were absent. The Corporation adopted a petition also against certain proposed amendments in the Poor Law, and against Electoral Divisions. On this occasion Mr. W. S. O'Brien, M.P., wrote a long letter, refusing to support the petition of the Corporation for Repeal. Sir David Roche, M.P., presented the petition to the House of Commons, and supported its prayer.

In June, 1843, the Law agent reported that, having had an interview with the Earl of Lincoln, one of the Lords Commissioners of Woods and Forests, relative to the King's Island and the claims made by the Corporation on behalf of the citizens for the restoration of certain rights granted by the charter of Queen Elizabeth, he had stated that he was informed by the legal authorities that no legal right was vested in the citizens whereby they could establish the title claimed under the charter of Elizabeth, and that consequently the Lords Commissioners could not feel war-

Feb. 6th, 1843—The Corporation adopted a memorial to the Lords of the Treasury, asking leave to borrow £11,000, for the purchase of the King's Island.

In June this year the new Potato Market at the Long Dock, was made at a cost of £1200. The following is on a stone tablet near the Mathew Bridge:—

A.D. 1843.
THIS MARKET WAS ERECTED BY
THE REFORMED CORPORATION,
During the Mayorality of
The Right Worshipful
MARTIN HONAN,
IN THE SECOND YEAR OF HIS OFFICE.

W. H. Owens, Arch.
John Duggan, Builder.

John F. Raleigh, Esq., Town Clerk.
Francis John O'Neil, Esq., Treasurer.

October 3rd, 1843.—A memorial adopted to the Treasury to borrow £15,000.

ranted in assenting to a restoration of the claim. Lord Lincoln at the same time stated that the Commissioners were willing to afford the citizens an opportunity of recreation in a small portion of the island, and that they were prepared to apply to the Treasury for a certain sum of money for an embankment, provided the Corporation would make a suitable passage or road thereto. This was ultimately agreed to, and a noble public promenade was made.

The question of Repeal continued to agitate the country from the centre to the sea. The greatest meetings that had ever been known in Ireland, not exceeded by those that had taken place during the anti-tithe campaign, were held in various places in Munster, Leinster, and Connaught. Limerick gave its weight and strength to the national movement. It was emphatically "the Repeal year," but in the autumn of the year, Government, which had already fortified the barracks, and indicated its intention to deal with the question with a strong hand, prepared to take legal measures against O'Connell and the popular leaders. The Corporation of Limerick met at this crisis, and an earnest resolution was adopted on the motion of Alderman Geary, seconded by Alderman Shannon, to the effect that they considered the proceedings adopted within the year by O'Connell for procuring the Repeal of the legislative Union, and the meetings held in various parts of the country for that purpose, were strictly legal and constitutional, and did not call for or warrant the intervention of the executive. On the part of the people, they disclaimed the least intention of violating the laws or endangering the public peace, and solemnly protested against any infraction of their legal rights to meet and petition Parliament, upon the mere assumption that the public peace would be disturbed. The Corporation went further, and declared their deliberate intention to continue their support to O'Connell in the same constitutional course that had characterised the Repeal movement under his guidance. A copy of this resolution was forwarded to the Liberator, with the Corporate seal affixed. A grand banquet was also given to him in the new theatre.

Intense dissatisfaction and great political excitement characterised the opening of the year 1844. O'Connell and the Repeal leaders who had been arrested, were now standing their trial in Dublin, and the intelligence of the proceedings of each day, as they were received in Limerick, created an extraordinary amount of excitement. Alderman Pierce Shannon was sworn into the Mayoralty on the 1st of January, and one of the first movements of the Corporation was the adoption of a memorial to the Queen to dismiss from office Her Majesty's Tory Ministers; at the same time the Corporation voted their undiminished and unlimited confidence in O'Connell, whom persecution was making dearer to the hearts of his countrymen. A demonstration in sustainment of O'Connell was made soon afterwards in Cork, when a grand banquet was given to him, and on this occasion the Corporation of Limerick, headed by the Mayor, proceeded there to compliment the man of the people. Mr. Smith O'Brien, who had hitherto

On the 5th of February, 1844, it was resolved to lay out £1,000 on the approaches and walks around the King's Island—one of the approaches at Thomond Bridge; the other at Park Bridge.

Negociations were entered into for the purchase of or letting of the Commercial Buildings in Rutland Street, for a Town Hall.

Memorials were forwarded by the Corporation in favour of floating docks, the King's Island embankment, and on the subject of the great distress of the people, owing to the want of that employment which the embankment would furnish. All these measures were carried.

opposed repeal, now threw himself into the movement with enthusiastic devotion.

Amid this state of political exacerbation, the condition of the working classes of Limerick was so extremely wretched, that in a petition to Parliament in favour of the Dublin and Cashel (Great Southern and Western) Railway, the Corporation set forth the astounding fact, that it had been the opinion of all travellers from Inglis to Köhl, that there was more wretchedness among the poor of Limerick than among those of any other town of equal population in Ireland—that this arose from want of regular employment—that there were 1215 journeymen of trades, and only 407 in regular emplyment, and 5000 labourers equally destitute.

Alderman Shannon, who had been an energetic benefactor, a liberal and active politician, a warm friend of O'Connell, and an earnest advocate of a domestic legislature for Ireland, died rather suddenly during his Mayoralty, in the month of June, when proceeding to take the chair at a public meeting to address O'Connell, then in prison in Dublin, and was buried with great ceremony in the church-yard of St. Munchin's, the Catholic Bishop and all the city clergy walking in procession. Alderman W. J. Geary, M.D., J.P., was chosen for the Mayoralty in succession, and he was reëlected for the following year (1845), when he and the Corporation attended a levee to and addressed O'Connell in Dublin. Almost contemporaneously with these events was the appointment of a committee to prepare a memorial to Government, praying that one of the new Collegiate Institutions (Queen's Colleges) which were now projected, be placed in the City of Limerick, and to report on the propriety of having a deputation proceed to London to present the memorial to the Ministers of the Crown. The influence of the Marquis of Lansdowne, the Earl of Clare, Lord Monteagle, the Earl of Dunraven, the Earl of Limerick, Viscount Adare, the county and city members, Augustus Stafford O'Brien, Esq., M.P., William Monsell, Esq., and Sir Matthew Barrington, Bart., was sought for and obtained. An interview was had with Sir Robert Peel and Sir James Graham, to whom the memorial was presented by the Mayor. Sir James Graham paid every attention to the statements that were made, and dismissed the deputation with an assurance that the claims of Limerick to a Collegiate Institution would receive attention. These claims were, however, ignored in favour of Cork; but on the question of these Colleges, public opinion soon afterwards underwent a complete revolution, and the often-expressed resolutions of the Catholic Prelates about them, as well as the opposition of the Catholic body in general, have vindicated the estimation in which they have been held by the friends and supporters of free, tolerant, and enlightened education.

An incident of a remarkable character took place in the summer of this year, when O'Connell, who arrived in Limerick on his way to Derrynane, accompanied by his friend, "honest Tom Steele", and others, was waited on by the Mayor, who solicited the honour of his company at dinner to meet the Corporation. O'Connell accepted the invitation; but an awkwardness arose which led to unpleasant results: the judges at the moment on circuit being in the city, they too were invited to the Mayor's banquet, which was given in the Exchange in Mary Street. One of these judges had not only tried O'Connell and the State Prisoners, but had pronounced sentence of incarceration on the Liberator. When the facts were told to O'Connell, he at once left the city, with an intimation to the Mayor that it was impossible for

him to dine with him. Steele and others took fire. The Corporation became inflamed with excitement. A meeting was convened, and a resolution, which was proposed by James Kelly, Esq., M.P. for the city, who at the time was a member of the Corporation, and seconded by Martin Honan, Esq., was to the effect, that

"This council having heard with surprise, that the Liberator is under the impression, that the invitation he received from the mayor on last Wednesday had emanated from this body, resolved that though on this as on all other occasions we would feel highly proud of the presence of the Liberator, yet we deem it right to communicate to him, that if the mayor used the name of the Corporation, he did so without authority, and that the Town Clerk be instructed to apprise the Liberator, that we feel too high a respect for him to allow him for a moment to remain under such an impression".

An amendment was carried "that no further proceedings be taken in the matter till Mr. O'Connell's reply be received".

On the 11th of August a meeting of the Corporation was held, when the Mayor read the following remarkable letter from O'Connell:—

"*Derrynane Abbey,*
7th August, 1845.

"My Dear Lord Mayor,

I am very much afraid that out of my anxiety to prevent disunion in the Corporation of Limerick, I have fallen into the opposite error, and have been the means of creating something like confusion, instead of that conciliation which it was my anxious desire to promote, and which of course continues to be so.

I certainly did understand you to invite me in the name of the Corporation, of which you are the head, and I communicated that fact to my friend Martin Honan, who was so kind as to undeceive me and to set the matter right.

I need not say that I am now perfectly convinced that the mistake was mine, and that you did no more than intimate that the Corporation would dine with you to meet me; I do n't know how to account for my mistake, and I am now exceedingly anxious to apologise to you and to my friend Honan, and indeed to the entire Corporation, for having created any uneasy feeling on this subject.

I wish to heaven it were in my power to put an end to the jealousies that unhappily prevail, and to have anything that has passed buried in oblivion. Let by-gones be by-gones, and let us all combine for the forwarding of the Repeal in future.

I was the more anxious to reconcile the popular party in Limerick to each other, because the result of existing feuds is, that the connection with the Repeal Association is not kept as it ought to be.

I am personally very grateful to you for your individual invitation. I am exceedingly obliged to the Corporation for the cordial kindness which they have exhibited towards me; and it is to me a source of consolation to find so much of what deserves to be called affectionate attention, from so truly patriotic and respectable a body as the Corporation of Limerick.

With respect to a public dinner to myself—that is a subject upon the originating of which I could not possibly take any part or express any opinion. There are so many local circumstances that must belong to a meeting of that kind, that all I could say is, that those who are on the spot are alone competent to judge of the fitness of any such proceeding.

The last public dinner in Limerick was so brilliantly successful that any diminution of its splendour would be deemed a failure. I throw this out as the *only* hint I can give on the subject; *our sole object should be how to advance the cause of Repeal,* quite independently of any compliment to any individual.

Will you be so good as to convey my gratitude to your brother Corporators, and be assured that I am,

My dear Mayor,

Your's faithfully and sincerely,

"*The Right Worshipful the Mayor of Limerick.*" DANIEL O'CONNELL.

The matter ended here; but it left some bitterness which time, however, eradicated.

The affairs of the Corporation were not in a flourishing condition, and at a meeting of that body, held on the 1st of September, a motion was made by Alderman Mulcahy to the effect that the salary of the Mayor be fixed at £300 per annum. There was very great distress too throughout the city, as had been shown to the Government by several memorials. The Treasury permitted the Corporation to raise a sum of £5942 17s. 6d., by loan; and employment to some extent was given, when on the 29th of November the first arch stone of the Mathew Bridge was laid by the Mayor.

A movement had been going on in the Corporation and among the citizens for a statue of Sarsfield, Earl of Lucan, and models were sought for by public advertisement. Mr. Kirk of Dublin forwarded a model, which, however, was not approved of, and the question was not revived.

E. F. G. Ryan, Esq., was sworn in Mayor of Limerick on the 1st of January, 1846, a year rendered remarkable not only by continued political excitement, but by the secession from the Repeal Association of the Young Ireland party, and the meeting of the Royal Agricultural Association in Limerick. At the banquet of this Association given in the theatre the Mayor presided. The year was more remarkable perhaps for the potato failure and its terrific consequences.

A sum of £5,000 was collected in the city to meet the exigencies of the dreadful case, which was thought so little of, however, by some of the agricultural philosophers at the dinner just referred to, that Mr. Smith, of Deanstown, expressed himself to the effect that the blackening of the potato would be attended with no danger, and that its effect would pass away speedily, and leave no injurious result to deplore.

A demonstration in sustainment of Mr. W. S. O'Brien, M.P., took place on Thursday the 6th of June, when a magnificent reception was given to him on his first visit to Limerick after his confinement by order of the House of Commons. On this occasion there was a procession of the congregated trades, the temperance societies, the Corporation, including the Mayor, the Aldermen, and Councillors, a long line of pedestrians and equestrians to the number of 20,000. Trees were brought from the country to form triumphal arches. The neighbouring towns furnished additional numbers, and the music of several bands gave further life to the

April, 1846.—The sum of £600 was offered to Mr. O'Hara, as assignee of Mr. Arthur, for his interest in the Commercial Buildings, and accepted, for a Town Hall for the meetings of the Corporation, etc., instead of the Exchange in the English-town.

April 21st.—£682 were advanced to credit of Public Works as the contribution of Corporation to make the roadway around the King's Island.

Sept. 21st.—A movement was got up for a cemetery on a portion of King's Island. This cemetery is now used by the military only.

October 30th.—Memorial for a loan of £10,000 to Lords of Treasury for embankment of Arthur's Quay, and erection of places for public corn markets, etc.

April 22nd, 1847.—The New Reading Rooms established at the Town Hall.

Joseph Murphy, Esq., appointed Town Clerk, in the room of the late John F. Raleigh, Esq., deceased.

proceedings of the day. Next the trades rode Smith O'Brien himself in a triumphal chair, a fine piece of workmanship made by Mr. Owens, of Mallow Street, and in this chair, accompanied by the Mayor in his robes, he passed amidst the cheers of thousands along a route embracing all the chief parts of the city, except the lanes and alleys. The procession was followed by a monster meeting, which was held in a field in the north Liberties.

The Corporation had already adopted a resolution, which Alderman Geary proposed, fully sustaining the course that had been adopted in Parliament by Mr. Smith O'Brien. On this occasion the expediency of the course adopted by Mr. O'Brien was not approved of by O'Connell; and a wide difference of opinion arose between them, which led to that disruption of the great repeal party and the break up of the greatest political organization which Ireland had ever witnessed.

The following year, 1847, was remarkable for events of the most thrilling importance, including the ever-to-be-lamented death of the Liberator at Genoa, on his way to Rome, on the 15th of May; a general election, and the continuance of the decimating famine. On the 1st of January, Thomas Wallnutt, Esq., was sworn into the office of Mayor. A strong feeling prevailed at this time in reference to the expenditure of the Corporation on improvements in the old town, over and above the ordinary sums applied under the Act of Parliament, to discharge the interest of the debt due by that body, the salaries to officers, etc. It was complained that a sum of £11,937 2s. 4d. had been expended in this way since the New Corporation had been formed, in addition to a sum of from £1,000 to £1,500 a year in paving, watching, and cleansing for the six years previously. The St. Michael's Commissioners continued to discharge their duties with benefit to the interests over which they presided in the capacity of a taxing and watching, lighting and cleansing body; and it now became a serious matter of debate whether the revenues of the Corporation and the loans should go to the requirements of the old town, rather than to an equal and impartial distribution of them over the city at large. The matter was brought before the Corporation by Dr. Griffin, a member of that body, and a resolution which was proposed by him, embodying his views, was carried. The Commissioners and the Corporation had serious discussions on the subject, which had its result in a few years subsequently in the introduction of the Limerick Improvement Act,[1] which gave the control of the entire city to the Corporation, and which annihilated the Commissioners. The Corporation during these proceedings adopted a petition to Parliament against Ministers' money. The subject of a Repeal of the Union was again mooted, and a petition to the legislature in its favour was carried by an overwhelming majority of the council. The corporation also expressed its sympathy and concurrence with an ineffectual movement begun in the House of Commons by Lord George Bentinck, M.P., for the advancement of a loan from the Imperial Treasury of £20,000,000 to Ireland for public works, in order to meet and repel the ravages which the famine had been making on the people.

On the 27th of May the intelligence was received in Limerick of the death of O'Connell at Genoa. The city at once assumed the garb of mourning. The foremost man of his age had died on a foreign shore, sore at heart at the situation of his country, the frustration of his hopes, and the

[1] 16th Vic., Sess. 1852-3.

ingratitude with which a section at least of his countrymen had treated a patriot who had laboured with indefatigable perseverance and unparalleled zeal for over half a century, in the service of Ireland. To every shop in the city the shutters were put up. The vessels in the harbour had their flags half mast high. The newspapers throughout the country put their columns in deep mourning. The voice of political schism was silenced for a time; and all felt the heavy blow that had been inflicted on society and on liberty throughout the world by the loss of the mighty leader. A special meeting of the Corporation was convened to express public feeling on the lamentable event which caused the tears of millions of people to flow. A resolution was adopted.

"That the intelligence of the death of O'Connell, justly styled the Liberator of Ireland, has filled the members of this council with the deepest grief—impressed as we are with the vivid recollection of the manifold services conferred by him upon his native country. Whilst we bow with submission to the decree of Providence which has snatched him from a people who loved him and from a world filled with the fame of his peaceful victories, we offer our sympathy and condolence to our now doubly afflicted countrymen for the loss sustained by his death, the loss of a leader of so much energy and genius, of a patriot so pure and unsullied, of a Christian statesman, whose principles led to the infraction of no laws, divine or human. On his grave when dead, as on the altar of peace, we would desire to place the tribute which would be so grateful to him when living, an oblivion of all differences among ourselves, and a determination to work together for the land of his affection.

"That this Council will join in any tribute which may hereafter be adopted by the Irish nation, testifying our feeling of respect for the memory of O'Connell, and that the Mayor be requested to convene a special meeting when the occasion shall arise".

On the 8th of June there was a solemn Office and High Mass at St. Michael's Parochial Church, for the repose of the soul of O'Connell. The Mayor, though a Protestant—to show his respect for the memory of the Illustrious Dead, with a large majority of the members of the council, etc. went in procession to the Church, which was crowded with citizens. There never was more heart-felt sorrow than on this occasion. It must, however, be stated, that among a small section of the people, feelings antagonistic to the policy and principles of the Liberator had been finding expression in various forms. In July of this year, a resolution was brought forward in the Corporation to the effect, that it was contrary to the honest advocacy of Repeal to seek for place under any government. This proposition was regarded in the light of a slur on the memory of the deceased patriot, and an insidious attack on his family and the admirers of his policy; yet at the general election John O'Brien, Esq., and John O'Connell, Esq. (the beloved son of the Liberator) were returned for the city as Members of Parliament. An amendment to the resolution, moreover, was adopted by the Council to the effect

"That the charge ungratefully made against the late illustrious Liberator and his patriotic family, of having abandoned the honest advocacy of repeal by the solicitation or acceptance of favours from the Government, is unjust and unfounded—a slander upon the memory of the dead and the character of the living; and believing the resolution now proposed to be indirectly a repetition of that charge, we reject it".

The strong sense of the people also not only rejected the proposition, but a general subscription commenced throughout the city and county of Limerick, in sustainment of a National Testimonial to the memory of

O'Connell. A large sum was subscribed, and forwarded to a National Committee then formed in Dublin for that grateful purpose; but as the sums raised by the Parishes of St. Michael, Parteen, St. Patrick, and Monaleen, amounting to £151, were retained by the merest chance in Limerick, and were subsequently lodged in the Provincial Bank of Ireland, by the Treasurer of the fund, William Roche, Esq., the money formed the nucleus of a much larger and more general subscription, which some few years subsequently was raised by the city and county, and by the counties of Tipperary and Clare, for the magnificent statue in bronze to O'Connell, which graces the Crescent in Limerick, and of which we shall have to treat in due course.

An action was brought this year, by Mr. Joseph Robinson, merchant, against the tenant of that portion of the Tolls and Customs, comprised under the head "Tolls and Customs on river and water carriage", as heretofore collected. The action arose from the seizure of a portion of a cargo of Indian corn, imported into Limerick from Kilrush by a trading vessel, during the previous year, after toll had been demanded and refused. Defence was taken by the Corporation. The action involved the whole question of that portion of the revenue of the citizens of Limerick, which went under the head of Tolls and Customs—nearly four-fifths of the Borough Fund—a fund from time immemorial collected as in Liverpool, Cork, Glasgow, Bristol, etc. The right had been before challenged, but without effect. In 1823 an action had been brought against the then existing Corporation, to test their right to levy tolls and customs. It was tried in Cork, and a verdict found for the Corporation The case embracing the greater portion of the Borough Fund, out of which the public markets were maintained, the public charities contributed to, the cleansing, watering, lighting of the old town, etc., defrayed, the local courts supported, and the general improvement of the city advanced, it was unanimously resolved to defend the action, which was done successfully.

This, however, was but the commencement of a more concentrated and powerful attack on the tolls and customs of the Corporation, in a word, on the principal revenue of that body, which eventuated, in 1850, in the loss of the tolls, and a verdict in favour of the Great Southern and Western Railway, which disputed the legal right of the Corporation to levy them.

Michael Quin, Esq., was sworn Mayor of Limerick on the 1st of January, 1848. On the 4th of May railway communication was opened up for the first time between Limerick and Dublin; and possession was obtained of the Island Bank, or road-way around the King's Island, for the recreation of the citizens.[1] The Corporation agreed with the eminent artist, the late

[1] On a stone at the walk at the Thomond Bridge side of the embankment is the following inscription:—

PUBLIC WALK
TO THE KING'S ISLAND EMBANKMENT,
EXECUTED UNDER THE DIRECTIONS OF THE
CORPORATION OF LIMERICK AND THE
COMMISSIONERS OF HER MAJESTY'S WOODS
AND FORESTS, COMPLETED IN OCTOBER, 1848.
MICHAEL BOYAN, CIVIL ENGINEER.
MICHAEL QUINN, MAYOR OF LIMERICK.

Mr. Haverty, to paint the well-known picture of the Liberator, which has been suspended in the Council Chamber, and which a few years after narrowly escaped the ravages of a fire which broke out in the Town Hall. Mr. Haverty got 150 guineas for the picture.

This was an era of revolution abroad and of unexampled excitement at home. The Corporation voted an address to the French people "on their victorious achievement of liberty". The unhappy events which occurred in Ireland in 1848 are written on a sad page of her chequered history, and can only be referred to in the language of unavailing indignation and grief. The grand national organization was broken up. Thousands of troops filled the country. The people continued to fall beneath famine and cholera, and the workhouses were crowded beyond endurance. Never yet was there a more gloomy crisis in the fortunes of Ireland. A soiree, which was given to Mr. Smith O'Brien, Mr. John Mitchell, Mr. Thomas Francis Meagher, etc., at a store in Thomas Street, ended in a disagreeable manner, fire having been set to the windows and shutters, and the lives of those within placed in jeopardy.[1] In the autumn of this year the trial of the State Prisoners, viz., Mr. Smith O'Brien, M.P., Thomas F. Meagher, Mr. T. B. Mac Manus, and Mr. O'Donoghue, took place in Clonmel before the Lord Chief Justice Blackburne, the Chief Justice of the Common Pleas (Doherty), and Mr. Justice Moore, when those "who loved their country not wisely but too well", were sentenced to the death of traitors, a sentence which was commuted to transportation for life, from which only one of them returned, viz., Mr. Smith O'Brien.

In the beginning of the year a Special Commission sat in Limerick, when several prisoners were tried, including William Ryan (commonly called Ryan Puck), who was hanged in front of the county Limerick gaol on the 7th of February, for the murder of John Kelly at Knocksentry in the previous September. Other prisoners were sentenced to transportation, among whom was William Frewen, who was transported for life for harbouring Ryan Puck. The Lord Chief Justice and the Lord Chief Baron presided. Sir David Roche was High Sheriff of the county.[2]

Alderman John Boyse filled the office of Mayor in 1849; he presented an address of the Corporation to her Majesty the Queen, at a levee which was held in Dublin in August.[3] He laid the foundation of the new floating docks, for which he was presented with a silver trowel. He was a thorough liberal, a solicitor of eminence, and an energetic member of the independents. He died during his mayoralty about November, and was succeeded for the remainder of the term by Laurence Quinlivan, Esq.

January 1st, 1850, Laurence Quinlivan, Esq., was chosen Mayor. He presided at a banquet given by the citizens to General Lord Gough on his Lordship's return from India, 16th May.[4] He also attended the Lord

1848—1st Dec.—A sum of £120 a year, which had been granted out of the corporate funds to the "Philosophical Society", was now discontinued by a vote of the Corporation.

[1] THACKERAY, who more than once expended his gall on Limerick, wrote a ludicrous ballad on the subject for *Punch*.

[2] The Chief Baron Pigott had sentenced Ryan to be hanged on the 6th of February, which being Sunday, the day was changed to the 7th of the month.

[3] On the 3rd of September Mr. Hampton, the aeronaut, accompanied by Hampden Russell, Esq., and Mr. Townsend, C.E., made a successful ascent in the magnificent balloon, Erin-Go-Bragh, from a yard in Cecil Street.

[4] Hugh Viscount Gough was born at Woodsdown, in the county of Limerick, in 1779. His father was Lieutenant-Colonel of the City of Limerick Militia for many years, and was present

Mayor of London's Banquet to Prince Albert with the Mayors of the United Kingdom, in furtherance of the great industrial exhibition of all nations.

1851, Thaddeus M'Donnell, Esq., was sworn Mayor on the 1st of January.

This year was particularly remarkable for the great excitement caused by the attempt to get up a new persecution against Catholics, under pretence of repelling "papal aggression", consequent on a foolish and inflammatory letter of Lord John Russell. The subject caused the greatest indignation in Limerick, in which meetings were now held supporting Mr. J. O'Connell, for tenant right, and to memorial the Queen in favour of Mr. W. S. O'Brien. At a stormy gathering of the Corporation, an attempt had been made to get a vote of censure passed against the city members, but in vain. Mr. O'Connell's resignation was afterwards reluctantly accepted, and he was succeeded in the representation by the Earl of Arundel and Surrey, who was received by the Catholic Bishop and clergy and a great number of citizens on his arrival, and who, for the short time he continued representative, contributed largely to the local charities.

1852, January 1st, Thomas Kane, Esq., M.D., J.P., Mayor.

January 27th, a great banquet was given in Limerick in honour of Lord Arundel, who, however, was unavoidably absent.

There was a general election this year. Robert Potter and Francis Wm. Russell, Esqrs., were returned members for the city. Mr. Sergeant O'Brien was the third candidate, and lost his election by a small majority. The excitement consequent on his defeat was tremendous.

The requirements of the city demanding improved market accommoda-

1851.—Richard L. Sheil died at Florence, in the May of this year.

Sunday, 5th October.—A most extraordinary tornado, which caused several singular accidents, and considerable damage to property, took place in Limerick. One man, Thomas Ryan, was blown down and killed. It was exactly like a West Indian hurricane, and had been preindicated by a small cloud.

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in command of that regiment, at the brilliant action of Colooney. At the early age of 13, young Gough was appointed by Colonel Vereker to a commission in the City of Limerick Regiment, whence he was transferred by the influence of his kind patron to the line. After a short time he joined the 87th Regiment, with which he proceeded to the West Indies, and was present at the attack upon Port Rico and the taking of Surinam. But events of greater importance were occurring elsewhere, and Gough, with the gallant 87th, were ordered to the Peninsula.

Whilst Napoleon was making himself master of Vienna, and gathering fresh laurels at Wagram, Sir Arthur Wellesley, with a force including the 87th Regiment, then under the temporary command of Gough, was engaged in a series of brilliant operations before Oporto, from which he ultimately drove Soult, and delivered Portugal from the enemy. Gough, then Major, accompanied Sir Arthur in his advance into Spain, and distinguished himself in the glorious action of Talavera. Here he was severely wounded, and had a horse shot under him. Gough obtained his brevet Lieutenant-Colonelcy. At Barossa, his regiment again covered itself with glory. Gough led the gallant charge of the 87th, and captured the first French eagle taken during the war.

Again we meet the gallant Gough and the 87th on the blood stained field of Vittoria (June, 1813), where his regiment captured the baton of Marshal Jourdan, which procured the baton of a Field Marshal of England to Lord Wellington. But Lord Gough's day had not yet arrived. From thence it may shortly be said, that Gough always did his duty—that he was severely wounded at the battle of the Nivelle (November, 1814)—that he received from the king of Spain the honour of knighthood, as a special mark of his Majesty's admiration of his conduct during the war, and that he then retired into a comparatively private state till the year 1837, when he was appointed to the command of the Mysore division in India, having previously (in 1830) obtained the rank of Major-General.

England having become involved in war with the Celestial Empire, Gough was selected in

tion, an act of parliament was passed this year for establishing public markets in Limerick, by which all agricultural produce, cattle, etc., must be sold in the public market-places alone; and all corn, butter, etc., must be weighed by the Markets' Trustees previous to sale, a system which has given much satisfaction to buyers and sellers; and a sum of about £1,500 a year is paid to the Corporation out of the revenues of the markets in lieu of their former tolls.

The question of the O'Connell monument again arose during the mayoralty of Dr. Kane; and there being no appearance of the national monument in Dublin, the propriety of renewed local exertion was mooted to commemorate the fame of the illustrious chieftain in " the city of the violated treaty". Through the exertions of the Mayor and the Rev. R. J. O'Higgin, O.S.F., a meeting was convened on Wednesday the 2nd of November, when the chair was taken by the Mayor; the Town Clerk, Joseph Murphy, Esq., was requested to act as Secretary. It was proposed by Maurice Lenihan, Esq., seconded by Rev. R. J. O'Higgin, O.S.F., and unanimously resolved—

"That we hereby agree to retain the O'Connell Fund at present in the Provincial Bank of Ireland for the purpose of erecting a local monument to the memory of the illustrious Liberator".

It was further resolved, on the motion of Eugene O'Callaghan, Esq., seconded by Joseph Murphy, Esq.—

" That this committee devise the most appropriate mode of applying the fund in bank, and any additional sums that may be subscribed, in commemoration of the memory and fame of O'Connell, having regard to the original object for which the fund was subscribed, and that this committee report accordingly the result to a future meeting".

A subscription list was opened among those present, and a sum of £30 was laid down. It was further resolved that the Mayor should communicate with John Hogan, the eminent Irish sculptor, on the subject; and a stirring article in the " Limerick Reporter and Tipperary Vindicator" gave further impetus to a movement, which, in the estimation of the public at large, had already made great progress, but which required a few years more to develop into the fullest and most perfect proportions.

1853, January 1st, William Henry Hall, Esq., Mayor.

1840, to command the British. Conquests in remote parts of the Empire having proved quite useless, General Gough determined to strike some blow which would really be felt at the seat of Empire, and a peace for which the Emperor paid twenty-one millions of dollars was the immediate result.

In 1842, General Gough was created a baronet, as a reward for his conduct in China, and in August, 1843, he was appointed Commander-in-chief in India—shortly after which, the victories of Maharaghpoor and Puniar showed that the position he filled was not an honorary one. The first campaign against the Seiks, terminated after the battles of Moodkee and Ferozeshah, in the decisive victory of Sabraon; and Gough was rewarded by being elevated to the peerage. In 1849 he was further elevated to a Viscounty.

But the Seiks were not yet subjugated. Lord Gough was recalled, and Sir Charles Napier was appointed to succeed him. But before his successor arrived, the veteran had met the enemy enormously reinforced, at Googerat. The British arms triumphed, and Gough terminated his career in India only with the complete termination of the war.

Lord Gough shortly afterwards returned to Ireland covered with glory, having been successively created a Baronet, Baron, and Viscount, a Field Marshal, and having thrice received the thanks of Parliament for his gallant achievements.

In the land of his birth, surrounded by retainers who love him, this venerable warrior devotes the evening of his days to the social improvement of his fellow countrymen.

Limerick exhibited in this year some cheering signs of remunerative employment and commercial advancement. At the lace factory in Upper Glentworth Street, 740 hands were employed, and in Messrs. Forrest's in Abbey Court, 420, besides establishments in Clare Street, Patrick Street, and from 200 to 300 small job houses throughout the city, altogether employing some 8,500 females. The Messrs. Russell's spinning mill on the North Strand was also rapidly being prepared. The Foynes Railway was projected; and the Sisterhood of the Good Shepherd instructed a number of young women at their convent, in making Valenciennes lace. Ornamental art also received a great impetus in the government school of design

January 1st, 1854, Henry Watson, Esq., who had been Mayor under the old corporate regime in 1823-'24-'25, was elected under the provisions of the Limerick Corporation Act,[1] which, while it referred to the Limerick Improvement Act, gave the Corporation increased powers of taxation, etc., changed the boundaries of the wards, limited the number of Aldermen to eight, and gave four Councillors to each of the eight wards. It was a strange sight to witness the exponent of the exploded system of corporate misdeeds chosen as the first Mayor of what may be termed the second reformed Corporation; but the liberals of that body not being able to agree among themselves on a candidate of their own party, they chose Alderman Watson, who fell into their ranks and acted with that section of the council. During his Mayoralty, Alderman Watson traversed, according to ancient usage, the land and water boundaries of the municipality. In July, accompanied by the Corporation, he

1853.—Sept. 2nd.—The Commissioners reported in favour of the Shannon as compared with Galway, as a transatlantic packet station.

September 28th.—The Lord Lieutenant and the Countess of St. Germans visited Messrs. Russell's factory on the North Strand. The great Munster fair was established, to which an extra fair was added in 1865. The Floating Docks, the finest work of the kind in Ireland, were opened by the Earl St. Germans, who was entertained on this occasion at a great banquet in the theatre. On the previous day his Excellency turned the first sod of the Foynes Railway, on the estate of Lord Monteagle, at Foynes.

War proclaimed against Russia. The Irish Militia embodied.

Terms agreed to for telegraphic communication between Limerick and London.

Wm. Smith O'Brien released by the "spontaneous act of Government". The spontaneity is believed to have received considerable stimulus from the zeal of his former parliamentary colleague, Mr. Monsell.

April 17th.—A great meeting was held in St. Michael's Church, Limerick, to adopt a petition against the new measures for the invasion of nunneries. The Mayor presided. The Right Rev. Dr. Ryan made a powerful speech on the occasion. The petition was signed by upwards of 10,000 persons. Mr Whiteside's bill was shelved by a count out.

Young Men's Societies established by the Rev. R. B. O'Brien, C.C., of St. Mary's. The Very Rev. Dr. Cahill delivered the third of his course of scientific lectures to this Society, in the July of this year, at the Theatre Royal, Limerick.

1854.—August 5th.—Dr. Geary reported that a great number of cases of cholera had appeared of late in the city.

September 28th.—Death of one of the city representatives, Robert Potter, Esq. The funeral procession to Mount St. Laurence Cemetery was attended by the Corporation and other public bodies.

October 26th.—A Meeting was held at the Town Hall, the Mayor presiding, for the purpose of opening a subscription for the widows and orphans of soldiers, lately fallen in action in the Crimea. The Earl of Clare and the Right Rev. Dr. Ryan, the Catholic Bishop, attended.

October 28th.—Sergeant O'Brien was returned without opposition M.P. for the city.

November.—Scattery Island was annexed, by order of Privy Council, to the barony of Moyarta, in the county Clare.

December.—S. E. de Vere, Esq., canvassed the county of Limerick successfully; Mr. Barrington, less so; Colonel Dickson, a candidate, withdrew from the field.

[1] 16th and 17th Vic., cap. lxxiii.

exercised the rights of Admiralty on the Shannon; he entertained the members of the Corporation sumptuously on board the river steamer, which, when off Scattery Island, grounded for a short time, to the alarm of all on board. Alderman Watson was an active chief magistrate, and went loyally with the party to which he had newly allied himself.

January 1st, 1855, Henry O'Shea, Esq., Mayor.

It was in this year that, at a meeting of the Corporation, on the 17th of May, the Mayor (Henry O'Shea, Esq.) in the chair, an announcement was made by him which took the citizens by surprise, viz., that a sum of £1,040 had been subscribed for the erection of a statue in Limerick to the memory of Lord Viscount Fitzgibbon, who fell at the battle of Balaklava; and Mr. O'Shea proposed that the centre of the Crescent should be allocated by the Corporation as a site for the intended monument. Five members of the Council who had taken an active and earnest interest in the O'Connell monument movement, did not permit this intimation to pass without an expression on their part of strong disapproval that any site for the Fitzgibbon testimonial should be set apart without first consulting the Council. Among the citizens generally there was marked disapprobation. The subject was taken up with warmth and energy by them, and by the *Reporter and Vindicator* newspaper; meetings were held; and at a subsequent meeting of the Council, a resolution was adopted refusing the site at the Crescent for the Fitzgibbon monument, and affirming a proposition that it should be given to the projected one to the Liberator. A committee was appointed to collect additional subscriptions; Thomas Roche, Esq., Thomas Kane, Esq., M.D., J.P., and Michael Quin, Esq., were named as treasurers,[1] and the Rev. R. J. O'Higgin, O.S.F., and Maurice Lenihan, Esq., secretaries. An impassioned appeal was printed and circulated, which called upon the people generally to vindicate the memory of O'Connell, by largely contributing to a monument destined to perpetuate his memory in Limerick. Contributions poured in from every quarter. The committee advertised for sculptors to send in estimates for a bronze statue and pedestal, which resulted in an agreement with Hogan for the work, which was carried through with complete success, as we shall see as we proceed. The Fitzgibbon monument, which we have already described, was completed within a short time; and the Wellesley Bridge, as we have seen, was chosen by its projectors, where it was duly inaugurated.

An important inquiry was held this year by the Queen's Commissioners who were appointed to inquire into the endowments, funds, and actual condition of the schools endowed for the purposes of education in Ireland. The Commissioners opened the proceedings on the 1st of September, in the grand jury room of the County of Limerick Courthouse. A large amount of evidence was given, in relation particularly to the Protestant Endowed Schools, on which, in general, they reported unfavourably; indeed, well nigh with unreserved hostility, showing that a great change should be made in their constitution and management.[2] The Commissioners bestowed

1855. Fountains were in this year erected for the use of the poorer classes of the city.

[1] Mr. Roche, owing to advanced age, did not act, upon which Eugene O'Callaghan, Esq., was substituted.

[2] The schools inquired into on this occasion by the Commissioners, viz., the Marquis of Kildare, Rev. Dr. Charles Graves, Robert Andrews, LL.D., George Henry Hughes, Esq., Q.C., now one of the Barons of the Court of Exchequer, and Archibald John Stephens, Esq., were:—

1. The Diocesan Free School for the Dioceses of Limerick, Killaloe, and Kilfenora. It

the highest possible praise on the Catholic schools, and particularly on the schools of the Christian Brothers.

The year 1856 was destined to witness other remarkable movements on the part of the citizens of Limerick. James Spaight, Esq., was elected to the mayoralty on the 1st of January. On the 27th of the same month an influential meeting of the parishioners of St. John's, was held in the old chapel of that parish, the Right Rev. Dr. Ryan in the chair. The meeting was called for the purpose of devising means of raising subscriptions towards the erection of a new church or cathedral in that historic parish. The attendance of clergy and laity proved the interest which was taken in the movement. The venerable bishop spoke in liberal terms, expressing himself certain that the good work would be aided and encouraged not only by the Catholics of the diocese, but by those Protestant friends who had given the benefit of a generous coöperation on other occasions to Catholic projects. A subscription was then and there opened for the parish itself, which realized a sum of £615 7s. The Rev. William Bourke stated that the idea of holding the meeting that day had been suggested by Mr. Richard Raleigh, one of their energetic and intelligent parishioners. The enthusiasm spread. Money poured in. The site chosen for the new church, was within a few yards of the famous gate of St. John's, where so many patriots had suffered death at the hands of Ireton, and in immediate proximity to the spot from which the legions of William had been hurled with defeat and disaster in 1690. The Bishop then proceeded to the parishes adjoining the city, where he was received with equal warmth and generosity; and after some time he went through the several parishes of the diocese, where he was heartily welcomed, and where large sums were contributed by clergy and people.

appears from the report* that there had been a school in Limerick in 1788, with a house in bad condition; there were twenty-six boys, but none free. There was at the same time a school in Killaloe, with nineteen boys, of whom two were free, but no schoolhouse. In 1809 there was no available schoolhouse in Limerick, the old one being in ruins; but there was a schoolhouse with a garden at Killaloe, and twenty-eight boys, but no free scholars. The Grand Juries of the county and city of Limerick were the first to exercise the enlarged powers conferred on them in 1813 to present for schoolhouses, and they began to create a fund for the purpose in 1816. In 1823 the fund amounted to £1640; but it was not until 1837 that they were able to realize it, owing to the fact that it remained in the hands of the county treasurer, when at length it was handed over to a committee of management for the building of a schoolhouse. A memorial from the bishop and clergy of the dioceses of Killaloe and Kilfenora was presented to the commissioners, in which they complained that since the annexation of their school to Limerick, they paid a yearly sum of £75, from which they received no benefit, and they prayed that the money should be given for the establishment of Exhibitions in Trinity College, or in any other way that might be approved of. The commissioners disapproved of the way in which the school was conducted, there being but five scholars there on their visit, whereas there had been seventy-four in 1838. The school in this year (1865) is under the management of the Rev. Dr. Hall, and contains eleven pupils, of whom four are free.

2. Pallasgrene (Erasmus Smith's) School, which has been connected with the Church Education Society, and which the Commissioners pronounced defective in the extreme, though enjoying large endowments. Erasmus Smith's estates in the county Limerick are worth £3,000 a year.

3. Christian Brothers' Schools, of which we have spoken in reference to the favourable report in a previous chapter, and which have added wonderfully to the moral and intellectual advancement of the children of the Catholic artizans, etc., in Limerick.

4. Limerick Bow Lane Charity Blue School, founded on Mrs. Alice Craven's charity, on which the Commissioners reported unfavourably. The annual revenue of the charity amounted to a sum of £59 10s. 4d., of which £27 is the rent of the property or part of the property granted by Mrs. Craven; £11 1s. 6d. the interest of £200 lent by the Trustees to the Dean and Chapter, and £21 8s. 10d., the dividend on a sum which had been recovered by the Commissioners of Charitable Donations and Bequests, after having been lent on private security by the Trustees.

* Report of the Queen's Commissioners, etc., etc. A.D. 1858.

The first of May was chosen for the laying of the foundation stone of the new cathedral. The congregated trades took part in a ceremony which had not been exampled for ages in Limerick. The Temperance Societies, the Young Men's Societies, the Christian Brothers and their numerous pupils, the Religious Confraternities, with banners and emblems enwreathed with laurels, the Committee of the Cathedral, with wands and rosettes, mustered in considerable numbers. The secular and regular clergy of the city assembled, and many from the country, as did the mayor and several members of the Corporation.

The Town Clerk, the treasurer, and the City Surveyor, were present; the mayor and members of the Corporation robed in their scarlet mantles in the Town Hall, from which they issued to join the procession. The following was the order of the procession:—

Cathedral Committee, with white rosettes.

Banner of the Church.
Boys of the Christian Brothers' Schools.
Christian Brothers.
Young Men's Society.

Temperance Societies—St. Michael's, St. Mary's, St. Munchin's, St. John's.

Congregated Trades.

Each Trade with its banner.

Citizens.

Clergymen.

The Bishop's Carriage, containing
The Bishop,
The Mayor,
and
Sir Vere de Vere, Bart.

Trades with banners.

Cathedral Committee, with white rosettes.

February (1855).—Death of John O'Brien, Esq., late M.P. for many years for the city of which he was a native, and which he represented with honour to himself and credit to the city.

Electric Telegraph Company completed their arrangements for communication with Limerick.

The bakers of Limerick commence an agitation for the abolition of night work, which in the following year was done away with by some of the proprietors for a short time only.

September 8th.—Thomond Estates advertised for sale.

October 23.—A deputation from all the conferences of St. Vincent de Paul waited upon the Right Worshipful Robert Tighe, Esq., chairman of the county and city, to secure his assistance in checking the multiplication of public houses throughout the city.

October 31st.—Smith O'Brien addressed a letter to the Rev. Dr. O'Connor on the grievances of the Limerick fishermen.

November.—County Limerick magistrates met to distribute the police force. Death of Augustus Stafford, Esq., M.P.

The school was confined for a long time to the education of the choir boys of St. Mary's Cathedral, many of whom were natives of England. It is now (1865) merely a sinecure of the master's.

5. Villiers's endowments:—The Schools in Nicholas Street under these endowments are placed in connection with the National Board of Education. Those in Henry Street remain on their original footing. The Charity Estate applicable for these purposes consists of £47 19s. 1d. a year, derived from a rent-charge, and £656 4s. from personal estate in the funds, amounting

The streets and windows were densely lined throughout with admiring groups, as the well arranged procession moved to the Crescent, where it passed around the site of the intended monument to O'Connell; it then went on the Military Road, and through the streets in that part of the city, to St. John's Square, where some thousands of spectators awaited its appearance, and where the Bishop proceeded with the ceremony accompanied and surrounded by the clergy, the Mayor and members of the Corporation, the public bodies, the trades, etc. In a cavity in the stone, coins and records were placed, with an inscription in Irish, Greek, Latin, Italian, French, German, Flemish, and English, written on vellum and enclosed in a phial. The following is the inscription in Latin:—

A.M.D.G. S.I.B.
AD FUTURAM REI MEMORIAM.
Anno Sal. Mun. MDCCCLVI.
Pio IX. Sum. Pont.
Dom. Jacobo Spaight Urb. Præf.
Rev. Gulielmo Bourke Par.
Fer. Ascen. D.N.I.C.
Kal. Maii.
Reverendissimus Joannes Ryan Ep. Lim.
Anno Sui Ep. XXXI.
Huj. Eccæ. Cath.
D. O. M.
Sub invoc. S. Joan. Bap: Et Patro.
B. ac. Immac. Mariæ Semp. Virg. Sumpt.
fid. Ædific. lap. primar. adstant. et
favent. Urb. Præf. Magistrat. cor. mun.
Ord. cler. tum reg. tum sec. ingentique.
Om. gen. civ. mult. rite ac. solen. collocavit.
P. C. HARDWICK, Arch,
GULIELMO WALLACE, Edif.
Fundamenta ejus in montibus sanctis: Diligit
Dominus Portas Sion super omnia tabernacula
Jacob.—*Psalm* lxxxvi.

to £21,837 2s. 3d. There has been now over a sum of £7,507 18s. 1d. expended by the trustees on the purchase of a site, and on building the Schoolhouses in Henry Street and Nicholas Street, and the Villiers Alms House. The Commissioners report rather well of the Henry Street school, in which the average attendance is 50 boys and 44 girls. In Nicholas Street the numbers are less.

6. Dr. Jeremiah Hall's Schools (St. Mary's), to which we have referred at length, page 272. The Commissioners report favourably of the boys' school. The property is worth £200 a year. A sum of £379, in 3 per cent. stock, belongs to the Institution independently of the property.

7. Hartstonge Street Leamy Free Schools:—William Leamy, Esq., in 1814, left £13,300 for the education of the children of the poor in Ireland, especially those in the neighbourhood of the city of Limerick. A decree of the Court of Chancery in England enabled the Commissioners of Charitable Bequests to recover the endowment. In 1841, the Court of Chancery in Ireland settled the way in which the endowment should be made. The pupils were to be taught gratuitously, and to receive a good English education; members of the Church of England to be instructed in the Scriptures, and Roman Catholics in the Scripture lessons in the National School books. A sum of £3,940 was expended on the schools and site in Hartstonge Street, a brick building in the Elizabethan style. In latter years no Roman Catholics whatever attend this school, which is supported by the interest of the balance of £10,000, which was transferred to this country after the obtainment of the decree from the English Court of Chancery. The Catholic bishop was one of the governors of this institution after its establishment, but we do not believe he ever acted, and the school now (1865) is exclusively Protestant.

The day was brought to a close by an entertainment which was given by the Rev. William Bourke to the Bishop, Mayor, Corporation, etc. The collection for this church began in 1840, when Mr. S. Hastings was secretary.

The Mayor, in July, laid the foundation stone of a building intended for a Sailors' Home, in Frederick Street, but never used for that purpose; and presided at a grand banquet which was given to the Viceroy, the Earl of Carlisle, in the theatre, on the same night.

For the year after (1857) Dr. Thomas Kane was elected, a second time, to the Mayoralty; and on this occasion a proceeding was taken by the Corporation, which deserves notice from the fact that it was found inoperative almost immediately after its adoption. To ensure the return of Dr. Kane, a majority of the Corporation, consisting of twenty-seven members, carried a resolution by which what is termed "the rotatory system" was adopted. By this resolution it was decided that a Catholic and Protestant should fill the office of Mayor each alternate year; a stretch of liberality on the part of the Catholic majority of the Council which has been rarely paralleled in other places, and of which there is no record, or anything approaching to it, where the Protestant party are numerically the stronger. But though the resolution was rescinded the following year, on the ground that it produced anything but harmony in the council, it was not until the year 1864 that it was practically abolished.

The project of the O'Connell monument was brought to a successful termination during Dr. Kane's mayoralty; and the 15th of August—Lady Day—witnessed one of the most gorgeous and solemn demonstrations of which Limerick has been the scene; Hogan's bronze statue of the Liberator being then inaugurated with all the pomp and civic ceremonial befitting the great event, and in the presence of several thousands of the citizens, as well as of the people of the neighbouring counties. There was a procession, in which the clergy were fully represented; the Mayor and Corporation appeared dressed in civic costume; the trades were active and energetic in doing honour to the occasion; the public bodies of the city were all present. At the monument a platform was raised, and was occupied by the leading Catholics of city and county, including the Earl of Dunraven, the city member, Sergeant O'Brien, etc. The Mayor presided; and the secretaries, viz., the Rev. R. J. O'Higgin, O.S.F., and Maurice Lenihan, Esq., occupied their places near him. Flags and streamers were thrown across the streets; trees were transplanted to positions near the carriage way, and triumphal arches were formed, on which patriotic devices were exhibited; the people never appeared more enthusiastic. The Earl of Dunraven, who took part in the procession and the proceedings, made a remarkable speech, in which he bestowed a deserved amount of praise on the memory of the illustrious Irishman in whose honour they had assembled to unveil his statue. In referring to the mighty changes wrought by O'Connell, the noble Earl spoke of the fact that an ancestor of his (the Earl of Dunraven's) had changed from the Catholic to the Protestant creed, a century before, in order to retain his property—an act which he said deserved his strongest reprobation. The meeting was also addressed by Mr. Sergeant O'Brien, M.P., and other gentlemen. The statue is eight feet high, and forms a conspicuous object in the middle of the Crescent—a noble likeness of the immortal O'Connell. It is raised on a granite pedestal, thirteen feet high; in front of which is cut, in gilt letters:—

O'CONNELL.
THOMAS KANE,
MAYOR.

On the western side is the date of its erection—

MDCCCLVII.

Thus Limerick may boast that it was the first city in Ireland practically to recognize the claims and support the memory of Daniel O'Connell. The monument cost £1000; and the gifted sculptor admitted that he had never before been so generously treated. The entire expense amounted to £1,300, which was promptly paid.

In November this year disputes arose in the Corporation respecting the compromise just referred to. The Protestant party, moreover, did not agree among themselves as to the choice of a mayor. Mr. Edmund Gabbett, a Protestant, was put in nomination for the coming year—Mr. W. L. Joynt, a Protestant also, had been already in the field with every prospect of success. The members of the Council who did not sign the "rotatory" resolution of the 1st of December, 1856, and some of those who did sign it, deemed themselves, under the circumstances, free to vote for either candidate. At a meeting of the Council on the 10th of December, the compromising document was ordered to be erased from the records of the Council.[1]

[1] MONDAY, 1ST DECEMBER, 1856.

A document signed by twenty seven members of the Council, to secure a Rotatory Election of Mayor for the future, was handed to the Mayor.

And on motion of Alderman Fitzgerald, It was ordered,

That the annexed Document be inserted on the minutes.

We the undersigned members of the Corporation, anxious to promote good feeling and harmony in that body, (in the event of Dr. Kane being this day elected) do adopt the Rotatory System in the annual election for the Mayoralty, as practised with so much satisfaction in the city of Dublin.

Dated this 1st day of December, 1856.

"It is understood by the above that the party now opposed to Dr. Kane shall have the selection for the year 1858.

Thomas Kane,	John Barry,	W. L. Joynt,
William Sheehy,	Patrick Mulcahy,	Edmond Gabbett,
Michael Dawson,	John M'Donnell,	S. Bourchier,
Henry Watson,	John Fitzgerald,	Arthur Russell,
Robert MacMahon,	Francis Ward,	William Fitzgerald,
John Thomas Devitt,	Robert Keyes,	Henry O'Shea,
Eugene O'Callaghan,	James Spaight, Mayor,	William Spaight,
David Garvey,	William O'Hara,	William Phayer,
Stephen Hastings,	Robert Rodger,	Francis Spaight".

A meeting was held on the 10th December, 1857. The following were present:—

Thomas Kane, Mayor, in the Chair,

Ald. Watson,	T. C. Barrington,	T. C. Fitzgerald,
Ald. Tinsley,	,, J. Spaight,	,, O'Callaghan,
Ald. Fitzgerald,	,, Purcell,	,, Garvey,
Ald. Mulcahy,	,, M'Mahon,	,, Cullen,
T. C. Sheehy,	,, Lenihan,	,, Ryan,
,, M. Kelly,	,, Barry,	,, Hastings,
,, Devitt.	,, Keyes,	,, Russell,
,, Ellard,	,, Ward,	,, Phayer.
,, Boyse,	,, M'Sheehy,	

The resolution and document of the 1st of December, 1856, "which had been found to produce anything but harmony in the council", were unanimously rescinded and cancelled.

The election having gone in favour of Mr. Gabbett, he was sworn into the mayoralty on the 1st of January, 1858.

Mr. Sergeant O'Brien, M.P. for the city, being this year appointed one of the Judges of the Queen's Bench, his seat was vacated; and an active canvass was instituted by Major George Gavin, of Kilpeacon, and John Ball, Esq., son of the late Right Hon. Nicholas Ball, one of the Judges of the Court of Common Pleas, for the vacancy; both gentlemen being liberals, and of the same religious persuasion, Catholics. Strong feelings were aroused, and influential sections of the liberal party became divided into adverse camps. The result of the election, which ended on the 7th of February, favoured Major Gavin, who had a majority of 49 votes. On a petition instituted by Mr. Ball, however, a new election was ordered by the House of Commons. Major Gavin having been disqualified on this occasion on a charge of bribery, for which it was admitted he was morally, though not legally, irresponsible, Mr. James Spaight was taken up by Major Gavin's supporters to oppose Mr. Ball, who again entered the arena. At this election Mr. Spaight was returned, Mr. Ball, on the 3rd of May, having withdrawn without going to the poll. Several election rioters were incarcerated, but were liberated by the Lord Lieutenant on the 27th of May.

On the 24th of May, John O'Connell, Esq., "the beloved son" of the Liberator, died at Kingstown. He had been some few years before member for Limerick. He was a man of distinguished abilities, an able writer and debater, and of the highest character in public and private life.

Meantime, the progress of Catholic institutions, schools, and churches in Limerick, had become one of the most remarkable phases of the year at which we have arrived. An event of great interest, and one that attracted an immense concourse, was the laying the foundation stone, on the 30th of May, of the new and beautiful church of St. Alphonsus by the Right Rev. Dr. Ryan, who was surrounded by the clergy of the city, secular and regular. The Redemptorist Fathers, who follow the rule of their founder, St. Alphonsus de Liguori, had their first residence in Limerick at Bank Place, where they opened a small oratory on the Feast of Saint Andrew (November 28), 1853. In the May following they had built on the South Circular Road a comparatively small church, which adjoined the site of the present one; and during the years 1856 and 1857, at a cost of £6,000, a conventual establishment, which is one of the architectural ornaments of the city. The walls of the church had been already raised some feet above the surface, and these having been flagged, boarded over, and carpeted, formed a suitable course for this grand religious procession. The transept of the church is 73 feet—the nave and side aisles 70 feet wide—the length 176 feet—the height 67 feet from the nave floor to the apex of the ceiling. All the religious orders of the city, and the representatives of every public body were present. The arrangements were admirable; and the day was brilliant. Two episcopal thrones were placed in suitable positions, one for the Bishop of Limerick and the other for the Bishop of Kerry, who, however, was unavoidably absent: these thrones were canopied over with crimson velvet, and were gilded and festooned. The procession left the sanctuary of the small temporary church of the Fathers at half-past two o'clock, preceded by cross-bearer, acolytes, standard-bearers, boys in surplices and soutanes, boys bearing the rule and square, the trowel and hod; lay brothers bearing the banner of

St. Alphonsus; bands of music; Christian Brothers, two and two; boys in the picturesque habits of the Dominican order; the Dominican Fathers in their white habits; the Redemptorist Fathers; the Franciscan and Augustinian Fathers; the secular clergy. The venerable Bishop followed in magnificent cloth-of-gold pontifical robes, with mitre and crozier, accompanied by the Very Rev. Dean Butler, and the General of the Redemptorist order for the provinces of Holland and England. The Earl and Countess of Fingall, father and mother of the Hon. and Rev. William Matthew Plunkett, one of the Redemptorist Fathers of Mount St. Alphonsus; Lord Killeen, Lady Killeen, Hon. Lady H. Ridell, Mr. Ridell, the Ladies Plunkett, Mr. Corbally, M.P., Major Cruise, etc., were among the distinguished laity present. The ceremonial having been gone through, the Earl of Fingall placed a phial in the stone, containing a medal commemorative of the National Synod of Thurles, and pieces of the current English, French, and Roman coins. The phial was sealed with the episcopal seal of Limerick, and the following inscription on vellum was placed in it also:—

Pio IX. Pontifice maximo
feliciter regnante,
Victoria Brittaniarum Regina,
Nostræ Congregationis, anno CXVII.,
Nicolao Mauron, rectore majore,
Joanne Bapt. Swinkels, Provinciæ Hollandiæ et Angliæ
Præsule,
Joanne Bapt. Roes, Hujus Domus Limericensis Rectore,
Hunc Lapidem angularem
Ecclæsiæ Sti. Alphonsi,
Posuit
Joannes Ryan, Episcopus Limericensis:
Die XXX Maii, Anno Domini
MDCCCLVIII.

William E. Corbett, Contractor.

P. C. Hardwick, Architectus.

The ceremony was in every respect creditable to all who took part in it. Mr. Hardwick was architect to the convent and church: the convent and foundations of the church were built by Mr. W. E. Corbett, C.E., and the superstructure of the church by Messrs. Wallace and Sons. Convent and church cost about £20,000.

Thus religion was gaining new conquests by the erection of a church which is justly regarded as a model of architectural skill and good taste; and the spirit for which Limerick was famous in other days was developing itself irresistibly.

An energetic movement was made this year in favour of obtaining a Packet Station on the River Shannon: a large and influential meeting was

Dec. 15th.—Inaugural Address delivered at the Mechanics' Institute by W. S. O'Brien, Esq. The Anniversary of New Year's Day was celebrated in Ballingarry by a ball given in the fine old ruin of Delacy's Castle.

held in the Town Hall, on the 7th of October, at which resolutions in favour of the project were adopted by acclamation, and a memorial to the Treasury agreed on.

Michael Robert Ryan, Esq., J.P., was elected Mayor for 1859. A general election took place in the month of May. F. W. Russell, Esq., was elected M.P. for the third time, and Major Gavin was elected M.P. the second time for the city. Mr. James Spaight was the unsuccessful candidate. In the county of Limerick the Right Hon. William Monsell headed the poll by an overwhelming majority. Lieutenant-Colonel Dickson and E. J. Synan, Esq., J.P., were the other candidates. Mr. Synan lost his election by a trifling majority in favour of Colonel Dickson. At the city election a most disastrous occurrence took place. In the evening of the 4th of May, after the close of the proceedings, in consequence of some stones having been thrown at the windows of a shopkeeper in Broad Street, the police fired on the people, when Wm. Clohessy, J. Phelan, J. M'Namara, John O'Brien, and another lad, named Meskill, were shot, and the three former died of their wounds. The police, who were commanded by Sub-Inspector Milling and Edward Gonne Bell, Esq., R M., were acquitted after a lengthened investigation, though a verdict of manslaughter had been returned at the coroner's inquest against the stipendiary magistrate and 26 policemen.

William Fitzgerald, Esq., was sworn into the Mayoralty on the 1st of January, 1860. Energetic and of much promise and ability, he exerted himself perseveringly for the benefit of the city. He died during his Mayoralty, on the 26th of October, aged 34 years, and was buried in St. Munchin's churchyard ; his remains were accompanied to the grave by the Corporation and a large concourse of citizens. In compliment to his memory, the Corporation had his portrait painted by Mr. Catterson Smith, and placed in the Council Chamber.

At a meeting of the Corporation, on the 23rd of March, Mr. R. Russell made a statement in reference to the financial position of the Harbour and Bridge Commissioners, and proposed a plan for liquidating the liabilities of the Harbour Commissioners. It was epitomised in the following motion of Mr. Barrington, Town Councillor :[1]

"To appoint a Committee for the purpose of inquiring into the propriety of promoting a Bill 'for transferring of the Harbour Commission to the Corpora-

Movement in favour of a monument to Sarsfield.

April 26.—Mr. Monsell's motion in favour of competitive examinations for the Artillery, carried against the Government.

June 18.—Meeting in the Council Chamber to sustain the collection of the O'Connell fund.

June 26.—Visit of Prince Alfred.

July.—The Harbour Board resolves on the removal of ruins of Carragower Mill, North Strand, which had been built by William Joynt, burgess, A.D. 1672.

Nov. 23.—Funeral of Lady Barrington, who was buried in the family vault at St. Mary's Cathedral.

1859.—Silver cradle presented at Temple Mungret to Mrs. Ryan, wife of the Mayor, by the Council and Corporate Officers, in accordance with ancient custom of the City, to commemorate the birth of a son and heir, on the 30th of January, in the year of his mayoralty.

January 9, 1860.—Great fire at Mr William Delany's pawn-office, in Broad Street.

Lord Derby withdraws or declines acting on his notice to quit, served on his Doon tenants on account of the murder of Mr. Crowe.

Jan. 28.—The body of Mr. Hugh Massy O'Grady, of Castlegarde, found floating in the Dead River, County Limerick, near the Railway. Verdict—accidental death.

[1] This question has been taken up, in 1865, with renewed energy, by Mr. Russell and the Harbour Commissioners.

tion, on the understanding that the Government accept in full for the debt and interest due to the Treasury by the Harbour Commissioners, the sum of £4,000 a-year for fifty years, and this Council guaranteeing this sum out of the rates of the Borough or tolls of the Harbour'".

This motion was rejected after a long debate.

A movement of surpassing interest and importance went on during the greater portion of this year, which marked the deep sympathy of the Catholic hierarchy, clergy, and people, with Pope Pius IX., who had been suffering at the hands of the King of Italy and the Emperor of the French. Meetings were held throughout Ireland to sustain the Pope ; but no where was there more enthusiasm in the cause than in Limerick, where not only large sums were contributed to the Papal exchequer, but where many brave young fellows volunteered for enlistment in the Irish Papal Brigade, which was formed in Rome, and which distinguished itself in many hard-fought fields in Italy, viz.: Perugia, Spoletto, Castel Fidardo, and Ancona. The Government sought to prevent this enlistment, but young men enrolled themselves rapidly notwithstanding; and as detachments of the recruits left the Limerick station by train, en route to their destination, they were loudly applauded for their chivalrous resolution. The Right Rev. Dr. Ryan presided, on the 5th of June, at a meeting in St. John's old chapel, at which resolutions expressive of active and warm sympathy with the Pope were adopted, and a subscription list to aid his Holiness was opened. The city of Limerick contributed more largely than any other in Ireland in men and money, towards the cause. On the 17th of October, a solemn requiem High Mass was celebrated in St. Michael's church for the repose of the souls of the soldiers of the Irish Brigade who were slain in Italy, and their companions-in-arms; and on the return home of the surviving Brigaders, on the conclusion of the Italian war, an ovation awaited them in Limerick, whilst on the 3rd of December a grand banquet was given to them at the Theatre. Limerick diocese contributed a sum of £6,000 towards the Papal exchequer this year.

The Mayoralty for the year 1861 was well and ably filled by John

March 10.—Death of Alderman Henry Watson, caused by the excision of a fish bone, which he had swallowed in Dublin.

March 29.—Major Excommunication pronounced at Rome against the Invaders' usurpation of the Romagna, etc., etc.

Mr. Hyde, master of the diocesan school, publishes letters against the managers of that establishment.

May.—Terrible fire at Messrs. Boyd's, Seed Merchants, William Street.

Movement in favour of the night-working bakers.

May 8.—Telegraphic communication with Ennis.

October 22.—Alderman Sheehy found burned to death in his country house in Clare, but whether accidentally or otherwise has not yet been clearly proved, though public opinion appears to incline to the latter view.

December 17.—A Government investigation conducted in the Limerick Asylum into certain charges brought forward by one of the governors, David John Wilson, Esq., respecting the alleged tampering with a number of entries relating to the meat contracts of the institution. The decision was that the charges were not made out by evidence, yet that Mr. Wilson was justified in what he did.

The Sisters of Mercy were admitted, after a smart contest, as hospital nurses to the Limerick Workhouse.

1861.—Civil war broke out this year in the hitherto United States of America.

Prince Consort died 14th December in this year.

Important meeting at the Town Hall to secure the advantages of the port and harbour, which are rendered unavailing by their being mortgaged to the Board of Works for upwards of £200,000.

Thomas M'Sheehy, Esq., J.P., of Shannon Lawn, who was sworn into office on the 1st of January, and who, by his vigilant discharge of duty, and the earnestness with which he interested himself on behalf of the unemployed labourers and artizans, merited well of the citizens. Mr. M'Sheehy was presented with a valuable silver testimonial on his leaving office. The exertions he made for the embankment of Corkanree, as a promenade and park for the citizens, were of the most energetic character. A sum of £1100 was collected during his year of office to provide fuel for the poor.

On the 25th of July this year the consecration of the Right Rev. Dr. Butler, as coadjutor Bishop of Limerick, took place in the new Cathedral of St. John's, which was opened for the first time. It was an event worthy of remembrance. The cathedral was crowded with the hierarchy of Munster, headed by his Grace the Lord Archbishop of Cashel, the clergy of the diocese of Limerick, and a vast congregation of the laity. The grandeur and solemnity of the sacred occasion impressed every beholder. The Bishop of Kerry preached the consecration sermon.

Alderman William Lane Joynt was sworn into the office of Mayor on the 1st of January, 1862.

The important local movements of this year were connected with the earnest support which the Catholics of Limerick gave to the Catholic University of Ireland: in this movement the Corporation took a creditable lead. The question of a charter to the Catholic University was introduced into the Corporation by Mr. Maurice Lenihan, who proposed the adoption of a memorial to the Lord Lieutenant in its favour, which passed unanimously, every Protestant in the Council supporting it by his vote. A deputation from the Corporation proceeded to Dublin on the 24th of March, where they were entertained at a banquet by Monsignore Woodlock, Rector of the Catholic University, the Catholic Lord Archbishop of Dublin being

January 24.—Meeting at Newcastle West of the Earl of Devon's tenantry, praying him to lower their rents.

The Limerick National Petition Committee obtains numerous signatures.

February 12.—The Mayor and law agent proceed to Dublin to see the Lord Lieutenant about the Corkanree embankment, and employment for the poor.

Meeting of the Shannon Conservators to consider the new fishery bill, and to support the decision of the Commissioners relative to the removal of the Queen's Gap in the Lax Weir.

Feb. 18.—Meeting for the relief of the poor of the city.

March 25.—A branch of the Provincial Bank was opened at Newcastle. Same day, the distressed labourers of Bruff assembled in a threatening manner.

April 1.—Death in Dublin of Sir Matthew Barrington, Crown Solicitor of Munster, one of the most active and energetic professional men of his time, and one of the most useful and remarkable of the citizens of Limerick.

Market Trustees decide there shall be no local inspection in the Butter Market this year.

April 2.—The Mayor of Limerick went to Dublin to attend the Cattle Show and banquet.

May 17.—The Mayor places the royal arms sculptured in stone, which had been placed over the old Exchange in Mary Street, over the Town Hall, after being repainted and regilt.

May 27.—Great meeting at the Town Hall in favour of a transatlantic packet station for Ireland.

May 31.—The Harbour Board convened to petition in favour of the Galway subsidy.

June 7th.—The Secretary of the Trades receives a letter from the Bishop of Orleans (France) in reply to one thanking him for his advocacy of the poor of Partry.

June 13.—Souper riots at Pallaskenry.

July 4.—Council meet to address the Prince of Wales on his visit to Ireland.

1862.—January 14.—Mr. W. S. O'Brien publishes a letter respecting the affairs of his property.

January 20.—Mr. Monsell lectures on the education of Catholics.

Address to the Protestant Bishop thanking him for removing the "Symbols of Puseyism" out of the Cathedral on Christmas Day.

one of the guests. On the following day, by appointment, the deputation, who were joined by the Mayor, proceeded in their robes to present the memorial to his Excellency the Earl of Carlisle, who, however, gave anything but a favourable reply. Indeed the conduct of the Viceroy was quite contrary to what was expected at his hands, when free education was all that the memorialists demanded.

The education question, which has been at all times regarded by the citizens of Limerick with an unfailing interest, had been for some time before the public in reference to the Model Schools under the National Board of Education, all of which, built on an expensive plan, and furnished with every requirement, had been in existence since the 4th of September, 1855.[1] Those schools were attended up to the next year (1863), in which Robert M'Mahon, Esq., J.P., was elected Mayor, by large numbers of Catholic children; but a speech having been made by one of the inspectors, which not only elicited public attention, but which threw down the gauntlet to the conscientious opponents of the system, action was taken by the Right Rev. Dr. Butler and the clergy against the Model School system, and a decisive and emphatic condemnation of the Limerick Model Schools was the result. On the first day of the new year, from the altar of every Catholic church in the city, the schools were denounced, and Catholic parents were cautioned against permitting their children to frequent them. Pulpit and altar rang with warning voices against a system which the government had adopted, and to which it appeared determined to adhere, in opposition to the frequently expressed hostility to it of the Catholic hierarchy. These efforts on the part of the bishop and clergy were successful; the children were withdrawn. The establishment of an intermediate school, under the direction of the Jesuit Fathers, supplied a want which had been for a long period experienced. The schools of the Christian Brothers were also brought into, if possible, more vigorous

Feb. 1.—Meeting at Right Rev. Dr. Butler's, in sustainment of the Catholic University.

Feb. 11.—Numerous protests against the Queen's Colleges.

Feb. 19.—Public meeting at Limerick, to sympathize with the Queen on the death of Prince Albert.

The Lord Lieutenant is presented with an immense salmon taken at the Lax Weir on his return from Adare Manor, where he had been on a visit.

Feb.—Last week Rev. Dr. Anderdon lectures on the Catacombs and Capitals of Europe.

March 16.—The Archimandrite, the Very Rev. Dr. Issa, delivers palm branches from the Holy Land, to the Cathedral of St. John.

March 2.—Petitions against the Church and Convent Taxing Bill of the Irish Chief Secretary were signed at all the Catholic Churches of Limerick on Sunday.

April 6.—New Catholic Church consecrated at Ballysteen. Death of Colonel Doheny. Murders of Gustave Thiebault and Maguire in Tipperary.

May 6th.—Murder of Francis Fitzgerald, Esq., of Kilmallock, for which Beckham and Walsh were hung at the Special Commission which opened June 16. Dillane suffered death for the same crime afterwards.

Sept. 11.—Robbery of Castlepark by burglars.

Oct. 13.—Meeting to organize a collection for the National Monument to O'Connell.

Nov. 30.—Reconciliation of the "Three and Four years old", in Emly, by the Archbishop of Cashel and the Redemptorist Fathers.

Jan. 24, 1863.—A meeting was convened by the High Sheriff for the county to adopt a petition to parliament in order to support Colonel Dickson's drainage bill.

Feb. 14.—Mr. W. Cooper announces that the late Marquis of Landsdowne had bequeathed to Lord Monteagle and the governors of Barrington's Hospital £3000, provided it be opened at all times to the natives of the County Kerry.

Feb. 24.—Judgment given by the House of Lords in favour of Mr. Malcomson in the great Fishery question, Malcomson *v.* O'Dea.

[1] These schools are on the Military Road, and were begun in 1853.

operation for the requirements of the children of the poor. The nuns of the Faithful Companions, who had established an admirable boarding and day school at Laurel Hill, in 1854, for first-class education—a school second to none other in the kingdom for every advantage—these religious ladies also met the difficulty by forming an intermediate school, to which large numbers of Catholic children who had frequented the Model Schools were now sent. The latest official return of the number of pupils attending the Model Schools shows that, with the exception of the children of teachers and those connected with the schools, and a few dependents on ultra zealot families, those who attended them are chiefly Protestants, Presbyterians, and Dissenters[1]. It is impossible that a government which pretends to have at heart the peace and well-being of the people, can continue to force a system which wars with the convictions and feelings of the overwhelming majority of her Majesty's loyal subjects—the Catholics of Ireland.

On the 6th of June this year, the Right Rev. Dr. Ryan, Catholic Bishop, who had governed the diocese of Limerick for so many eventful years with prudence, wisdom, and justice, expired at his residence, Park House, at the age of eighty-three years. The remains of the venerable prelate were conveyed in grand funeral procession from Park House to the cathedral of St. John's; in the procession were the clergy of the city and many of the county, in soutane and surplice; the religious societies, the Christian Brothers, the pupils of their numerous schools, the citizens in crape, a long line of carriages, etc., were also the funeral *cortege*.

In the same month, at Bangor, North Wales, Mr. William Smith O'Brien died after a rather short illness. He had suffered much and long

Feb. 19.—At a meeting of the Trades, James Spaight, Esq. in the Chair, resolutions were adopted against the closing of Barrington's Hospital. A meeting of Ratepayers was convened next evening, to sustain the Corporation vote in reference to Barrington's and the Fever Hospitals.

March.—The marriage of the Prince of Wales took place.

The Right Rev. Dr. Butler initiates a movement at the Limerick diocesan conferences, held in the last week of March, in favour of Mr. Dillwyn's motion against the Church Establishment.

April 4.—Fishery Commission opened in Limerick.

April 8.—Awful calamity and loss of seven lives by a fire in Denmark Street, among the rest Mr. P. Ryan, foreman in the *Reporter and Vindicator* Office.

Excessive emigration continues.

May 9.—A meeting to petition Parliament against punishment by death, convened by the Mayor.

May 16.—Opening of the new organ at St. John's Cathedral with a grand oratorio.

June 1.—Railway to Nenagh opened.

June 11.—Borough rounds perambulated by the Mayor, Town Clerk, City Treasurer, City Surveyer, and four mace bearers.

Waterford and Limerick Railway run no trains on Sundays, thereby causing material inconvenience. Sir Colman O'Loghlen's bill falls through.

April 12.—In a meeting held in Thomond Gate it is resolved to enclose the "Treaty Stone".

[1] The pupils in the Model Schools are in the following religious persuasions:

Denominations.	Boys' School.	Girls' School.	Infants' School.	Total
Established Church	78	73	77	228
Roman Catholic.....	17	18	10	45
Presbyterians.....	11	17	18	46
Dissentors.....	21	14	12	47
Total.....	127	122	117	366

for his country, which he loved, if not wisely, at all events with hearty sincerity and complete devotion. He was a ripe scholar, an able writer, a powerful debater, a warm and constant friend, a tolerant and liberal minded gentleman; and the opinions of early years became absorbed in those more generous emotions which he expressed on all occasions for every class, party, and creed of his countrymen. His remains were conveyed for interment to Cahirmoyle, county of Limerick. There was no public procession.[1]

Eugene O'Callaghan, Esq., J.P., succeeded to the mayoralty on the 1st of January, 1864. The industrial movement connected with the manufacture of flax, and the increased growth of manufactures generally, were prominent features during this year.

1865. John Rickard Tinsley, Esq., J.P., succeeded to the office of Mayor on the 1st of January, and at once set about means of obtaining employment for the distressed labouring poor.[2] Within the last two years Limerick has been the station of departure en route to Liverpool and Cork for an extraordinary number of emigrants to America, who have taken not a little of the wealth of the country with them, to countries where a better prospect awaits labour and industry. The departure of the producers has no doubt left fewer mouths to fill, but the means of filling them has not been increased; and the labour market has suffered, while the farmers, to add to their difficulty, have had to contend with the results of the inclemency of bad seasons, with high rents, and with the discouragement arising from the want of security of tenure. Reacted on by the state of the country, the city has suffered from this depression, as well as from the exceptional condition of the harbour and the agitations in the money market. Still it is not to be denied that many improvements were perceptible, in promise at least, if not in realization, in the condition of Limerick within the space to which we refer. The last year has been particularly remarkable for the revival of the flax trade and the establishment of a flax company in imitation of that recently got up in Cork; and for the advancement of this congenial and hopeful industry the thanks of the city are especially due to the Messrs. Russell and to Mr. Peter Tait, the latter gentleman at the head too of the great army clothing establishment, having inaugurated the manufacture by a public dinner, at which some useful speeches were made, and subsequently visited the north of Ireland to procure the best information respecting the best modes of management.

1864. Jan. 12.—A Flax meeting was convened by the High Sheriff.

A meeting was held for the repair of the Church of St. Munchin's, Thomond Gate, which has been greatly improved in consequence.

Jan. 25.—A meeting to consider the Irish Taxation question was convened by the Mayor.

The Earl of Dunraven succeeds the late Earl of Clare in the Lord Lieutenancy of the County Limerick.

The Hon. R. O'Brien publishes a pamphlet on Irish affairs.

Mr. Peter Tait visits Belfast, to make inquiries about the management of Flax.

March 15.—The Mayor presides at the meeting of the O'Connell Monument (Dublin) Committee.

The Limerick Corporation are unanimous in favour of petitioning against the oath required of Catholic members.

[1] A movement for the erection of a national monument to the memory of Mr. William Smith O'Brien, has been attended with considerable success. At Cahirmoyle his children have resolved on erecting a monument to him.

[2] Through the exertions of the Mayor a sum of about £3,000 was expended through the Irishtown and portions of the Newtown in making sewers.

The last two or three years have also been remarkable for the establishment of the Limerick Scholarships in the Catholic University of Ireland. The complete abandonment of the model schools by Catholics soon followed in consequence of the forcible and repeated condemnation of the system by the Bishop. A school of art has been formed at the Athenæum in Upper Cecil Street, and though its advantages are not widespread, some of the pupils have distinguished themselves. Education, too, has been making rapid progress. Limerick, although it stands alone among cities of its rank in not possessing a public library or a gallery of art, has very good collections of books in its reading rooms, which are well attended. In fact, like other localities, Limerick has witnessed a sort of revival of letters as well as of manufacturing industry; nor has even a political resuscitation been wanting. A crusade against church endowments and in favour of tenant right has been lately inaugurated by the Catholic clergy, and taken in hand latterly by the new Catholic Association; and the part taken by the men of Limerick in the O'Connell demonstration in Dublin proves that their patriotic feelings are as vivid, if not as demonstrative, as ever. The river Shannon has been recently rendered much more safe of navigation by lights, beacons, and buoys; and salmon was never so plenty, though the citizens are not the better of its abundance. Limerick saw for the first time a native poetess publishing her works, in 1865, in the person of Mrs. Fisher, wife of Dr. Fisher, a lady who writes with considerable taste and feeling. The city has suffered deeply, owing in a great measure to the want of continuous employment among the labouring classes: this sad state of things has been the constantly recurring cause of complaint for very many years; it is, in fact, the normal condition of the labourers in the city, a circumstance which owes its existence to causes which demand the vigilant attention, as well of those locally interested in the peace of society and the contentment of the people, as of the Government. Many sources of employment, no doubt, have been dried up. There has been, also, a considerable falling off in the receipts at the Custom House, which is attributable, to some extent, to the fact that certain commodities which paid custom duties in Limerick in former years, are now brought in by railway, duty paid. A return, with which we have been obligingly furnished by the Collector of Customs, shows the state of the revenue in this respect, as compared with what it had been but a short time since. In the year ending the 31st of March, 1860, the receipts amounted to a sum of £176,305. The number of vessels with cargoes in foreign trade was in that year 116.

The number of vessels arrived, foreign, with cargoes, nearly all of grain, for the year ending 31st December, 1862 ... 181
" " 1863 ... 163
" " 1864 ... 103

Robert Tighe, Esq., resigns the Chairmanship of the County Limerick, which he had admirably held for twenty-four years; he refuses a testimonial, and is presented with a complimentary address. He is succeeded by John Leahy, Esq., Q.C.

Unprecedented take of salmon in the Shannon by Mr. Malcomson's boats.

Fishery Commission sits in Limerick.

April 1.—Neat school-house built by Mr. Scanlan, for the use of the pupils of St. Philomena's School, under the care of the ladies of Laurel Hill Convent.

August 9.—The Mayor, and some of the members of the Corporation, with some of the citizens, proceed to Dublin, to attend the laying of the Foundation Stone of the O'Connell Monument.

The subjoined Tabular Statement indicates the position of the Customs for the financial year, ending March 1865:—

Year ending 31st March 1864.	1863. Imports.	Warehoused. Direct.	Warehoused. Removed.	Total.	Monies not Duties.	Shipping.	Excise.	Total.
June,	£4,126 10 9	£2,059 5 9	£30,495 15 1	£36,681 11 7	£58 16 0	£0 0 0	£0 0 0	£36,740 7 7
September,	5,428 3 0	1,246 14 6	31,153 0 4	37,827 17 10	69 14 4	0 1 0	0 0 0	37,897 13 2
December,	4,029 10 8	2,513 19 3	33,665 14 5	40,209 4 4	81 13 6	0 1 0	0 0 0	40,290 18 10
March, 1864,	2,357 10 4	1,009 16 11	31,938 7 6	35,305 14 9	96 5 1	0 1 0	0 0 0	35,402 0 10
Year 1863.	£15,941 14 9	£6,829 16 5	£127,252 17 4	£150,024 8 6	£306 8 11	0 3 0	£0 0 0	£150,331 0 5
Year ending 31st March, 1865.	Year 1864.							
June,	£1,933 17 0	£708 17 5	30,698 5 8	£33,341 0 1	£48 7 9	0 1 0	£0 0 0	£33,389 8 10
September,	3,027 6 1	592 7 6	30,446 10 10	34,066 4 5	47 12 10	0 0 0	121 12 0	34,235 9 3
December,	3,186 11 8	843 17 4	31,520 9 6	35,550 18 6	50 9 7	0 1 0	690 4 9	36,291 13 10
March, 1865,	2,431 16 0	202 6 11	28,429 1 3	31,063 4 2	89 3 0	0 2 0	1,481 19 3	32,634 8 5
Year 1864.	£10,579 10 9	£2,347 9 2	£121,094 7 3	£134,021 7 2	£235 13 2	0 4 0	£2,293 16 0	£136,551 0 4
Decrease,	£5,362 4 0	£4,482 7 3	£6,158 10 1	£16,003 1 4	£70 15 9	0 0 0		£13,780 0 1

The principal deficiency arises from tobacco and sugar, owing, in some respects, to non-consumption, in other respects, to the introduction by railway of some of those articles duty paid. There are symptoms, indeed, of a revival. Factories are springing up in the city, in addition to those of which the Messrs. J. M. Russell and Sons are proprietors, and to which we have referred in a previous chapter. Alderman Peter Tait, of Limerick, an energetic and enterprising citizen, has given an impetus to the industrial movement, not only by his indefatigable exertions in reference to flax manufacture, but by his employment of some hundreds of persons at his great army clothing establishment—the first and most important of the kind in these kingdoms—and one in which Limerick has reason to experience the utmost pride. Milling is largely carried on, manufacturing all the home-grown and large quantities of foreign wheat. Wool-combing and paper-making, have well nigh altogether disappeared In 1800 there were twenty tanneries, and but one pawnbroker's office in Limerick. In 1865, there are at least twenty pawnbroker's offices, and only two tanneries. In 1841, the number of breweries was four. In 1865, there are three—one, the old established one at Garryowen, of which "Johnny Connell",[1] celebrated in song, was the owner, and which now belongs to a lady of his family; the second, that of Messrs. Fitts, at the Newgate Lane;[2] the third, that of Messrs. Stein, in Clare Street. In brogue-making, which had been an important branch of trade, there has been a great decline. Other branches of trade have died out altogether, such as cloth-finishers, wool-staplers, woollen-weavers, etc. The manufacture of gloves, for which Limerick was famous a century ago, and which owed its superiority to a secret which was said to be in the exclusive possession of a glover named Lyons and his family, has declined also. Lyons frequently got orders for his gloves from the Court of Russia and other European courts. Mr. Tait endeavoured to revive the manufacture, but was not successful. The proverbial celebrity which the fishing hooks of Limerick have won, is nearly gone[3]—every fishing hook was said to be worth a salmon; their form, lightness, and temper could not be imitated. Limerick lace, which has won a world-wide reputation, does not quite retain its old place: yet Spanish donnas have had their mantillas made in Limerick, while magnificent robes fashioned of it, have won the patronage of royalty.

[1] John O'Connell, Esq., see page 402.

[2] Brewing is one of the most ancient of domestic arts; and breweries in Limerick have been known for many generations. The earliest, however, of which we have an authentic record, is the city brewery, near the Golden Mills, and in the most historic part of the city, close by King John's Castle, with the river Shannon bounding it to the north. The Danes possessed the secret of brewing the heather—and Danes' ale continues to be remembered in tradition—but the secret has departed. The story of the secret of making heather ale, known only to the Danes, is told by Lady (Gardner) Wilkinson in her little work on *Weeds and Wild Flowers*—(*Vide* "Heather", p. 172.) The anecdote of the putting to death of the two sons and the father for refusal to betray the secret, is related as having taken place on the final expulsion of the Danes from Ireland, at Ballyportery Castle in west Clare, taken, it is supposed, from the wild Celtic legends of southern Scotland, as related by Mr. R. Chambers in his *Pictures of Scotland*, or those of the county Clare in *Notes and Queries*. The inhabitants of the Isle of Skye still brew an ale of two parts of heather tops and one of malt.

The city brewery has the following inscription on a stone with the city arms:—

THE CITY BREWERY.
1739.

[3] The Limerick fishing hooks were celebrated all over the world. Daniel O'Shaughnessy, about sixty years ago, was one of the most famous—if not the most famous fishing hook maker

It was equal, if not superior, to that manufactured in Brussels and Valenciennes. Mr. Walker introduced the manufacture in 1829. At first he employed but a few hands. In 1841, there were 1700 females engaged in the manufacture of lace. In 1865, the numbers have fallen off considerably. At the convent of the Good Shepherd, in Clare Street, the manufacture of Brussels lace was carried on for a long period under the inspection of one of the nuns, a lady from Belgium, and such was the extraordinary progress made in the manufacture, that the lace was fully equal to the best Brussels. The provision and coopering trades, which, towards the close of the last century and the beginning of the present, flourished, owing to large army and navy contracts during, and subsequent to, the European war, and subsequently until competition was opened to foreign countries, have declined. This trade was revived about 1826, by Mr. John Russell, an Englishman, whose establishment was the largest in Ireland, and who spent £200,000 a-year in the purchase of pigs and the manufacture of bacon. The principal houses in the trade in 1865, are the Messrs. Matterson, Oak, Shaw, Hogan, and M'Donnell, famous for the manufacture of Limerick hams, which retain their unapproachable celebrity.

As to the trade of Limerick from the foundation of the Chamber of Commerce in 1818, it is best indicated by their record of exports until the year 1848, but from that period the operation of railways in conveying a large proportion of merchandize and produce, both inwards and outwards, renders this source of information necessarily incomplete. The table at page 531 shows the principal exports every fifth year during the period named. From this period also the effects of free-trade are strongly marked by the almost total cessation of the exports of wheat, flour, meal, beef, and pork; the land being converted largely into pasture, and grain food imported largely, instead of shipped.

Under the influence of an enterprising spirit we would hope that Limerick may soon rival its ancient fame as a manufacturing city, when it gave robes of finest cloth to the kings of England,[1] and exported some of the choicest articles of dress, etc., to that country, from which it now imports too many articles which could be better and far cheaper made at home.

in his day. He was succeeded by his son John, who died without issue; and though the "Shaughnessy" hooks have been sold until very recently, there has been no person of the name in the manufacture of them since the death of Mr. Robert O'Shaughnessy of George's Street, who employed hook-makers, and who continued to sell the "Shaughnessy" hooks. William Selles, or Lascelles, succeeded the second of the O'Shaughnessys in the manufacture, and was an adept. Michael Selles of Quay Lane, his son, succeeded William, and is now (1865) living, and is the last of the manufacturers of these celebrated articles; he is poor though industrious The material of which these hooks are made is cast-steel, which is given out to nailers in the country, who heat the steel in a turf fire to a certain peculiar temperature, taking great care that it must not be over-heated. It is then beaten out by the nailer, and in that condition it is brought to the hook-maker. Sellers of Croom was justly prized for his success in preparing the cast steel. The hook-maker then did his part. He formed the hook out of the solid, gave it the symmetrical form while the steel continued soft, and then tempered it, producing an article unrivalled. English manufacture of a bad imitation has nearly extinguished the make; but whilst Michael Selles of Quay Lane lives, the disciple of Isaac Walton can obtain a first class salmon hook for 2d. and a trout hook for a lesser sum.

[1] See pp. 367-8, in which, in the account given of Nicholas Arthur, it will be seen that he freighted a ship from Limerick in 1428, with cloth, furs, etc., as a present to King Henry. Irish cloth was so valued in these times, and before then, that we find in a MS. in the British Museum the prosecution of a man for stealing a piece of Irish cloth at Winchester, England, *temp.* Henry III. Conviction and hanging, duel or "wager of battle" in consequence.—Ex. Rol. Mad.

Year.	Beef.		Pork.		Butter. cwts.	Bacon. cwts.	Lard. cwts.	Barrels of					Flour. cwts.	Oatmeal. cwts	Number of Vessels.	Total Value.	
	Tierces.	Barrels.	Tierces.	Barrels.				Wheat.	Oats.	Barley.	Beans.					£	s. d.
1803	7,738	1,898	11,638	14,692	24,365	3,171	1,657	22,487	149,325	17,627	614		272	13,671		649,437	0 0
1813	6,097	2,449	7,575	12,074	24,101	13,527	1,103	47,569	140,830	65,718	169		9,394	15,524		821,724	0 0.
1818	4,157	786	6,547	13,291	17,076	8,022	831	20,806	201,542	11,027	251		200	6,042		506,271	0 0
1823	2,366	289	3,627	8,999	29,720	4,316	258	92,753	172,289	2,545			1,412	1,270		499,160	0 0
					Firkins.												
1828	1,376	146	5,965	4,198	83,038	39,030	4,260	150,585	446,2 0	8,607	4,070		6,823	77		844,691	0 0
1833	1,338		6,879	5,718	75,159	76,526	6,760	218,915	345,016	11,774	2,963		37,664	31,978	451	936,995	0 0
1838	102		5,657	8,400	59,965	77,992	13,967	112,751	537,286	14,067	4,149		113,489	49,550	441	1,014,681	0 0
1843	11	50	4,731	8	38,087	33,556	1,942	116,352	371,309	8,534	1,411		23,437	17,580	337		
1848	419	5	5,086	5,783	68,345	3,660	2,410	11,781	293,155		450		6,180	160	299		

The following table indicates the existence of an enormous produce in the districts of which Limerick is the market, and in which so vast a trade is carried on as to lead us to hope that at no distant day it will assert its proper position among the great commercial cities of the empire:—

In 1853 the Limerick Markets' Act was passed, and the records of the Trustees enable us to give the following valuable Table:—

Total Quantities of Produce, etc., received since the opening of the Markets under the Trustees in 1853.

Year ending 1st September.	Barrels of Home Grown			Butter.		Loads of			Number of								Qrs. of Imported Corn.		Amount of Tolls received each year.
	Wheat.	Oats.	Barley.	Firkins.	Lumps.	Hay.	Straw.	Potatoes.	Hides and Skins.	Cattle.	Calves.	Sheep.	Pigs. Dead.	Pigs. Alive.	Sucking Pigs.	Lambs.	Wheat.	Other Grain.	
1854	36,908	421,067	146,705	44,287	10,902	6,858		16,774	50,986	1,018	1,134	3,159		22,429			94,935	88,087	£6,069
1855	64,723	387,329	110,342	60,580	9,697	3,644	2,857	12,390	56,793	1,122	2,040	3,664	6,705	42,065	5,217	626	81,715	66,359	6,048
1856	73,476	346,917	94,811	64,555	10,874	3,619	2,787	19,751	42,842	708	2,042	6,508	3,300	39,170	3,213	1,232	50,036	62,016	5,906
1857	122,253	320,672	76,009	60,153	11,970	4,116	2,619	23,945	37,004	671	1,882	4,698	2,419	26,580	4,288	824	74,967	41,268	5,707
1858	100,141	261,610	94,923	56,450	14,288	3,781	3,034	18,748	29,263	1,041	2,721	3,754	5,077	33,457	9,195	399	97,735	58,461	5,703
1859	118,018	292,376	71,377	49,940	16,224	4,248	3,144	19.986	31,853	738	1,866	2,325	6,286	70,219	5,922	213	78,349	40.944	5,909
1860	73,582	250,553	47,814	42,166	18,606	5,042	2,719	16,747	39,217	1,624	2,408	3,679	5,255	53,635	2,432	472	109,745	112,964	5,473
1861	72,169	266,185	42,713	33,417	17,070	4,382	3,126	11,992	40,406	952	2,475	2,436	5,222	51,631	219	315	111,918	106,512	5,397
1862	46,278	255,672	32,130	35,885	17,911	5,439	2,921	10,337	46,428	2,980	4,803	6,406	3,632	45,978	* 20	923	110,096	126,994	5,618
1863	33,416	243,922	38,302	39,376	15,651	5,380	3,925	11,683	24,245	2,688	5,294	5,614	2,387	44,069	5	820	191,467	152,921	6,292
1864	22,012	433,437	40,554	38,279	16,653	5,213	3,613	17,660	22,449	2,522	5,131	5,077	3,843	37,129	0	614	168,289	72,499	7,046

We omit barrels of Beans, Peas, and Rye, Rapeseed, Tons of Flax, Wool, Feathers, and Bark, as well as Loads of Green Feeding, Mangold Wurtzel, Turnips, Vegetables, Fruit, Native Coal, Iron, and other Minerals, in order not to encumber the Table with too lengthy details.

* Included for last three years with other pigs.

In 1823, the Bridge and Docks Act was passed, and duties were imposed on ships and cargoes, and the following is a Table of the principal statistics of the Port, every fifth year, since 1825:

Year.	Vessels Arrived.	Registered Tonnage Vessels.	Harbour Duties Collected.	Amount of H. M. Customs' Duties.	Register of Vessels belonging to the Port.
			£ s. d.	£ s. d.	Tons.
1825	440	46,983	1,211 12 1	58,138 19 8	563
1830	437	45,005	1,463 1 2	86,090 3 8	3,230
1835	476	60,724	1,755 2 8	136,949 8 6	4,173
1840	545	71,218	3,900 8 0	148,802 10 0	12,214
1845	585	76,658	4,204 10 7	192,975 15 2	14,395
1850	572	82,779	5,852 17 11		12,291
1855	554	78,847	6,741 16 11	168,780 17 1	12,121
1860	521	99,017	8,236 3 4	172,403 0 0	8,287
1864	446	91,052	8,208 8 4	136,551 0 4[1]	5,519

The largest amount of shipping that ever entered the port was in the year 1847, when 1013 vessels arrived, registering 149,867 tons—a striking evidence of the effect of the potato failure, which necessitated the repeal of the Navigation Laws, and an immense importation of foreign grain. As we have already observed, the coasting trade was some years ago carried on by a large fleet of fine clipper schooners, which in latter years have been superseded by first-class steamers; and large ships, by which the emigration and timber trades had been formerly carried on, have been considerably reduced in latter years, as well on account of the great stringency of the emigration laws, as of the extraordinary facilities which have been provided by the transatlantic steamers from Queenstown, Liverpool, etc.

There is every reason, notwithstanding a partial decline in trade, and commerce and manufactures, to hope that Limerick, situated in the midst of the most fertile and beautiful part of Ireland, at the head of the tidal Shannon, "the queen of Irish rivers", with railway communication to every part of the country—with a population only anxious for work, and with men of enterprise and ability giving an impetus to manufactures, will soon witness a revival, such as must realise the fondest anticipations of all who wish well to her historic fame and proud and invincible reputation.

The suburbs of Limerick have been very greatly improved within the last thirty or forty years. The townland of Corbally contains many handsome villas and residences, which range at a short distance parallel with the Abbey river, and from which the views of the city and river, the Clare and Tipperary mountains, and the scenery generally, are extremely beautiful. The North Strand, and the townland of Little Kilrush, the property of Thomas Revington, Esq., have become a favourite place for building,

[1] This return is up to 31st of March, 1865, and includes whiskey £2,293 16s.

and contain several excellent residences, including Eden Terrace, which Mr. Revington has erected. In the North Liberty Barony, on the Townland of Ballygrennan, is Castle Park, the handsome seat of John Christopher Delmege, Esq., J.P. for the counties of Clare and Limerick. The residence is commodious, and formerly belonged to the Ormsby family. There were several fine mansions on this estate, called the townland of Ballygrennan—viz., Ballygrennan House and demesne, the residence of the Smyth family; Peterville, of the Monsells; Creaghville, Violet Hill, and Summerhill, in one of which the first Lord Kiltarton was born. This estate of over three hundred acres was formerly in the North Liberty of the city of Limerick, but now forms part of the North Liberty Barony of the county Limerick. All the fine mansions have been entirely swept away, either by time or neglect, the only residence on the Ballygrennan estate being Castle Park, which was also a ruin, when it and the whole estate came into the possession of the Delmege family by purchase several years ago. The house has been considerably enlarged and improved in every way, but strictly preserves its ancient appearance. The demesne is well planted, the only old plantation left being stately rows of fine old limes. This house now ranks amongst the best of the second-class residences of the county. Its situation possesses the advantage of being within half an hour's drive of the city, and a similar distance from the Clare mountains, which are well supplied with grouse and other sorts of game. Mr. Delmege is the largest landed proprietor in the North Liberty Barony, and gives much employment on a considerable portion of his estates in his own hands in the counties of Clare and Limerick. James Sexton, Esq., J.P., is also a resident landed proprietor in this barony, and is the owner of some very rich corcass lands called Coonagh Sexton, lying along the banks of the Shannon, and which have been for a long time in the possession of the Sexon family.

Adjoining the North Liberty Barony is the Barony of Lower Bunratty, county Clare, within fifteen minutes walk of the city, where there are also several beautiful residences, including Quinpool, the property of Mrs. Honan; Whitehall, the property of Thomas Keane, Esq., M.D., J.P.; Parteen, the property of George Gloster, J.P., who has an excellent residence adjoining the Church of Parteen, and close by the great Lax Weir. Some few miles to the north is Trough House, the castellated residence of General Sir Charles Routledge O'Donnell, colonel of the 18th Hussars; Blackwater, the residence of Samuel Caswell, Esq., J.P., etc.[1] On the South Circular Road there are many commodious residences also; and here is situated the convent of the Faithful Companions already alluded to, which is one of the noblest educational establishments in the south of Ireland. Tervoe House, the residence of the Right Hon. William Monsell, M.P., embosomed in foliage, etc., lies west of the city, and has a picturesque appearance. New and tasteful blocks of buildings are rapidly rising in this direction, which has many claims to architectural beauty from its churches, convents, and schools.

At Park there was a chalybeate spa, which about sixty years ago was much frequented, but which has not only fallen into disuse, but has been completely forgotten in latter years. This most likely is *the* spa which is commemorated in the song of Garryowen. This spa is not mentioned by

[1] Near Blackwater is the Trooper's Bush.

Rutter in his history of Irish spas, who received his information of Castleconnell spa from his contemporary Dr. O'Halloran.

It has been observed that there are few cities in Europe more delightfully situated than Limerick. In the midst of a country teeming with agricultural and mineral riches, and surrounded by one of the most abundant salmon fisheries in the world,[1] with all the advantages of navigation, etc., it requires only the hand of industry and enterprise, to constitute it all that it was intended by Providence it should be. Seen from the towers of St. Mary's cathedral, it presents a view that cannot be surpassed for picturesque beauty and antiquarian interest. North and south, east and west, the country about it, bounded in the distance by ranges of lofty mountains, is fertile to a proverb, constituting a portion of the "golden vein". The broad Shannon winds its course above the city, and expands into an estuary below on its way to the Atlantic Ocean, after traversing 240 miles from its source in Leitrim, where, flowing out of Lough Allen—imbedded in lofty hills abounding in iron and coal—it washes the county of Roscommon, expands into the great Lough Ree, twenty miles long and four broad; going on by the counties of Tipperary and Galway to Portumna, in a more confined channel for thirty-seven miles; then through Lough Derg to Killaloe, and thence by the Doonas, with a fall of ninety-seven feet to Limerick—the scenes of ancient battles, and of more modern sieges: the old castles, the bridges—the quaint streets of the Englishtown, with their fading and falling Dutch gables—the Irishtown, with its historic places—the handsome and regular streets of the new town, with its churches, public buildings, shops, private residences, etc.—these objects all group together into a panorama on which the eye loves to dwell, suggesting the thought that a city so well circumstanced, must eventually rise superior to any combination of adverse circumstances by which it may be encumbered, and that as it has been "the fairest city of Munster", so it will not only preserve its reputation in that respect, but become the busy seat of manufacturing and commercial enterprise—the home of prosperity—as it has always been the pride of Irishmen in whatever part of the world they may dwell. The Shannon is well described in a beautiful sonnet by Sir Aubrey de Vere:

"River of billows! to whose mighty heart
The tide wave rushes to the Atlantic sea—
River of quiet depths by cultured lea,
Romantic wood or city's crowded mart—
River of old poetic founts! that start
From their old mountain cradles, wild and free,
Nursed with the fawns, lulled by the woodlark's glee,
And cushats' hymeneal song apart!—
River of chieftains whose baronial halls,
Like veteran warders, watch each wave worn steep,
Portumna's towers, Bunratty's regal walls,
Carrick's stern rock, the Geraldine's grey keep—
River of dark mementoes—must I close
My lips with Limerick's wrongs—with Aughrim's woes?"

About two miles south from Limerick, at a place called Newcastle, is a very fine race ground, with a permanent stand, where the sporting events celebrated in a well-known ballad are generally held. These races have latterly attracted a great deal of attention even in England. About a

[1] An inquiry was held by the commissioners of Fisheries in March, 1865, into the legality of the great Lax weir, which ended in an unanimous judgment on the part of the Commissioners in favour of the weir.

mile farther on, and in nearly the same direction, but nearer the Shannon, are situated the picturesque ruins of Castle Troy, once the seat of the K'Eogh family, of whom Mahony K'Eogh forfeited in the time of Cromwell, for his loyalty to the Stuarts. „ Dr. John K'Eogh, D.D., author of several learned works, and father of the author of the *Botanologia Universalis Hibernica*, the *Zoonomia Hibernica*, etc., was a member of this family. Further on in the same direction, is Mount Shannon, the beautiful demesne and residence of the late Earl of Clare, remarkable for its fine classical library, on which John, second Earl of Clare, expended a large sum of money. Near Mount Shannon are Rich Hill, the handsome residence of William Howley, Esq., D.L., Woodsdown, where Field-Marshal Lord Gough was born, which is now in the occupation of W. G. Gubbins, Esq., J.P., and which is divided from Annacotty Mills, etc., by the river Mulcair. A few miles east of Mount Shannon is Glaenstal Castle, the magnificent residence of Sir William Hartigan Barrington, Bart., and Clonshavoy, the tasteful residence of Caleb Powell, Esq., ex-M.P. for the county Limerick. In the vicinity of Limerick there are several attractive localities which merit attention, and to which excursions can be made by rail or boat, or by road, at a comparatively small cost, some of which may be noticed in a subsequent portion of this work.

The picturesque village of Kilkee, romantically situated upon the Clare coast, is the favourite bathing-place of the citizens of Limerick, who generally repair thither in considerable numbers when the season arrives. There are many other places within a few miles distance, which will well repay a visit, from the beauty of their scenery and their antiquarian and historical interest. Such are Carrig-o'-Gunnell, Adare, Castleconnell, Bunratty, Killaloe, Lough Gur, etc. For those, indeed, who are fond of exploring Druidic, military, and ecclesiastical antiquities, there is no county in Ireland which supplies more ample materials than Limerick, which possesses likewise numerous attractions for the lovers of sporting.

The last act of parliament passed in reference to Limerick, is that which empowers the Corporation to make an embankment at Corkanree, and to add to the city a certain portion of Corkanree which had been in the county. This act passed the committee of the House of Lords on Thursday, the 4th of May, and received the royal assent soon afterwards. Thus the citizens will be soon provided with a healthful and much-needed park and promenade.[1]

CHAPTER LIV.

EARLY ECCLESIASTICAL HISTORY OF LIMERICK.—DESCRIPTION AND ANNALS OF MUNGRET.—ST. NESSAN AND HIS CONTEMPORARIES AND SUCCESSORS. —ST. MUNCHIN, OR MANCHENUS.—ST. MUNCHIN'S CHURCH.—KING DONALD'S CHARTER, ETC.

We come now to that portion of our history which brings us back to events of remote ecclesiastical antiquity, being that period at and before St. Patrick's visit, on which so much discussion has arisen. The chronicles

[1] From this park the quays and shipping will be seen to advantage. Two other fine views may be obtained from the Corbally Road outside, and the Military Road inside the city. The Crescent with the O'Connell monument, Pery Square with the Rice monument, the Redemp

of some of our religious houses, especially their interior history, are necessarily meagre. Most of the records which the ravages of the barbarous Dane had spared, perished at the time of the Norman invasion, of the dissolution of monasteries under Henry VIII., and subsequently in the Cromwellian and even Williamite wars. But it is certain that a knowledge of Grecian and Roman literature and art, including a superior style of architecture, was known in Ireland long before the invasion, and that the Gospel was diffused abroad, and the blessings of education were known at home anterior to that disastrous event. Limerick appears to have been one of the first places in Ireland to attract the attention of the early Christian missionaries, the antiquity of its religious foundations ascending so high as the beginning of the sixth century, if not still higher.[1]

About the year 549, the holy Comin founded the churches and towers of Inniscalthra, on the Shannon. After the bloody battle of Cuildrheinne, which was fought between Dermod and Cuorrane Mac Aodla, in which the latter was aided by St. Columba, whose asylum he sought, which was invaded by Diurmuid—the victory being attributed more to the prayers of the saint than to the valour of the soldiery—Dermod had scarcely recruited the loss of the battle, when he commenced a war against the gallant Guare, King of Connaught. It is believed that he refused to pay the provincial tax, crowning Dermod as a monarch, who marched his army along the Shannon, probably to a little above Killaloe. The mediation of the holy Comin proved fruitless, as all remonstrances were rejected by Guare, who was foretold by the saint that his troops would be routed. The monarch's horse and foot plunged into the Shannon, forcibly gained the opposite bank, routed the enemy, who fled precipitately, yet rallied the following day. Guare, dreading to make his country a scene of war, surrendered himself to the monarch.

Before St. Columba established his celebrated monastic institution in the Scotch Island of Iona, an institution which remained undisturbed for two hundred years, an abbey had been founded at Mungret, the ancient Mongairit, about two miles south-west of Limerick, by St. Nessan[2] surnamed the Leper, who was confirmed by St. Patrick himself in the abbacy, and who died in 551, according to the *Annals of the Four Masters*, but according to the *Annals of Clonmacnoise*, in 561.

Mungret is even at this day a ruin of considerable size, and exhibits many tokens of high antiquity. The doors and windows of the church have either horizontal stone lintels, or that sort of round arch-head which denoted the Romanesque, less correctly, we think, called Norman architectural period which preceded the introduction of the pointed style.

The detached building on the road side bears marks of fire on its square lintel stones; and the roof, which, judging from the shape of the gables,

torist Church and Convent, the Convent and Orphanage of Mount St. Vincent, St. Michael's Protestant Church, built A.D., 1843-4-5, the Model Schools, the Turkish Baths with their minarets and other oriental features, etc., are all visible from the Military Road.

[1] De hac regione (says O'Flaherty) et Corcoiche plebe fuit S. Molua divo Bernardo (S. Bernard in vita Malachiæ, S. Luanus), Luanus clarus, S. Comgalli discipulus, cujus monasterium celebre Cluanfertense in Reginali agro, et Lagisia ad radicem montis Smoil, qui mons Bladma dictur—(*Ogygia*, p. iii. p. 381.)

[2] The festival of this saint is celebrated on the 25th July, and as a coincidence with his surname we may mention that near the eastern borders of the parish, opposite Ballinacurra, are the ruins of an ancient hermitage, which was afterwards said to have been an hospital for lepers.

must have been built somewhat in the style of Columbkill's House at Kells, St. Molua's at Killaloe, and St. Kevin's at Glendalough, was like these venerable structures, probably covered with large slate-like stones, several of which have been turned up in the field immediately adjacent to the building. The well known legend of the "wise women of Mungret", monks who disguised themselves in female attire, and who frightened away by their extraordinary learning certain professors from Lismore, who had come to test it, is familiar to every person in the vicinage. It is illustrative too of the admiration always felt for martial prowess by the Irish, that those soldier monks, the Knights Templars, who occupied the old Castle of Mungret, are still spoken of with great reverence in the neighbourhood, not only for their piety but their warlike spirit. If tradition can be relied on, they occasionally did garrison duty at Carrig-o-gunnell, and were well disposed, if not actually bound by engagement, to render military service when called on.[1]

The traditions about the abbey itself are not numerous. That Mungret was a famous religious house, formed by St. Patrick, that its students and monks were most numerous after it became a great college as well as a monastery, that there were of one name alone, one hundred and forty of the inmates called "John Loftus",[2] and that the monastery and college were burned by the Danes, and afterwards by Cromwell's forces, or probably by General Scravenmore, who blew up Carrig-o-gunnell in the Williamite wars, who are stated in the local traditions to have shelled it from the Shannon, on which occasion, whenever it happened, they are said to have set fire to the then thatched roof of the monastery; these are about the whole of the existing local traditions that refer to the history of this celebrated establishment. The great eastern window was some time ago quite covered with ivy externally, but some treasure-seekers removed it without doing any further mischief. Internally on the right side of the same window, which is broken into two lights by a mullion, there stood, until within the last few years, a fine specimen of a *piscina*, the bottom resembling the impress of a human face, which some Vandal, or dishonest antiquarian visitor, has lately destroyed if not removed. The people for miles around, were, in our memory, in the habit of applying their faces to this stone as a supposed remedy for headache. The venerable ash trees which occupied the northern side have also disappeared. And indeed even the very walls of this truly venerable house would have long ago been destroyed, had the builder of the new church been permitted to construct the new edifice on the site of the old. But the people of the neighbourhood firmly opposed it, and fortunately carried their point.

The *Psalter of Cashel* states that the Monastery of Mungret had within its walls six churches, and, exclusively of numerous scholars, 1,500 monks,

[1] Those who think we have assigned too high an antiquity to the existing walls of Mungret, will see that Dr. Petrie thought them still older. The ruined Church in the *Inis Lua*, near Killaloe, does not look much older than the detached Church of Mungret. The former, however, is one of our oldest stone churches.—(See Petrie's *Round Towers*, p. 183.) It is the belief of the peasantry near Mungret that a subterraneous passage connected the house of the Knights Templars, if not the Monastery, with the Castle of Carrig-o-gunnell. In proof of the truth of this opinion they point out a part of the road where there is a sort of hollow sound as if it closed a vault or archway. They also show the pond where the professors, disguised as women, pretended to be washing, and addressed their visitors in Greek, etc., like the story told in *Rabelais*.

[2] Loftus's Road received its name from three brothers.

of whom 500 were learned preachers, 500 psalmists, and 500 wholly employed in spiritual exercises. The ruins of the abbey, which was situated on the south side of the Shannon, consist of the walls of a church which by no means bespeak their former splendour. The west end is 47 feet long by 16 broad, with a plain narrow window. The centre or nave is 33 feet by 28½; and the communication from this to the east end is by a small arch. On the north side of the nave is a small porch or entrance. The west end is 12 feet by 22, on the north side of which is a small square tower, with ruined battlements. There are no ancient tombs to be found there. To the east of this are the ruins of another church, and about 300 yards distant from it, the remains of a tower and gateway. About 150 yards north of the church is a solidly built house, which we have spoken of as bearing marks of fire. It is of considerable extent, with lofty walls and jointed gables, with a narrow circular-headed window at the east end, and entered by a square ladder doorway on the west. In the adjoining fields extensive foundations are frequently found by the plough, and are also met with at Temple Mungret, which stands about half a mile north of the Protestant church, which was originally the hospital of the Knights Templars, and afterwards the manor house of the Bishop of Limerick.

The bell of Mungret—one of those ancient objects so interesting to the Christian archæologist—was dug up at Loughmore, in the same parish, near the abbey of Mungret; it is described in a popular periodical,[1] in which it is also pictorially represented, as of a square form, as a specimen of very rude workmanship, much corroded by time, and composed of a mixed metal, hammered and riveted together. The bell of Mungret is alluded to by Keating.

The early history of St. Nessan, who was a contemporary of St. Senan and Carthage, is involved in obscurity. We cannot admit, according to Lanigan, who remarks that it is strange that Ware says nothing of Mungret, the story of his having become a disciple of St. Patrick, when in Munster. He may have been at least in part a disciple of St. Ailbe, in Emly, with whom he was in the habit of conversing on theological subjects. At the time of these conversations he could not have been very young, as it may fairly be inferred he was born before the sixth century. He was then probably at that time, or before Ailbe's death, abbot of Mungret. He never rose higher in the Church than the rank of deacon, by which title he was known during his life and ever since. Yet his reputation was so great, that he has been considered as one of the Fathers of the Irish Church, and therefore it can sarcely be doubted that he was that Nessan named in the second chapter of the saints. St. Neassan or Nessan, is thus spoken of in the *Martyrology of Tallaght*, by Cumin of Connor, who flourished, according to Colgan, about the year 635:—"Neassan, the holy deacon, loved an angelic pure mortification. There never came past his lips anything that was false or deceitful".

The following are the leading events in the history of the abbey which we find in the ancient chronicles:[2]—St. Neassan was succeeded in the abbey by St. Munchin, son of Seadna, grandson of Cas, and great grandson of Conall of the Dalgais, and nephew of Bloid, King of

[1] *Dublin Penny Journal*, vol. iv. p. 237.

[2] Our authorities are M'Curtin, Lanigan, *Annals of the Four Masters*, Colgan, *Trias Thaumaturga*, et *Vit. Sti. Pii. Acta Sanctorum*, Keating, etc.

Thomond, who, on account of his unexampled piety and great learning, was ordered by St. Patrick to undertake the instruction of his converts in Connaught, and afterwards became the first bishop of Limerick.[1]

A.D. 760. Died the Abbot Ailioll, the son of Creabachain.[2]

820. This abbey was plundered and destroyed by the Danes.

834. This year the abbey, together with several other churches in Munster, was burnt and destroyed by the Danes.[4]

840. The Danes repeated their depredations.[5]

908. Cormac M'Cullenan, Archbishop of Cashel and king of Munster, did, by his last will, bequeath to this abbey three ounces of gold, an embroidered vest, and his blessing.[6]

909. Died the Abbot Maoileasil.[7]

934. The abbey was again consumed by fire.[8]

993. Died the Abbot Muirgheas, the son of Muireadhy.[9]

994. Died Rebechan, the son of Domchudha, the Archdeacon.[10]

1006. Died the Abbot Caithair, the son of Maony.[11]

1033. Died Constans, he was Archidnach of this abbey, and also of the Abbey of Derest Aenguis.[12]

1080. The abbey suffered much this year from a general conflagration.[13]

1088. Donal M'Lochloin, with the forces of Ulster, destroyed this abbey.[14]

1102. On the 5th of October, died in this abbey the blessed Mugron O'Morgair, principal professor of Divinity at Armagh, and in the west of all Europe.[15]

A.D. 731. According to the *Annals of the Four Masters*, the death of Molua, of the monastery of Mungret occurred.

In 751 the death of Astell, Abbot, took place.

In 752, death of Bodhbhghal, Abbot [756, *Annals of Ulster.*]

And according to the *Annals of Innisfallen*, Cuind Mac Cirerain died in 951.

In 965 Conn, son of Cercran, Abbot, and "head of all Munster", as the *Annals of the Four Masters* call him, died.

* 975 Death of Muirg Mac Muirdoch, Provost of Mungret.

* 989 Death of Caher, son of Moenach, Abbot.

[Thus marked * are taken from the *Annals of Innisfallen.*]

The *Annals of the Four Masters* mention the following:—

994. Death of Rebechan, son of Dunchad, Airchinneach.

1011. Death of Art O'Donogh, Abbot.

1014. (*recte* 1015) Niall, son of Dearggan, Airchinneach of Mungret, killed.

1028. Death of Art Ua Dunchada, Airchinneach.

1033. Death (*quievit*) of Con Mac Maelpatrick, do.

1070. Death of Cathasach, son of Cairbre, Abbot.

1171. Mungret burned by Murtagh O'Brien.

1107. Mungret devastated by Murtagh O'Brien.

1179. Donald O'Brien, king of Limerick, granted the lands of Mungret and the lands of Ivamnach to Brictius, Bishop of Limerick, successor of Turgesius (who assisted at the Council of Lateran with other Irish bishops in 1179-80), and his successors, and to the clergy of St. Mary's, Limerick.

[1] Lanigan, *Eccles. Hist.*, vol. ii. p. 103, etc.
[2] *Annals of the Four Masters.* [3] *Annals of the Four Masters.*
[4] *Ibid.* [5] M'Curtin, p. 193, 184.
[6] *Annals of the Four Masters.* [7] *Tr. Th.* p. 633.
[8] *Annals of the Four Masters.* [9] *Idem.*
[10] *Act. SS.*, p. 582. [11] *Annals of the Four Masters.*
[12] *Ann. Idem.* [13] *Ibid.* [14] *Ibid.* [15] *Ibid.*

The Black Book of Limerick contains a copy of this charter, from which it was taken by Sir James Ware. In the Sloane MSS. (British Museum) there is a copy of the charter also copied. The following is the charter:—

Charta Donaldi, Regis Limericensis.

[The date of this Charter was about 1194; the Archbishop of Cashel was Mathew O'Heney. Ware.]

Donaldus Rex Limericensis universis Dei fidelibus tam presentibus quam futuris Salutem. Non lateat universitatem vestram me donasse Brictio Lumnicano Episcopo, suisque successoribus cleroque Sanctæ Mariæ Limericensi in liberam ac perpetuam elemosynam terram Mungram [terras Imungram WARE and ERCK] et terras Ivamnachani ab arcu viz.? Immungram usque ad terras Imolin; et a vado Ceinu usque ad flumen Sinan cum omnibus appendentibus, [al. appendicibus] Ut autem valida fiat hæc elemosyna, sigilli mei impressione eam confirmo. Teste Domino Mathæo Cassellensi et Ruadri Uagradei.

Which is thus translated:

Charter of Donald King of Limerick.

Domnaldus, or Domnald, king of Lumneach, to all the faithful of God, as well present as to come, greeting. Know ye all that I have granted to Brictius, Bishop of Lumneach, and to his successors, and to the clergy of St. Mary's of Limerick, in free and perpetual alms, the lands of Immungram, (now Mungaret) and the lands of Ivamnach; that is, from the arch of Imungram to the lands of Imalin, and from the ford of Cein to the River Sinan, with all their appendances. And in ratification of this my grant in frankalmoigne, I confirm it with the impression of my seal. Witness, Lord Mathew, Archbishop of Cashel, and Roger O'Gradei.

1630. In this year, April 22, the Vicarage of Mungret was taxed at £142. The taxation and boundaries of this as well as of other vicarages of Ireland were made by Francis, Bishop of Limerick, and other commissioners, on October 5th, and fifth of Charles I. The taxation is quoted in Seward's *Tip. Hib.*, ap. p. 22.

The *Erenach* or *Aircinneach*, as well as the similar but superior officer *Comharba* (Coarb), corruptly written *Corba* or *Corbe*, was in ancient times the manager of church lands. By degrees the office of the erenach fell into the hands of laymen, who consequently assumed the title of archdeacons. In fact, the erenachs were the actual possessors of old church lands, out of which they paid in money or kind certain contributions for ecclesiastical purposes. The monks of Mungret were Canons Regular of the order of Augustine. It is still church land, and went into the possession of the Protestant Church in the reign of Elizabeth.

Dr. Lanigan does not hold some of the popular opinions about St. Nessan or St. Patrick. We give those opinions, with the authorities on which they rest. Dr. Lanigan, v. ii., 104, says that it is undeniable that St. Nessan was abbot, and most probably of Mungret, but that he cannot mark the precise time. He died, he says, in 552 (*Tr. Th.*, 186), and *therefore* could not have been placed over Mungret by St. Patrick, unless he (?) had lived about 140 years. It is to be observed, however, that in making St. Patrick's death occur in his seventy-eighth year, anno 465, Lanigan goes against the joint authority of the Annals of Ulster and the Annals of the

Four Masters, who are followed by Usher, Ware, Colgan, etc., in assigning the date A.D. 493 for that event. Lanigan's reasoning is very ingenious; he uses very scant ceremony with O'Halloran, Archdall, and Ferrar, whom he describes as nonsensical and ridiculous, the two first for stating that the Monastery of Mungret existed in the fourth century; the latter, for assigning its foundation to the year 433.[1]

St. Munchin or Manchenus, above referred to, son of Sedna,[2] is said by a continued tradition, which has been followed by the ancient writers, and by Sir James Ware and his authorities, etc., to have been the first Bishop of Limerick, and to have founded a cathedral there, which, until the foundation of St. Mary's cathedral by Donald O'Brien, King of Limerick, about the time of the arrival of the English in Ireland, was the cathedral of the see of Limerick. The Ostmen are stated to have restored St. Munchin's Church. The festival of the saint, who is the patron of the diocese, is observed in the Catholic ritual on the 2nd of January. It is a matter of no small controversy who this Munchin was. We are of opinion that he was that Manchenus, whom Jocelyn (*Vit. Pat.*, cap. 69) calls "a religious man and one of complete knowledge of the Scriptures", "and whom", as he affirms, "St. Patrick placed over the subjects of Amalgaid, King of Connaught, then recently converted to the Christian faith". Others confound him with Manchenus, whom the Annals of Ulster call abbot of Menedrochid, and say that he died in 651 or 652. This, however, is improbable. To St. Munchin's sister, St. Lelia, the church of Killeely, in the parish of Killeely, was dedicated. Tradition ascribes to Rose, another

[1] Until the year 1860 the Castle of Mungret was in good preservation. It stands on the lands of Castle Mungret, and in that year lost some ten or twelve feet of its original proportions, the tenant who took the lands from the Protestant bishop, wishing to make it available for a mansion house. This act spoiled the venerable beauty of this ancient structure, which stands close by the Tervoe Road, near the hill of the Cross of Mungret, and not far from Temple Mungret, a fee property of M. R. Ryan, Esq., J.P.

The Rev. Michael Casey, P.P., Mungret and Crecora, and his Parishioners, have recently erected in the churchyard of Mungret, a tabular monument fixed to the south wall of the old Church, and made of cut lime stone, to the memory of the Parish Priests who were interred from time to time in that ancient cemetery: it bears the following inscriptions with the sacred monogram I.H.S., chalices, etc.:—

Erected by the Rev. Michael Casey and his Parishioners of Mungret and Crecora, to ask prayers of the faithful.
Rev. Michael Mac Namara,
who served these parishes about 40 years, and died 11th April, 1822.
Rev. Denis McCarthy,
who served about 30 years, and died about 1792.
Rev. John Heynes,
who served 26 years, and died 1756.
And other priests whose remains lie beneath, and whose names and date are not remembered.
Requiescant in Pace.
A.D. 1862.

[2] St. Munchin, son of Sedna, son of Cassius Tail, the Dalcassian—Colgan, p. 540.
[3] *Ware's Bishops.*

sister of the saint, the building of Little Kilrush,[1] and to St. Covanus, the abbot, the historic church of Kilquane, all of which, tradition further has it, were built near the time of St. Patrick. The commemoration of the death of Manchenus is pointed out under the name of Manicheus, "the wise Irishman", in the books *De mirabilibus Scripturæ*, by some erroneously ascribed to St. Augustine (*Opera St. August.*, tom. 3, lib. 2, cap, 4). The ancient church of St. Munchin was situated on the south side of the river Shannon. Tradition has it that when St. Munchin was building his church the inhabitants of Limerick were very unwilling to contribute thereto, which so provoked the saint that he gave this curse to them, viz.: "that the natives of Limerick should never prosper therein".[2] On the site is built a Protestant church, a comparatively modern building seven hundred feet in circumference, bounded on the north or river side by the old town wall. In 1711, a year of very great excitement in Limerick, the Right Rev. Dr. Smyth, Protestant bishop, expended a considerable sum of money in repairing this church. His sons, Charles Smyth, Esq., M.P., and the Rev. John Smyth, set on foot in 1734 a subscription by which a sum of £150 was raised to build a vestry room.[3]

[1] The residence of the Hon. Robert O'Brien, brother of Lord Inchiquin, is close by this ancient church, which is in many respects similar to that of Mungret.

[2] White's MSS.

[3] There are many remarkable monuments in and about St. Munchin's Church, which deserve notice, as in ancient as well as in modern times it has been a favourite burial place with the citizens of Limerick. The oldest monument within the church, and that which claims first notice on account of the beauty of its design and the finish of its construction, is that which at a cost of £147 1s. 7.* the Right Rev. Dr. Smyth raised to the memory of his wife in 1717, which lady was daughter of the Right Rev. Ulysses Burgh, Protestant Bishop of Ardagh, who had been promoted to that see from the Deanery of Emly by William III. about 1693.

* The monument, which is raised at the south side of the Communion Table, over the family vault of the Smyths and their successors the Verekers, is made of fine black and white marble, and supported by two cherubim. The following is the inscription:—

"Conditum est hoc monumentum a Thoma Smyth S. T. P. episcopo Limericensi, in piam memoriam nuperæ suæ uxoris charissimæ Dorothæ, quæ obiit, sexto die Augusti, A. D. 1711, ætatis 43, cujus reliquiæ hic sitæ sunt. Filia erit Ulisses Burgh S. T. P. non ita pridem Episcopi Ardachadensis, ex Maria Nata Gulielmi Kingsmill armigeri.

"In eodem tumulo juxta jacent Maria Mater, et Elizabetha filia præfati Thomæ Smyth, quarum prior obiit septimo die Septembris, 1704; altera vero 15 die Novembris 1709, cum jam decimum sextum ætatis annum compleverat".

Near the north door of the church the Right Rev. Dr. Leslie and his wife are interred. Outside are a few ancient monuments, the most remarkable of which is one of the Creagh family, now represented by Pierce Creagh, Esq., of Ralahine, county Clare. On this monument the name

Andreas Creagh

is cut on a stone moulding, placed over three arches, which appear to have formed portion of a larger monument. Flat on the ground is a slab, with this curious inscription.

Armorial
bearings of the
MacMahons.

This monument was erected by
Thomas M'Mahon his spouse
Brigt. in memory of his father in
law Kennedy M'Mahon died 9br.
27 1722 aged 103 years.
Also (defaced) his (defaced) children Bridget
(defaced) Kennedy 7 years and Brien 4 years.
Also (defaced).

It is remarkable that of the bishops who followed St. Munchin, or Manchin, there is no record before the conversion of the Danes to Christianity, though there can be no question that the Church of Limerick had always enjoyed the continued succession of its episcopacy. Gille or Gilbert (said to be a Dane), first Apostolic Legate to Ireland, was Bishop of Limerick A.D. 1110, and flourished until 1140, when he died. He convened a synod at Rathbreasail, which twenty-five bishops attended, and at this synod, according to Ware, the limits of the Irish bishoprics were laid down.[1] He assisted at the consecration of Bernard, Bishop of Menevia, (St. David's) in 1115, which was performed at Westminster by Ralph, Archbishop of Canterbury, according to Eadermus. Growing old and infirm, in 1139, he voluntarily divested himself of the legatine authority, when the Pope raised Malachy Morgair, Bishop of Down, to that office.[2] He wrote epistles to Anselm, Archbishop of Canterbury, a book *de Statu Ecclesiae* or *de Usu Ecclesiastico*, which contains the different forms of liturgies and the various ways of celebrating divine service in the Church of Ireland, which he reforms to the Roman custom.[3] He is said to have insisted, with Malchus, Bishop of Lismore,[4] on St. Malachi accepting the Archbishopric of Armagh, in virtue of his legatine authority, when he assembled the bishops and great men of the island, threatening St. Malachi with excommunication if he persevered in his refusal. According to Keating he was called Giolla Easpuic (bishop)—was Abbot of Bangor,

A short distance from the gate which leads to the cemetery, surrounded by an iron railing, is the tomb of the late Thomas O'Reilly, Esq., father of the Very Rev. Dr. O'Reilly, S. J. It has the following inscription on white marble:—

✠
I. H. S.
To the Memory of
Thomas O'Reilly, Esq.,
who departed this life on the
12th of January, 1833, aged 51,
this monument is erected
as a small testimony of respect
and affection of his deeply
attached widow and son.
Requiescat in pace.

In the same tomb repose the mortal remains of Mrs. O'Reilly, a munificent benefactress to the poor.

In the cemetery are monuments to the late Alderman Pierce Shannon, who died during his mayoralty, and to the late Charles O'Hara, Esq., etc. There are vaults of the Bannatyne, Gelston,

[1] Keating gives an account of the boundaries of the various bishoprics of Ireland as they were then determined; but the names he mentions are so worn out of knowledge that I must be content, for want of information, to pass them over and refer the reader to him.—(*Harris's Ware.*)

[2] *St. Bernard, Vita Malach.*, cap. ii.

[3] Dr. Thomas James, in his Catalogue of the MSS. of Benet College, Cambridge, and from him to John Pitts, have ascribed this book to a counterfeit Gille, Bishop of Lincoln.—(*Harris, Ware*).

[4] *Britannia Sancta*, p. 238, vol. ii.

and flourished in the reign of Murtagh O'Brien, the pious king who bestowed Cashel on the clergy. The national council which he assembled at Uisneach, in Meath, consisted of fifty bishops, of whom he was president, three hundred priests and three thousand other ecclesiastics. The Archbishops of Armagh and Cashel took places next to him. His second synod, or rather the second session of the first, was held at Fiadhmac Naongusa, at which the Archbishop of Cashel, the Vicar of Armagh, eight other bishops, three hundred and sixty priests, and one hundred and forty deacons attended. Many excellent laws for the observance of clergy and laity were enacted at this synod. At the synod of Rath-breasail twelve bishops were appointed in Munster and Leinster, ten in Ulster and Connaught, and two in Meath. The lands of the bishops and clergy were settled. In Munster, under the Archbishop of Cashel, were appointed the dioceses of Waterford and Lismore, Cork, Rathmoigh, Deisgirt, Limerick, Killaloe, and Emlioch-Jobhair (Emly).[1] The boundaries of the diocese of Limerick were thus regulated, viz.: the diocese of Limerick extended from Maolcarn[2] westward to Ath-an-Coinne Lodain, and to Lough Guhr, and to Rathachmore, and from Aidhne westwards, and Ard-Patrick southwards, and Beallach-Feabhrat, and Tullach inclusive; Feil and Tarbert westwards, and Cuinic in Thomond, Cross in Mount-Uidhe an Riogh, and Dubh Abhain.[3] The journal of that convention adds this sanction in this place: "Whoever exceeds these boundaries acts contrary to the will of God, and the intention of St. Peter and St. Patrick, and all the Christian Churches". St. Bernard, in his life of St. Malachy, gives high praise to the illustrious Gilbert. He says that St. Malachy came into Munster to make interest with the Irish Princes against Maurice, the usurper of the see of Armagh, who by them was accordingly expelled. "Instabant", adds St. Bernard, "tam sancto operi omnes, duo potissimum episcopi Malchus et Gilbertus, quorum prior ipse est senior Lismorensis, alter senior Limericensis, etc."

Patrick, in 1140, succeeded Gilbert, having been elected bishop by the Ostmen, who were then masters of the country; he was consecrated in

Phayer, Frazer, Lloyd, and other families. A monument to Colonel H. A. O'Donnell, C. B., father of General Sir Charles O'Donnell, has the following inscription:—

Colonel H. A. O'Donnell, C. B.,
served 30 years in India,
died 26th December, 1840,
aged 82 years.
Also
Mary Napier O'Donnell,
his wife,
died
,, aged years

The curious story of this monument is, that the surviving widow married some years afterwards, and thus cheated the sculptor of his anticipation.

[1] Keating.
[2] The name of the stream which runs through Six-Mile-Bridge, in the county of Clare, southwards to the Shannon.
[3] Keating.

England by Theobald, Archbishop of Canterbury, to whom, as Primate of Great Britain, he took an oath of canonical obedience.[1] Patrick sat but a short time; and during his episcopacy, Limerick, unquestionably, was in a state of great confusion on account of the different invasions from Connaught. The Danes showed an inveterate hatred not only to the Irish people, but to the Irish Church—for wherever they had influence or command, as in Dublin, Waterford, Cork, and Limerick, their bishops swore canonical obedience to the Archbishop of Canterbury.[2]

Harold, an Ostman (by the Irish called Erolb), succeeded, and died in 1151. Turgesius, a Dane also, followed. He assisted at the synod of Kells, which was convened by Cardinal Paparo. Brictius, an Ostman, was next in succession. He was one of the Irish bishops who assisted at the Council of Lateran, in the years 1179 and 1180. His companions to Rome were Laurence, Archbishop of Cashel; Constantine, bishop of Killaloe; Felix, Bishop of Lismore; and Augustine, Bishop of Waterford; who first went over to England, took an oath not in any way to act prejudicially to the king's interest while in Rome, and were then permitted to proceed on their journey. Donald O'Brien, king of Limerick, as we have already seen, granted the lands of Imungran, (now Mungret) and the lands of Ivamnach to Brictius and his successors, and to the clergy of St. Mary's of Limerick.

Indeed the royal O'Briens were the most generous and munificent friends of the Church in these early times. They founded monasteries and churches all over Thomond, and in Limerick their donations and grants partook of the most princely proportions.

CHAPTER LV.

THE SUCCESSION OF BISHOPS—DONAT O'BRIEN—ST. MARY'S CATHEDRAL—DONAT'S ESTABLISHMENT OF THE CHAPTER—THE BLACK BOOK OF LIMERICK—TAXATION OF MEYLER FITZHENRY—DECLARATION AND RESOLUTIONS OF THE CHAPTER, ETC., ETC.

Donat O'Brien, A.D. 1207, who descended from the royal stock, was the next Bishop after Brictius. He was a prelate in high repute for learning, wisdom, and liberality, in which he was more illustrious even than in birth. He stood high in favour with king John, when that unprincipled monarch had begun to learn to respect the rights of the Church, and to restore those possessions which he had at first unscrupulously alienated from their legitimate owners. Donat internally arranged St. Mary's Church, which was built on the site of the palace of the O'Briens, the first stone being laid in 1172 by Donald O'Brien, and which was largely endowed by his son, Donagh Carbragh O'Brien, who consolidated the work. St. Mary's

[1] The following is the profession of obedience as given in Usher's *Sylloge*, pp. 92, 93:—"I, Patrick, being elected to the government of the Church of Limerick, and being now, by the grace of God, about to be consecrated bishop by you, Reverend Father, Theobald, Archbishop of the Holy Church of Canterbury, and Primate of all Britain, do promise, in all things, to pay my bounden subjection to you, and to all your successors, canonically succeeding you". This profession may be seen in the ancient book in the Cotton Library, which formerly belonged to the Church of Canterbury. Ware did not know how long Patrick sat in this see.

[2] White's MSS.

cathedral, indeed, has very strong claims upon the citizens of Limerick, the antiquarian, and the lover of art; and a brief account of it may be introduced here. To the Catholic, St. Mary's is a trophy, not of victory, but of the taste and refinement of ages foully slandered. By Catholics it was planned, executed, endowed, and to them it owes all that it is. With them its fondest associations are connected. A few bishops, De Burgh, D'Eau, or Waters, and O'Dea, before the Reformation, and Adams after it, took a deep interest in the Cathedral: but their additions can be discerned from the original structure, and exhibit more zeal than judgment or architectural taste. Around the church in days of yore stood the Chapter House—the Divinity School—the Consistorial Court—the *Schola Cantorum*—the Cloisters with residences of Canons, Vicars Choral, and Dean, hence called the Dean's close, of which many interesting remains are still traceable to the north and south of the church. Some years ago a passage was discovered leading under Bow Lane, from the west side of the north transept, to the ruins of the Minor Canon's college, founded by Bishop Hubert de Burgh, and lately a smithy. With the exception of the sacristy, nothing is now wanting of the old edifice. The chancel must have been a little curtailed of its original length. The old edifice, disencumbered of its modern additions, was a pure basilica, consisting of nave, two aisles parallel with nave, transepts, chancel, the east side of which was not an apsis, but a straight wall in which was a three-light window. This deviation from the lay basilica was universal before the introduction of choirs. The sacristy, placed of necessity near the high altar, was another common deviation from the strict basilica shape. The nave was 170 feet long—formerly it is believed it was 180—by 27 wide; yet, from the circumstance of each triforium ending in a spiral staircase (which was discovered about the year 1861) leading to the roof, it may be asked if the original church did not terminate at the present intersection with the transepts; and there is strong reason for believing that the chancel was a subsequent addition of Bishop Donat, whose armorial bearings, carved in grit-stone, are inserted in the west end of the north chancel wall, and may be seen over the present pulpit. The transept was 93 feet long, by 30. The aisles are, or rather were, very narrow—only 12 feet wide. The pillars which separate the nave from the aisles are mere square piles of masonry, chamfered or rounded off on the edges, the base and cap only being of cut stone—being 36 feet square, and some, those of the transept, still grosser. On both sides of the wall which formed the aisles are still seen the corbels or brackets for receiving the beams on which rested the heels and heads of the rafters of the former penthouse roof. These aisles terminated at the transept in an altar, the piscina of one of which is still seen in the northern aisle. A southern porch existed formerly, which has been replaced by a plainer and longer modern one. The tower attracts our attention for many reasons. Its situation is peculiar; its form a subject of controversy. In some of the older maps of Limerick there is a spire where the tower now stands.[1] Nevertheless, we are inclined to think that no spire crowned St. Mary's cathedral in the twelfth century, and equally certain does it appear to us that the present tower has not the full

[1] Such it appears in the old maps published by the commissioners of Henry VIII. and Elizabeth—in the maps of the *Hibernia Pacata*, and in Speed's, etc.

dimensions of the one first erected. The position of this tower on a pillared archway right over the entrance into the church and in the middle of the façade, was a new and bold idea in the twelfth century. In almost all Saxon churches, and early English, the tower was at the end, either right or left of the façade, and disfiguring the building: hence the idea of erecting two, one at each end, to remedy the defect and introduce uniformity. It would seem as if the O'Brien architect, after many an anxious debate with the wise men of the day, contended that a tower should not rest on solid walls down to the foundation—that a well-constructed arch possessed all the strength and durability of the thickest wall; and he boldly placed his in the centre of the façade—its natural position,—dispensing with the heavy, unsightly walls which would have darkened the entrance into the cathedral. This appears one of the most interesting portions of the entire building, and perhaps to this are we to attribute the unnecessary heaviness and clumsiness of the other pillars in the cathedral,—the architect would have uniformity throughout.

This is the first instance of a tower placed in the façade in Ireland, or perhaps in England, and is supposed by Wilkinson to be a portion of the original palace of Donald O'Brien.[1] The grand church at Manister, built by an O'Brien, twenty-four years before, also had a tower, now no more, on the south side of the western front, and was larger than St. Mary's cathedral, far more ornate, and altogether more carefully got up. We take it, then, that this unsightliness was permitted because the architect, the first of his day, knew no better. The sacristy of St. Mary's opened on the transept and chancel. The battery in the King's Island demolished it at the first siege. It was rebuilt, as the spear-headed doorway, an undying monument of perverted taste, shows. After the second siege, which was as fatal to it as was the first, it was not rebuilt. Then it was that the eastern wall of the cathedral, probably, was moved back, and the sacristy too was sacrificed to public convenience. On its site the present Blue School was partly erected.

No substantial change was made in the cathedral from its first erection. In 1311, Bishop Eustace de l'Eau, or Waters, repaired and beautified it. A change was indeed made in the fifteenth century, perhaps by Bishop Cornelius O'Dea, which pervades the entire church, and gives it unhappily a comparatively modern appearance. The style of the church at the commencement was pure Saxon, the semicircular arch of which was often retained in the Norman doorway, which is remarkable for its recessed concentric arches and richly decorated pillars, both styles being varieties of the Romanesque, reminding one of some of the churches of Canterbury. This is visible in the western doorway recently cleared away, and in all the clerestory windows—in all the mouldings, few as they are—in the clumsiness of the pillars and lowness of the arches, and in the red standstone jamb lining of the doors and windows. At this time arose some innovator, who could see beauty only in the pointed arch, and he declared fierce war upon the round one; and so effectually had this idea been acted upon, that the pointed arch is everywhere to be seen—in the large windows, in the transept, in the nave, even in the arches under the tower. In the clerestory windows alone does the round arch appear; but the innovator, while leaving these untouched, with an extreme consistency,

[1] *Wilkinson's Ancient Architecture of Ireland.*

put them out of view by the many additions then made to the cathedral. The real fact seems to be, that the successive architects followed each the prevailing style of his own day. We should call it the Hiberno-Romanesque transition style.

Wilkinson[1] states that the three distinct features which the Norman architecture of Ireland is said to possess, is recognizable in the door of this cathedral, as it is equally in that of the cathedral of Killaloe, in which the ornament resembles the sculptured foliage of the latter Roman remains. Limerick cathedral ranks in importance as to structure next to St. Patrick's and Christ Church of Dublin, and those of St. Canice (Kilkenny), and Cashel.

The additions made to the original edifice are some of ancient, others of modern date. The latter became indispensable when the Dean's close was diverted from its original purpose. A Consistorial Court, a Chapter Room, a Sacristy or Vestry Room, had to be provided, and convenience alone was consulted in the few additions then made; but, before the reformation, much was added, principally by private citizens, who founded chantries in the cathedral, and erected the chapels at their own expense. Of these chapels there were many. The additions made by Bishops D'Eau, or Waters, or by the great prelate O'Dea, at a later period, aided by some families, such as the Arthurs in particular, claim some notice. They harmonize not with the style of the original building; they bespeak a later style and more modern taste; but are not without some compensating advantages. They do away with the narrow aisles and low exterior walls; they give massiveness and elevation to the whole, internally and externally, which it did not previously possess, and such evidently was the object of those who planned them. No addition appears to have been made to the chancel or transept; from this point down they commence. On the north side rises a chapel, higher, wider, and longer than the transept parallel to which it runs; and as it juts out six feet beyond the north transept, it appears at first sight, to a person viewing the church from the river, to be the northern extremity of the real transept. This must have been the work of some distinguished family, most probably the Arthurs, as we shall see as we proceed. A less pretentious chapel lies alongside it. On the southern side, parallel also with the transept, and at right angles also with the nave, are two side chapels, in all four. The eastern wall is entirely bare. The altars, which had been in that place, being peculiarly obnoxious to Republican levellers and Puritanical hate, have been totally defaced, not a vestige remaining. In the side walls are the mutilated remains of several private monuments. Some mutilated statues were found at different times, clear indications of what formerly existed; and we learn from the Arthur MSS. that St. Mary's formerly contained a series of noble monuments. A battlement runs along the aisles externally, and the angles of the tower, the top of which is 120 feet from the ground, are finished off with Irish stepped turrets.

"To the O'Briens the honour is unquestionably due of patronising the style of architecture of the cathedral, and erecting some of the fairest monuments in that style. The style itself is attributed by some to Bishop Gilbert, a learned and accomplished ecclesiastic,[2] who lived to see and

[1] *Wilkinson's Ancient Architecture of Ireland.*

[2] Essay of the late Very Rev. Dean Cussen, P.P., V.G., on St. Mary's Cathedral, written the *Limerick Reporter and Tipperary Vindicator.*

direct the architect of Manister Nenay, in 1148, when a colony from Mellifont established themselves at that place, at the invitation of King Turlogh O'Brien, who endowed magnificently the new establishment, and built their church at his own expense. We may add, that in the same style and exactly on the same plan was erected by King Donald and his son Donagh Carbrac O'Brien, the cathedral of Cashel, in 1172 (in the same year as that of Limerick), or that to which Cormac's chapel was but the chapter house, and monasteries without number at Corcomroe, Holycross, etc.: this last was so often restored and improved, that all trace of the first Saxon erection has vanished: at Kilcooly, Canon Island on the Shannon, Peter's Cell in Limerick, also the grand Dominican Convent, and the Augustinian Nunnery; the Franciscan Convent in Ennis, and in many other places: and in truth, it must be added, that as these are some of the oldest, so are they the finest in Munster. Athassel Abbey may alone be compared with them; but all the erections of the Geraldines, Earls of Kildare, at Adare, Desmond at Askeaton and Lislachtin, Clan Gibbons at Ballinegall and Killmallock, and of so many others who founded religious houses in latter times, fall immeasurably behind those of the O'Briens. The O'Briens were worthy of the distinguished architect, and he was worthy of them. In the cathedrals of Cashel and Limerick, particularly in the latter, limestone is the chief material employed.

It is not our intention to dwell on the transactions between King John and the English Church, or the struggles between the hierarchy and the crown for precedence.[1] One of the very earliest acts of Bishop Donat was

[1] King John's dealings with the Church forms a long and most important chapter in history. Magna Charta, dated June 15, 1215, recites as present among the Archbishops, Henry, Arch bishop of Dublin, John De Lacy, Constable of Chester, and others.

Twenty-four baronies named by it for government.

The "freedom of the English Church" is the subject of the first chapter. At its original inditing the Kingdom of Ireland had no share (says Lord Cope) in this liberty, but by a law enacted in 1495, 2 c. Hy. vii., it was decreed that all previous statutes of England should be extended into that country.

Copies of Magna Charta were sent to Ireland, and in the Patent Rolls, Record Office, Tower, London, is a copy of the king's letter sent with it. The following are extracts:

"The king to the archbishops, bishops, abbots, earls, barons, knights, and to all his faithful subjects who are now throughout Ireland, greeting.

"Commending your faith in the Lord, which ye have always shown unto the lord our father and unto us, we will give in token of your fidelity so manifest and so famous to our kingdom of Ireland, the liberties of our kingdom of England, granted by our father and ourself, and which liberties distinctly reduced to writing we now send to you, signed with the seal of our lord Gualo, Legate of the Apostolic See", etc., etc.—6th February, 1216.

After the granting of Magna Charta at Runnymede he passed a season of so much seclusion that "his subjects knew not where he was, whether he had turned pirate or fisherman, until he appeared at Dover in September to meet the ambassadors from the Pope". His interview with Pope Innocent embraces a long series of instruments wherein the great charter was annulled by the Pontiff, and ended with a special excommunication of thirty-two English barons, dated December 16, 1215.

The French under Louis continued preparations to invade England. In vain did Cardinal Gualo forbid it, foreseeing that, if successful, the Pope would lose his interest in England, so that he forbade it, upon the penalty of excommunication, as belonging to the Holy See.. The French persisted, and landed at Sandwich in 1216.

John died October 19, 1216. One of his last acts was to write to the Pope, Honorius III., recommending his children to his protection, and by his will making "satisfaction to the Holy Church for damages and injuries", and "in making distribution of alms to the poor and religious houses for the health of my soul. Constituting as managers for me a certain cardinal priest, several bishops, and Walter De Lacy, and others".

A translation of the deed by which England was consigned to the Pope by King John, says: "We have freely given unto God and his Holy Apostles Peter and Paul, and our Mother the

to call together his clergy, to establish secular canons in his cathedral church of St. Mary, to deliberate on the subject of the statutes for canonical observance, and not only to adorn but to enlarge the house of the Lord. He proceeded, according to the English custom;[1] he laid down a special regulation that the Mass of the Blessed Virgin should be constantly celebrated in the cathedral; and he advanced this as one of the reasons which induced him to establish the canons, on whom he bestowed benefices, (which are set out by name at page 11 of the *Black Book*), for their maintenance. The dignitaries were the Dean, the Archdeacon, the Cantor, the Treasurer, in addition to whom there were six canons. He gave first to P. the dean, the Church of St. Nicholas, with its appurtenances in prebend.

To M. the archdeacon, the Church of St. John, below the city of Limerick, with its appurtenances; the Church of Kildecolum and the Church of Kildimo, with lands and other appurtenances, and all the spiritual benefices of Ardagh, with its appurtenances.

To M. Omelinus, chantor of the same church, the Church of Sengola (Shanagolden), and of Ardmia, and of Rathnasa, in prebend.

To William de Kardiff, treasurer, the Church of Sengol (Singland), with the land of Rathgarellein, with its appurtenances, and with all spiritual benefices; Drummoluba[2] and its appurtenances, as well of fishes as of all other benefices, in prebend.

To Oolimiregan, canon, the Church of Mungret (now part of the deanery) with its appurtenances, in prebend.

To Ricollus, chaplain, canon, the Church of St. Manchin, with its appurtenances, in prebend.

To Oolimiregan, canon, the Church of St. Michael, and all spiritual benefices of Kathadufduh and of Killonchon, in prebend.

To M. O. Conyng, canon, all spiritual benefices of Ballimacada (now Ballycahane), and of Mividita, and of Formiliaries, and of Ardchatlin (now Ardcanny), and of Ballicovan (now Kilpeacon).

He further assigned, for the sustentation of the canons, the Church of the Virgin Mary of Limerick, and the sanctuary of the same church, the fruits to be raised in oblations, etc., etc., and half the tithes of all kinds of fishes of Limerick, and the tithe of Cotheim (now St. Lawrence), outside the city, and the Church of St. Mary Magdalen, and the Church of St. Martin, with its appurtenances, and the Church of Donenthmore (now Donoughmore), and the Church of Killiedely.

To O. O'Mally, canon, portion of the common fund.

To Doncuen O'Conregan, canon, portion of the common fund.

To T. Macreanachani, canon, portion of the common fund.

To Paulinus, chaplain, canon, portion of the common fund.

Holy Church of Rome, and our lord Pope Innocent, with his Catholic successors, the whole Kingdom of England and the whole Kingdom of Ireland, with, etc., saving always the blessed Peter's pence.

"The words of fealty by John to the Pope.

"The patrimonie of St. Peter and the kingdoms of England and Ireland I shall endeavour myself to defend".

John was the first to adopt the title of Lord of Ireland; his possessions there had been conquered by his father, who in 1176 created him King of Ireland, but that title was not assumed (as now used) until 1531 by Henry VIII. In the *Liber Niger* he is always styled John FitzJohn.

[1] *Black Book.*

[2] This is believed to be Curragower.

The deed by which he constituted the dignitaries and canons was witnessed by the Lord Archbishop of Cashel, by the Lord Bishops of Cork, Cloyne, Ross, Ardfert, Emly, Kilfenora, and Waterford, and three abbots, viz., the Abbot of Maggio, the Abbot of Suirey, the Abbot of Furness, the Archdeacons of Waterford, Killaloe, and Magfenin; the Priors of the Monasteries of St. Catherine and St. Edmond, and the Dean of Cashel.[1] In page 114 of the *Black Book* is the confirmation of the act of Bishop Donat, made by a successor, Edmund, Bishop of Limerick, but it bears no date. In the time of Donat, who died A.D. 1207, the ancient see of Inniscathay was united to Limerick. King John showed the greatest anxiety to conciliate the bishop and clergy of Limerick, not only by making restitution, but by conceding and confirming by royal charter further grants to the Church. The king employed Bishop Donat much in his affairs in Ireland, and he became very dear to him. On the 13th July, in the eighteenth year of his reign, John granted ten plough lands *in terris de Omayle*, or, as it is in another place stated, *de terris de Omayle*, and in both places styled "*prope* Mungarett".[2] King John continued to interfere with the appointment of the bishops. We find that in 1207, Geoffry, rector of Dungarvan, was strongly recommended by him to the dean and chapter of Limerick. The king wrote to Meyler Fitzhenry, Lord Justice of Ireland, who made an inquisition respecting the property of the church of Limerick,[3] with instructions to procure Geoffry to be elected bishop. There is little doubt that the royal missive was complied with.[4] By a MS. in the margin of Sir James Ware's original Latin manuscript, mention is made that Geoffry was Bishop of Limerick in 1217. (White's MSS.) By Myler FitzHenry's inquisition (1201) it appears that the churches in the city of Limerick at the time were St. Munchin's, St. Bridget's, St. John's, St. Peter's, St. Martin's, St. Michael's, St. Mary Rotundus (supposed to be St. Mary Magdalen's), and St. Nicholas's. Edmund, the successor of Geoffry, sat but a short time, having died in 1222. Hubert de Burgo, who had been Prior of the Monastery of St. Edmund king and martyr, at Athassell, county Tipperary, which was founded by his relative William de Burgh, about A.D. 1200, was the nex bishop in succession to Edmund. He was consecrated in 1222. He had been deprived of the temporalities of his see, but the king restored them to him on the 11th March, 1222. (English style.) Hubert was a great benefactor to the cathedral, and its canons and vicars-choral. He built the College of the Minor Canons, north of the cathedral. He augmented the number of prebends. He granted the church of St. Mary of Iniskesty to the Abbey of the Blessed Virgin at Keynsham, in Somersetshire, in England; and dying on the 4th of September, 1250, he was buried in the Monastery of the Dominican Fathers at Limerick. A little before his death, according to Sir James Ware, the bishops of Ireland had formed

[1] *Black Book.*

[2] Bishop Bernard Adams, when he held the See of Kilfenora in commendam, A.D. 1606 and 1617, made an abstract from the *Black Book* of the property of the See of Limerick, which is in the registrar's office. The assignation made to the bishop of these ten plough lands is mentioned fol. 60 p. 1. and see Charter of the Corporation of Limerick in reference to ten carucates of land in Omayle, fo. 48, p. 1. in *Black Book.*

[3] The Regal Visitation Book in the Prerogative Office, Dublin, contains a copy of this inquisition, which also appears in the report of the Commissioners of Public Records in Ireland. It is also in the *Black Book* of Limerick.

[4] Sir James Ware was unable with absolute certainty to state the fact, but it is believed nevertheless that Geoffry was Bishop of Limerick.

the project of depriving the king of the custody of the temporalities of all sees during vacancies; they intended also to obstruct their tenants from suing in the king's courts without the Pope's assent. Hubert was employed by the bishops to solicit from the court of Rome this extension of privilege. The king became alarmed; he wrote to the Pope to prevent the design of the bishops, but the death of Hubert put an end to the projected journey; and from all that has come down to us, relative to the affair, it was not successful.[1]

On the death of Hubert, Robert (O'Neill) of Emly was elected in succession by the dean and chapter, the king having granted him his *conge d'elire*. He succeeded in 1250, and died in 1272. He gave to Thomas Wodeford, dean of Limerick, and his successors, the ecclesiastical benefices of Carnarthy (Cahirnarry) and Rathsiward in 1253 (and also the Church of St. Nicholas, in Limerick, Mungaret, Brury, Ballysyward, and two others). A copy of the Act of Donation is in the *Black Book* of the Bishops of Limerick, page 73. King Henry III.. in 1250, also made a grant to the Canons of St. Mary's, which is set out in the *Black Book*.[2]

On the death of Robert (O'Neill) of Emly, A.D. 1272, the chapter of the cathedral, consisting of Thomas of Wodeford—(we suppose) dean; Thomas, precentor; G. Y. T., chancellor; Richard Brice, treasurer; Gerald, archdeacon; David of Cornwall, Henry Russell, Richard of Limerick, Nicholas of Wodeford, and John FitzHugh, canons—assembled together, on the 3rd of November, 1272, in St. Nicholas's Church, in Limerick, and previously to their proceeding to elect a bishop, drew up a declaration of the rights and liberties of the chapter of Limerick, which they confirmed by oath on the Holy Evangelists, and bound each one of them himself in the same oath, that if he chanced to be chosen Bishop of Limerick he would confirm the same rights and liberties by his authority, and procure the confirmation of them also, at the joint expense of himself and the chapter, by the Pope, which if the bishop delayed to comply with, he was to be branded with the infamy of perjury, and the dean and canons who abided by their oath were to be released from obedience to him. The articles of this declaration are as follows:—

1. That when the Bishop visited the diocese either by himself or by his officers, they should not

[1] *Ware's Bishops.*

[2] "Grant of our lord the king, made to the canons of the church of Limerick, in reference to repairing its buildings towards the sea, and their courts (curiis).

Edward, eldest son of the illustrious king of England, to the sheriffs and bailiffs of Limerick, greeting, wishing to do a special favour to our beloved master Thomas, treasurer of Limerick, and to the other canons, and especially to his just petitions when they appertain to the promotion and honour of the Church, we order you to incline benevolent ears, whereas they wish to build the same house towards the sea (river), and to enlarge their courts, as Thomas Cropp and Walter Brim have done, that you freely permit them, provided the same can be done without prejudice to us or to the city aforesaid. With a view to your doing this more securely, we extend these our letters patent to you. Given at Westminster on the 11th day of March, in the 22nd year of the reign of our father".

We find, in page 1 and 2 of the *Black Book*, the copy of a deed, by which Robert, Bishop of Limerick, granted, by the advice and consent of the chapter, the town and burgage of Mungaret, under a yearly rent of twelve marks of silver and five pounds of wax, to the Church of St. Mary's, Limerick.

The grant bears no date, and the copy is hardly legible from age, and follows the memorandum of William Creagh, Bishop of Limerick, by which he notices that he received the lands of Donoughmore, which were not in the possession of his predecessor. I do not find this Robert's name among the Bishops of Limerick (for I hardly believe him to be Robert of Emly), if he be not Robert of Dondonill. [*Note by Dr. Young, in White's MSS.*]

receive any procurations or extort anything by exactions in the places visited, as they had houses of their own in every part of the diocese to which they could conveniently resort.

2. That when the deanery became vacant, the dean was to be chosen by the common election of the whole, or the greater or better part of the chapter, which election, when made according to the canons, the bishop should ratify and confirm without any contradiction.

3. That the bishop should not confer, by any means, the other dignities of the chapter on strangers, when they should appear to fall vacant, but upon such of the canons of the chapter who were conspicuous for the regularity of their morals, and that by the advice of the canons, or the greater or better part of them.

4. When the lesser prebends become vacant, they may be conferred by the bishop, by the advice of the canons, or the greater or better part of them, on strangers, but such only as were willing and able to relieve the Church in its necessities and defend it from unjust grievances.

5. That no future bishop was to alienate in any manner or transfer the lands of the Church or its possessions to any persons whatsoever, without a previous treaty with the whole chapter, or the greater or better part of it, to see how far it may be expedient for the utility of the Church.

6. That no future bishop was to claim to himself the whole or any part of the commons granted by the preceding bishops, or any others, to the dean and chapter of the Church of Limerick, nor lessen them, his authority at the same time remaining in full force of admonishing the dean, and that he should endeavour by all possible means to enlarge the commons, dignities, and prebends, and their liberties.

7. That ten chaplains at least be maintained in the aforesaid cathedral church henceforward, who besides discharging the due service of the said church, shall be bound to say Mass daily for the living and deceased benefactors of said church, for whom a competent provision be given, according to their said merits, out of the commons due to the chapter and canons by certain persons deputed by the said chapter for that purpose, and that what remains be deposited in the treasury of said church for the purpose of defending the rights of said church, and what share of said commons may remain over and above is to be reserved to be disposed of by the canons, to their own use and advantage. But that the liberty granted to the dean and chapter by Hubert of happy memory, heretofore bishop of that church, and which was enjoyed in his days and the days of his successor Robert for forty years and upwards, without contradiction, should seem to be lapsed by any dissimulation, we have thought right to insert it in this present writ, viz:— That the dean of the cathedral may be enabled freely to visit all the prebends belonging to the aforesaid church by his own authority at the times appointed by the law, so that no bishop may claim a right of visiting them, neither by himself nor by his officers.

A copy of the above deed is in the *Black Book* of the Bishops of Limerick, pag. 53, *et seq.*, and a confirmation of it by Bishop Gerald in all points in pag. 54. So much has been said of this book in this work, and it is so important in illustrating the history of the Church of Limerick at this period, that we give in the note[1] a brief description of it, with further specimens of its contents.

[1] The *Liber Niger*, or *Black Book* of the Bishops of Limerick, is so frequently referred to, that the reader will not be displeased at our translating a few specimens of the entries in that very curious volume of MSS., which is at present among the O'Renehan MSS. in the library of the Royal College, Maynooth, and which is a remarkable compilation of charters, statutes, agreements, and transactions between bishops, tenants, and abbots, as well as of grants, etc., etc., connected with the cathedral Church of St. Mary's, Limerick. It appears that the *Liber Niger* was lent to the late Very Rev. Dr. O'Renehan, President of Maynooth College, by the late Right Rev. Dr. Ryan, Catholic Bishop of Limerick; and being amongst Dr. O'Renehan's books at the time of his death, it passed into Maynooth Library, where, by permission of the Right Rev. Dr. Butler, Catholic Bishop of Limerick, it is at present, but it is the property of the diocese of Limerick. The "Little Black Book" is preserved in the Protestant Registrar's office of the diocese. [A legible and exact copy of the *Liber Niger* has been made for the library of Trinity College, Dublin, by permission of the Very Rev. President of Maynooth.] The *Liber Niger* contains an ancient taxation of the diocese and other matters not in the index, of which the following are specimens in Latin with a translation:

TABULA INSTRUMENTORUM ECCLESIAE LYM. IN PRESENTI VOLUMINE CENTENTORUM.

I. "Finalis Concordia inter Gerd. Epm. Lymer. petentem et Rogerum filium David et Isabellam uxo. ejus tenentes, de xxiiii. acris tre cum pertinenciis in Kidcach".

[Final agreement between Gerd., Bishop of Limerick, plaintiff, and Roger Fitz-David and Isabella his wife, tenants of xxiv. acres of land with the appurtenances thereof in Kidcach.]

III. "Inter David de Barry et Epm. Lymer de feria Kyllociæ".

[Between David de Barry and the Bishop of Limerick about a fair at Kilmalloc.]

X. "Inter Henricu. Motyng querent et Robertu. Epm. Lymer. impedientem de presentatione Eccle. de Nantenan.

CHAPTER LVI.

DEALINGS WITH THE CHURCH POSSESSIONS—TAXATION OF POPE NICHOLAS —THE TAXATION ATTRIBUTED TO BISHOP O'DEA, PARISHES AND PATRONS, ETC., PRESERVED IN WHITE'S MSS., ETC., ETC.—THE SUCCESSION OF BISHOPS, ETC.

On the 11th January, A D., 1272, Gerald or Geoffry le Mareschal, Archdeacon of Limerick, was raised by royal license to the bishopric, the Archbishop of Cashel having received a mandate to consecrate him. Previously to his election the king granted the custody of the temporalities to him for one year, saving knight's fees, advowsons, wards, reliefs, and escheats, which he reserved to himself. He governed the see for twenty-nine years, and recovered some usurped or forcibly alienated possessions, and in particular certain lands and woods which Bishop Robert, his predecessor, without the assent of the chapter, had granted to Richard Meijagh (May). Gerald made certain constitutions which are extant in the *Black Book*—constitutions, it need not be added, strictly in conformity with the Roman ritual. The kings of England continued, indeed, to exercise their influence in the

[Between Henry Motyng, plaintiff, and Robert Bishop of Limerick, defendant, respecting the presentation to the Church of Nantenan.]

XIII. Inter Gerd. Epm. querent et Johem. Dundon et Johanna uxor ejus, is impendentes de uno messuag. cum pertin. in Lymer.".

[Between Gerd. Bishop of Limerick, pl. and John Dundon and Johanna his wife, defendants, respecting one messuage with its appurtenances in Limerick.]

XX. "Instrumenta de Kylmehalloc et aliis trs. ad Ecc. in Lym. spectantibus".

[Deeds respecting Kilmallock and other lands belonging to the Church in Limerick.]

XXI. "Inquisit capta per Mylerii fil. Hen. super. terras predic."

[Inquisition held by Myler FitzHenry of the lands aforesaid.]

XXVIII. "Carta Donaldi Regis Lymer.".

[Charter of Donald King of Limerick.]

XXVII. Quieta clamantia Epi. Laonensis super tra. de Divenathinor".

[Quit-claim (release) of the Bishop of Killaloe for the land of Divenathinor.]

XXXIX. "Concessio et confirmatio Epis. Lymer. super beneficiis de Glyncorbry".

[Grant and confirmation of the Bishop of Limerick of the benefices of Glencorbry.]

LIV. "Assignatio decimarum et oblationum fca. canonicis Lymer per Epos. ejusdem loci".

[Assignment of the tithes and offerings made to the canons of Limerick by the bishop of the same place.]

LIX. "Inquisitio capta mandato Domni Regis super decimas piscarum et molendinorum utrumque pertineant ad Thesauriam Lymer. vel ad capellam castri regis de Lymer.".

[Inquisition held by order of our lord the king into the tythes of fisheries—[Until about sitxy years ago, the first take of salmon and oysters belonged to the Minor Canons of the cathedral, as may be seen from their books. The Corporation at present enjoy this privilege.]—and mills, and whether they belong to the treasury of Limerick, or to the chapel of the king's castle of Limerick.]

LXIII. "Canonica obedientia fca Epo Lymer. per Malachiam rectore ecclie. de Artpatrick".

[Canonical obedience paid to the Bishop of Limerick by the rector of the church of Ardpatrick.]

LV. "Solutio facta in curia Romana per Epis. Lymer".

[Payment made in the Roman Court by the Bishop of Limerick.]

LXXI. Obligatio et quieta clamantia Maur le Marescal super tra. de Ardach.

[Bond and release of Maur le Maréscal of the lands of Ardagh.]

LXXIII. "Libertates concessæ Eccle. Lymer. et ab Epis. et canonicis ejusdem loci.

[Liberties granted to the church of Limerick and to the abbots, bishops, and canons of the same place.]

Between 1204 and 1207 we have the "ordinance of Donat, Bishop of Limerick, on the divine office to be performed in the church of Limerick", containing regulations respecting masses, benefices, etc., etc. And "the charter of Thomas de Wodeford of the land and buildings contained within the precincts of the Dean's Close". And "the ancient statutes of the Church and Chapter of Limerick". Dated 1295. [This is a confirmation of preceding conventions.]

nomination of bishops, and sought to preserve the upper hand in ecclesiastical affairs, as had been the case in the time of Henry III., when a great council of the English prelates summoned by Otto, the Pope's legate, was interfered with by the king, who sent several of his barons to the council, having commissioned them to prohibit the establishment of anything contrary to the king's crown and dignity.

The attention bestowed by successive popes on the Church of Ireland, and on the government and interests of the country, is, however, plainly apparent from the evidences of concurrent history. Pope Nicholas, about this time, made a taxation of several Irish sees, and among others of the See of Limerick, which, with the taxations of Cashel, Waterford, Cloyne, and Cork, was discovered some years ago among the records of Westminster by Mr. Vanderzee, and which are printed in the second report of the Commissioners of Public Records of Ireland. We abstract as much of this taxlation as its useful to our purpose:—

TAXATION OF THE SEE AND OF THE CHAPTER.

A.D. 1291. By authority of Pope Innocent IV.

Redditus et
Proventus
Episcopi
Lymericensis in omnibus—viii^{xx} iii^{li} iii.^{s} xi^{d} ob Dec. xvi^{li} vi. iiii.^{d} ob.
* Bona Lymericensis
Episcopi
Spiritualia et
temporalia, iiii^{xx} xiiii.^{li} xvii.^{s} vi.^{d} ob.
Redditus et
Proventus
Decani, xxxlv.^{li} ii.^{s} viii.^{d} „ iii^{li} viii.^{s} ii.^{d}
Redditus
Præcentoris
in omnibus, xiiii.^{li} xvi.^{s} vii^{d} „ xxv.^{s} vii.^{d} o.q.
Redditus
Cancellarii
in omnibus, xxvii.^{li} viii.^{s} „ liv.^{s} ix.^{d} ob.
Redditus
Thesaurarii
in omnibus, xiiii.^{li} „ xlviii.^{s}
Redditus
Archidiaconi
in omnibus, xxviii.^{li} xi^{s} vl.^{d} „ lvii.^{s} l.^{d} o.q.
Ecclesia de
Tulachbreck vii.^{li} xiii.^{s} iiii.^{d} „ xv.^{s} iv.^{d}
Ecclesia de
Croch . . . vl.^{li} ii.^{d} ob. „ xii.^{s} o.q.
Ecclesia
Effying, iiii.^{li} xiii.^{s} iiii.^{d} Dec. ix.^{s} iiii^{d}
Ecclesia de
Kyllyd, iii^{li} vi. viii^{d} „ vi.^{s} viii.
Præbenda de
Kilmonyn

(St. Munchin's?),	vi.ll xiii.s v.d	„	xiii.s iiii.d
Præbenda de Arctatny (Ardcanny),	v.li iis	„	x.s lld
Præbenda de Ballycathan (Ballycahane),	iiili vi.s viii.d	„	vis viii.
Ecclesia de Dovenachmore (Donoughmore),	vll vl.s viii.d	„	x. viiid
Ecclesia de Diserto	liii.s iiii.d	„	v.s iiii
Portio de Kylbecan (Kilpeacon?)	iiili xvl.s viii.d	„	vii.s viiid
Taxatio Ecclesiarium ad Communia Spectantium (i.e. the common Estate of the Dean and Chapter),	xxxv.ll ii.s ii.d	„	iii.ll x.s ii.d ob.

* Communia Ecclesiæ beatæ Mariae de Lymerick ad stipendium Vicariorum ibidem deservientium. Inde nichil.[1]

Another ancient taxation which is preserved in Latin in White's MSS. gives an account of the parishes, benefices, chapels, and other regulations of the Diocese of Limerick, which the Rev. James White (the compiler of the MSS.) states he copied from an old MS. which Dr. Jasper White,[2] Pastor of St. John's parish, wrote, and which was in the custody of the Rev. John Lehy, a succeeding pastor of that parish.[3] We believe that this taxation is generally attributed to the time of Bishop O'Dea, of whom, in the succeeding chapter, we shall have much to write. The following is a translation of this most valuable and interesting document, which we give here, though not in exact chronological order[4]:—

This is the taxation and the procuration of the diocese of Limerick, as I, Jasper White, have found in torn rolls among the books of my brother, Edmond White, Canon of Ardcanty, written with his hand in the year 1658; and also among the same writings of my most reverend and most illustrious Lord Bishop, James Dowley; and in order that these writings should not perish, I have thought it worth my while to transcribe them here, and leave them to posterity; and I have added the patron saints of the parish which I have been able to find.

So far the Rev. Dr. Jasper White.

[1] This valuation, with the exception of the two items to which an asterisk is prefixed, is printed in vol. ii. of the Reports of the Irish Record Commissioners. These items are taken from the roll in the Exchequer Office, London. Cotton's *Fasti*.

[2] I find by an entry in a copy of the Douay Bible in my possession, printed by Consturier, 1665, that the Rev. Jasper White lived in Limerick in the year 1668. The following is the entry: "This Booke belongeth to Dr. Jasper White, priest, Limerick, the which he bought the 18th of April, 1668, for the sum of ten shillings and eight pence sterlg."

[3] It is still in being. [Note by Dr. Young].

[4] The Right Rev. Dr. Young and the Very Rev. Dean Cussen made marginal notes in the MSS., which I give.

s. d.

The Decanate (Deanery) of Limerick.

The cathedral and parochial church of the Blessed Virgin Mary, dedicated to the same on the 15th day of August, on which day the office of the dedication is celebrated (*fit*), with an octave in the city, and without an octave in the diocese.

Nota bene that I, Jasper White, met, written in the calendar of an old breviary belonging to the diocese of Limerick, the Sunday after the 16th of July to be the day assigned for the dedication of the cathedral of Limerick, with an octave; but a continued tradition assures us of the contrary, and that the 15th of August is the proper day for the dedication, as Dr. Jasper White has affirmed above.

The parish church of St. Munchin, the patron saint of the whole city, whose festival is celebrated on the 2nd day of January.

It is a prebend or canonry. The vicar has one half of the fruits, and the prebend the other half. It pays 0 9

The parish church of St. Nicholas, Bishop and Confessor, whose festival is celebrated on the 6th of September. Its vicariate (vicarage) belongs to the college of the vicars choral. No traces of this church exist; but it was near the King's Castle, on the south side. It pays... 0 9

The parish church of St. John the Baptist, whose festival is celebrated on the 24th day of June, ... 1 6

N.B.—Many say it is dedicated to the decollation of St. John, ye 9th of August.

The churches and chapels of this decanate in the county of Thomond (Clare), viz:—the parish church of Killilee,[1] whose patron is Lelia, Virgin, and sister of St. Munchin, as it is said, whose festival is celebrated on the 11th August. It belongs to the prebend of Donoughmore. [To this church of Killilee belong three Cratalaghs, viz:—Cratalagh More, Cratalagh Keyil, and Cratalagh Moyèil and Counagh.] The parish church of Keilfintenan. [To this church belong part of the church of Six-mile Bridge, the Oil Mills, Ballydane east and west, Breakhill, Moyhill, Ballymorris, Portvine, and Garrine Curragh.] The place of this church is commonly called Crochane.

[In MSS. of Dr. Young after brackets.]

The parish church of Kielinaghta, the chapel of St. Thomas on the Mountain, at a place called Ballybuchalane, near Cratloe.

[In Dr. Young's English.]

The chapel of Keilrush,[2] near the River Shannon; the chapel of Keilchuain, near Parteen; it belongs to the treasurer. The patron of this chapel is St. Covanus, Abbot, on the day. 9 0

Churches and chapels of this decanate of Limerick, in the southern side of the city, in the county of Limerick, outside the walls, viz:—

The parish church of St. Michael the Archangel, entirely destroyed in the time of Cromwell, near the walls, outside the West Watergate. His festival is celebrated on the 29th day of September. It belongs to the archdeacon. 0 9

The parish church of St. Lawrence the Martyr, whose festival is celebrated on the 10th of August with an octave. The presentation belongs to the corporation of the mayor and aldermen. It pays ... 1 6

The parish church of St. Patrick, Bishop and Confessor, and Patron

[1] The parish of Kilely or Killeely, also called Meelick, three miles N. W. from Limerick. In the R. C. divisions, partly in the Parish of Meelick and partly in that of Thomond Gate, or St. Lelia—(Lewis's *Topog.*).

[2] Called Old Church, close by which is the residence of the Honourable Robert O'Brien.

	s.	d.
of all Ireland, whose festival is celebrated on the 17th day of March: the church is entirely destroyed. It belongs to the treasurer, and the tithes of all the mills of Limerick and Singland belong to it, ...	7	6
The parish church of Kilmurray, dedicated to St. Mary Magdalen, 22nd day of July, ...	8	0
The parish church of Derighealavain, dedicated to St. Nicholas, Bishop and Confessor, on the 6th day of December. It is entirely a rectory (*est rectoria integra*).	5	0
The parish church of Donoughmore is a prebend, and dedicated ...	5	0
The parish church of Cahirivalaha, dedicated to St. Thomas, Apostle, 21st day of December. It belongs to the treasurer. ...	2	0
The church of Caihiornairy, dedicated to St. Nicholas, Bishop and Confessor, 6th day of December. It belongs to the dean by gift from the Lord D.D. Robert of Emly, or Neil, Bishop of Limerick, anno Domini, 1253.	8	0
The parish church of Criochoura, dedicated to the blessed Apostles Peter and Paul, 29th day of June. The vicarage (or vicariate)[1] belongs to the college of the vicars of Limerick.	10	0
The parish church of Keilbecan, near Kilpeacon. It is a prebend, dedicated to St. Becan, on the day.	2	0
The parish church of Knock-na-Ghauill, dedicated to St. Brigid, Virgin, 1st day of February. It belongs to the precentor. ...	5	0
The parish church of Feadamuir (Fedamore) and Bailione. Dedicated to decollation of St. John Baptist, 29th day of August, ...	8	0
The parish church of Ballinanhiny, or Fanningstown.		
The parish church of Keilchidy, dedicated to the holy Apostles Simon and Jude, 28th day of October, ...	12	0
The parish church of Mongret. It belongs to the dean. Dedicated to St. Patrick, the 17th day of March.	4	0
The chapel of Keililin, near St. John's Gate. It belongs entirely to the dean.		
The chapel of Fearan-na-guilleagh, now called Ross Brien, of which no traces are left. It formerly belonged to some monks of the chapel de Rastro or Ratuird. It belongs to the parish priest (parochialis) of Limerick, whose vicarage belongs to the college of vicars.	4	0
The chapel of Baillione, part of the parish of Feadamuir.		
The chapel or temple of Friarstown, commonly called Ballynabrair.		
The chapel of Sen na ghauil, perhaps Knock na ghauil. ...	2	0
The chapel of Keilcuain de Achinis, between Ballinanhiny and Feadamuir. It belongs to the precentor.	5	11
The chapel or temple of Keilna Cailly, near the bridge of Claireene, whose patron is Enat or Ethna.		
The chapel of St. Margaret in or Newtown, near Carrigoguinell, 20th day of July.		
There are also in Limerick three monasteries, viz.:		
The monastery of the Canons Regular of St. Augustine, near Ball's Bridge, ...		
The monastery of St. Saviour, of the Dominicans, ...		
The Monastery of St. Francis [in the place commonly called the Abbey[2]].		
The temple of St. Peter, which was that of the Canonesses of St. Augustine.		

[1] The parenthesis is my own. [2] These brackets are in the original.

There was also in Limerick, near Quay Lane, the Church of the Holy Rood.

The Decanate of Kilmallock.

The collegiate and parish church of Kilmallock, dedicated to the Holy Apostles Peter and Paul, 29th day of June, whose rectory belongs to the college of vicars of Limerick, and the vicariate to the college of Kilmallock, ... 18 0

The parish church of Effin is a prebend, and dedicated to the B. V. Mary, ... 22 0

The parish church of Athenese, or Beallathenesigh, or Beallananesy, dedicated to St. Athanasius, 2nd day of May, whose rectory belongs to the college of Kilmallock, ... 10 0

The church of Kilbride Major, dedicated to St. Brigid, 1st day of February. It is a rectory that belongs to the college of Kilmallock.

The church of Imiligrinine, or Ballaghrinine, dedicated to St. Molluo, Bishop and Confessor, 5th day of May. It belongs to the treasurer. ... 5 0

The church of Keilfinny, or Keilfinine, dedicated to St. Andrew, Apostle, 30th day of November. It belongs to the precentor. ... 10 0

The church of Keilsluing, near Clough-a-Nutliy [forte Kilflyn MSS., Dr. Cussen, Castleotway, in pencil], ... 4 0

The church of Dromochuo, or Derraghmochuogh, or Dormoceno, 12 0

The church of Ballinghaddly. It belongs to the college of Kilmallock, dedicated to the B. V. M. 15 0

The church of Kilbride Minor. It is a rectory, dedicated to St. Brigid, 1st February, ... 4 0

The church of Keilchuain, dedicated to St. Coran, abbot, ... 4 5

The church of Cluoincourry, alias Cluaintorthy, half of which formerly belonged to the Bishop of Cloyne, but now the whole is said to belong to the Bishop of Limerick. It is dedicated to St. Colomanus, "24th day of November" [Dr. Young]. ... 1 0

The church of Ballyhancard, dedicated to St. David, 1st March, ... 4 0

The parish church of Brury (Bruree). It belongs to the Dean of Limerick. Dedicated to St. Munchin, Bishop. ... 5 0

The parish church of Ahaleacagh. It is a rectory, and dedicated to St. John Baptist, 24th of June, ... 12 0

The parish church of Dromuin. It is a rectory, and dedicated to the Most Holy Trinity 10 0

The church of Urigear, alias of Viridus, dedicated to St. Margaret, Virgin, 20th day of July, ... 25 0

Parish church of Tillibreaka. It is a prebend, and dedicated to St. Molon, 5th day of May. 10 0

The church of Glinoge, dedicated to St. Nicholas, 6th December. ... 15 0

The chapel of St. John, between the bridge and St. John's Gate, Kilmallock.

The chapel of St. Mathologus, on the hill of Kilmallock, whose festival is celebrated on the 26th day of March.

The chapel of Cattan, alias Kiline or Kilny. It belongs to the bishop's table.

The chapel of St. Martin in Ballichuillean, dedicated to St. Martin, 11th day of November. It belongs to the college of Kilmallock. ... 4 0

The chapel of Saichaihill. It belongs to the college of Kilmallock. Dedicated. 0 9

The chapel of Ardphaidrig (Ardpatrick), in the parish of Ballyhadding. It belongs to the college of Kilmallock. Dedicated. (Mount Russel). 9 0

	s.	d.
The chapel of Dungadamus, or Dungaddy, or Dunghadiehon, or Duneyris. It belongs to the college of Kilmallook. Dedicated. ...	4	0
The chapel Martes (Mortalstown). It belongs to the college of Kilmallock. Dedicated.	1	6
The chapel of Keilchoimogan, alias Keilinghongue. It belongs to the prebend of St. Munchin.	4	0
The chapel of Ardmuillain, otherwise Ardewelain, of which scarcely any traces remain. It belongs to the bishop's table. Dedicated. ...	1	6
The chapel of Brough, alias Broff (Bruff). It belongs to Hospital. Dedicated to St. Peter of Alexandria, 26th November. ...	4	0
The chapel of St. Ballisheward, alias Ballihaward, alias Rathioward. It belongs to the Dean of Limerick. Dedicated. ...	3	0

The chapel of Keilcoyne, otherwise Hakins. It belongs to the prebend of Keilbecan. Dedicated.

The chapel of Camus, dedicated [to St. Senanus, as I have heard.—Dr. Young]. [8th of March.—Dr. Cussen.]

The chapel and well (*fons*) of St. Lawrence in Ahaillaca.

The monastery of the Regulars of St. Augustine at Kilmallock.

The monastery of St. Saviour of the Dominicans.

The chapel of Keilbruoiny, between Athlacca and Tullorby.

The chapel of Keiltemplalain, near Bruff, to the north. [Its remains scarcely visible.—Dr. Young.]

The chapel of St. Kyran, between Athlacca and Glenogra, belongs to Glenogra. [Scarcely exists.—Dr. Young.]

The chapel of St. Laternus, near Bruff. [Its site now unknown.—Dr. Young.]

Decanate of Adare.

Parochial church of Adare, dedicated to St. Nicholas, Bishop and Confessor, 6th day of December.	21	0
Church of Kilnaghan or Keilinoghtan, belongs to mensal of the bishop.	2	6

Chapel of Keilinathan, belongs to the prebendary of St. Munchin, to whom it is dedicated. [Perhaps Kilconaghan, Killenoughty.—Dr. Cussen.]

The church of Keilbinighte, dedicated.

Parish church of Croom, alias Gremoth. It is a rectory. Dedicated.	21	0

The church of Dunnemeaunn, alias Rustainy, aliter Baillythrisdan. It belongs to the rector of Croom. Dedicated. ... 3 0

Church of Balliochachan. It is a prebend. Dedicated. ...	4	6
The church of Keldimo. It belongs to the archdeacon. Dedicated.	8	0
The church of Ardcanthy. It is a prebend. Dedicated. ...	5	0
The church of Keilchournan. It is a rectory. Dedicated. ...	5	0
The church of Dysert. It is a prebend. Dedicated. ...	3	6

To this church of Dysert belongs Fearan-na-manach, near the White Stone Cross, as I have myself read in the *Black Book*; for the monks of the monastery of Maigh (Maigue), to whom Fear-na-Managh formerly belonged, gave that land to the bishop and chapter of Limerick for other land near them, called Ballioshoidir, which belonged to our Limerick chapter, and the bishop and chapter added that land, Fear-na-Managh, to the prebend of Dysert, because it is very meagre and poor. [Habetur p. 27 hujus libri. viz., White's MSS.—Dr. Young.]

The church of Athnid. It is a prebend, dedicated. ...	1	6
The chapel of Dromassel. It belongs to the rector of Croom, dedicated	1	6

	s.	d.
The chapel of Dolla, alias Doilath. It belongs to the rector of Croom. Dedicated.	2	0
The chapel of Castle Robert, dedicated.		
The chapel of Cluoin Anny. It belongs to the Rector of Croom, dedicated.	2	0
The chapel of Drochid Tairsne. It belongs to the prebendary of St. Munchin.	2	6
Chapel Russel, or Rossel, dedicated.	1	6
Chapel of Kilghobain. It belongs to the college of vicars choral.		
Chapel of Say, alias de Caithiorassa, dedicated (Caharass).		
Chapel of Glanonitrithig, dedicated.		
Chapel of Mananghurine, dedicated.		
Chapel of St. Meranus, dedicated to the same.		
Chapel of Cran, dedicated.		

In this decanate were the following monasteries:—

Monastery of Nenay, or Maighe, of Monks Cistertians of St. Bernard.

Chapel of Moirgrean, on the west of the River Maighe. It belongs to said monastery.

In the village of Athdare (Adare) there were—:

Monastery of the Holy Trinity of the Redemption of Captives, commonly called the White Monastery, on the west of the village, called white from the white habit of the monks.

Monastery of St. Augustine, of the order of Eremites, called the Black Monastery, from their black habit, situated on the west of the bridge of Athdare.

Monastery of St. Francis, of the order of Minors of the stricter observance, outside the walls on the western side of the town, called the Poor Monastery.

There was also in the same village a house of Knights Hospitallers of the order of St. John of Jerusalem.

Decanate (Deanery) of Ballingharry, or Gorth, or Gayr.

Parochial Church of Ballingharry. It is a parsonage dedicated to St. Evanjanus, 1st August.	20	0
Church of Corcomohide. Belongs to the College of Limerick. Dedicated to the Purification of the Blessed Virgin Mary, 2nd day of February.	20	0
Parish Church of Mahounagh. It is a rectory. Dedicated to St. John Baptist, 24th June.	6	0
Church of Cluoineilty. It belongs to the College of Limerick. Dedicated.	1	6
Church of Cluoincagh. Belongs to College of Limerick. Dedicated.	0	6
Church of Croagh. It is a prebend. Dedicated. ...	15	0
Church of Keilfiny. It belongs to the Precentor. Dedicated. ..	15	0
Church of Cluoinsiarra. It belongs to the Chancellor. Dedicated.	3	0
Chapel of Cluoincreu. Belongs to the Archdeacon. Dedicated to St. Borthanus.	0	6
Chapel of Maigreny or Keilkenny. Belongs to the College. ...	0	9
Chapel of Ceappach, or Keilnaceappug, or Triostane. Belongs to the Dean. Dedicated.	3	0
Chapel of Dromcolluchuir. Dedicated.		
Chapel of Keilina, alias Paillis. Dedicated.		
Chapel of Cnockseaimabothy. Dedicated. [Shanavroha.]		
Chapel of Keilmochuo. Dedicated to St. Colmanus, B. and C., 29		

Oct. Confer Ware de Praesulibus (Ware's *Bishops*), sub Epis. Duacensibus, mihi [page 28, Dr. Young's Notes].

Chapel of Keil-vic-a-niarla. Dedicated.

Next to Ballingharry village, on the eastern side, is the monastery, called the Monastery of St. John, and it is of the third order of St. Francis, as we have heard.

Decanate of Rathkeal or Rathgelle.

The Parish Church of Rathkeal all belongs to the Chancellor. Dedicated to the Most Holy Trinity. Here is extant the Monastery of the Canons of Arroasia, of the Order of St. Augustine [founded and endowed by Gilbert Harvey, in 1289, and further endowed by his descendant Eleanor Purcell, who caused it to be dedicated to the Blessed Virgin Mary. Note by M. L.]

Church of Keilscannil. Belongs to the Chancellor. Dedicated. ...	5	0
Church of Cluonnach. It belongs to the Chancellor. Dedicated. Counagh.	5	0
Church of Neantenan. It belongs to the Precentor. Dedicated to St. James Apostle, 25th July.	6	6
Church of Asketin, or Asketton, or Ascetiny. Dedicated. A monastery of the Order of St. Francis is extant there. ...	22	0
Church of Lismakiry or Lismhickiry. It is a rectory. Dedicated.	3	0
Church of Kilbradarain or Cnockbradarain. Dedicated to St. Brandan, Abbot, 16th of May.	7	0
Church of Dunmuilin. Dedicated.	5	0
Church of Seannaghuoilin. Belongs to the Precentor. Dedicated.	12	0
Church of Leuchuill. Belongs to the Precentor. Dedicated. ...	3	4
Church of Keilarisse or Keilfargus. Belongs to the Precentor. Dedicated.	3	4
Church of Keilmualain. Belongs to the College. Dedicated. ...	3	4
Church of Keilmily or Keilmuarille. All belongs to the Precentor.		
Chapel of Rathnasáor. It belongs to the Precentor, according to an old roll of A.D. 1542, and pays no procuration,[1] according to the new rolls.		
Chapel of Dromdily or Dromdelthy. Belongs to the Precentor. Dedicated.	3	0
Chapel of Castle Robert or Dunedoinill. It is a rectory, dedicated to St. Mary Magdalen, 22nd July.	8	0
Chapel of Keilcholaman. Dedicated.	3	0
Chapel of Disert Merogan, or Muiriogan, or Morgans. It all belongs to the Precentor. Dedicated.	2	0
Chapel of Achinis. Dedicated.	1	0
Chapel of Mineta. Belongs to the College. Dedicated		
Chapel of Castle Robert de Gore *alias* Gauyr or of Robertsville [? Lat. de Pago Roberti]. Dedicated to saint.	5	0
Chapel to St. Patrick on the Mountain. Dedicated to same, 17th March.		
Chapel of Inniscatha or Scattery Island (formerly, in the time of St. Senanus, it was an Archiepiscopate, and a celebrated monastery is extant there).	1	0

Decanate of Ardagh.

Parish Church of Ardagh, belongs to the Archdeacon. Dedicated.	7	0
Church of New Grange of the bridge, [de ponte]. Dedicated. ...	6	0

[1] *Procurations* are certain sums of money which Parish Priests pay yearly to the Bishop or Archdeacon *ratione visitationes*.

The same (says *Gib.*, 975) may be done without actual visitation. Tomlin's *Law Dict.*

	s.	d.
Church of Newcastle, a rectory. Dedicated to St. David, 1st March.	6	0
Church of Moineaghighea, or Moneyghea. A rectory. Dedicated to B.V.M., 15th August.	0	6
Church of Keilioda, or Keilmide. A prebend. Dedicated to St. Ida, or Mida, abbess, January 15.	3	0
Church of Rathrunan. A rectory. Dedicated. ...	4	0
Church of Aglssimona. Dedicated.		
Church of Keilaghailicham, alias Keilagh a Liochan. Dedicated to B.V.M. ad Nives, 5th day of August, near Drumcollogher. ...	3	0
Chapel of Rathcaithell. Dedicated.	17	6
Chapel of Mount-Temple [de Templo Montis]. Belongs to Rathrunan.		
Chapel of Temple Gleantan. Dedicated.		
Monastery of Feal, near the river Feal, of the order of St. Bernard.		
At Newcastle there is a monastery of Knights Templars. ...		

Chapel of Iniscatha, or Scattery Island, at the mouth of the river Shannon, which belongs to the decanate of Rathkeale; it likewise formerly belonged to the diocese of Limerick in the time of the R. D. D. Cornelius O'Dea, bishop of Limerick, as appears from his words and writings, which run thus:

"I, Cornelius O'Dea, by the grace of God and the Apostolic See, have enfeofed the Lord Gilbert O'Caithell (formerly of the lands belonging to Limerick, from that island of Iniscathy, which [lands] I have recovered by inquisition taken by me, which were not before me, for many years, in the possession of the Church), under this form, viz.: That the said Gilbert and his heirs should [debeat] pay to my assigns and his successors canonically entering, every year in the name of revenue, [as rent] twelve pence, viz., one half at Easter, and one half at the feast of St. Michael; and on whatever night I or my successors shall first put into said island, they should refresh us with meat and drink and all other necessary things; and as long thereafter as I or my successors shall tarry therein, they shall supply fire, light, and straw, at their own cost and expense, and carry us victuals by water, at our expense, and in boats, and by labourers of their own, from Limerick and the out villages (*villæ forales*) of the said diocese, to wit, only to all our manors of Lesamkyle, Dromdile, Mongret, and Limerick".

What is said here of Iniscathy I have read from an ancient roll extracted from the *Black Book* of the bishops of Limerick in the time of John Quin, the first Protestant bishop of Limerick—[N.B. This must be a mistake, for John Quin, or Coyn, was a Catholic, and was deposed by Edward VI. for being such, and Casey, a Protestant, put in his place].—The day after St. Michael the Archangel, A.D. 1542. Therefore I know not by what right it is said that Iniscatha now belongs to the diocese of Limerick.

Thus the Rev. Mr. Gaspar White.

"N.B.—About the year 1742, the Rev. D. D. Robert Lacy, bishop of Limerick, recovered this island of Iniscatha from the diocese of Killaloe, and a second time joined it to the diocese of Limerick. Witness my hand, James White, notary apostolic.

"In the year 1801, the bishop of Limerick went to Iniscathy, in which he found two families living, whom he placed under the care and jurisdiction of the Rev. Michael Sullivan, parish priest of Ballylongford, in the diocese of Kerry.

"J[OHN] "Y"[OUNG].

I, Gaspar White, precentor of the Cathedral Church of the B. V. Mary of Limerick, learn from this, and from other rolls:—1. That there are six dignitaries in the cathedral church of Limerick, viz., episcopate, decanate, precentorate, chancellorate, treasurership, and archdiaconate. 2. I learn the bene-

fices of each dignity. I learn that there are six diaconates in the diocese of Limerick. 4. I learn that there are eleven prebends or canonries. 5. I learn how many prebends are in each decanate.

The benefices of each dignity, viz.:

I. To the bishop's table belong:—1. Mongrett. 2. Tura Deil, or Blind Man's Tower. 3. Keilionochan. 4. Ardmuolan, near Killmallock. 5. Cottan, or Kilny, near Killmallock. 6. The middle part of Cluoncourtha, but now the whole, although formerly one part belonged to the bishop of Cloyne.

II. 1. To the deanery belonged the whole parish of St. Mary's, Limerick. 2. The rectory of Mongrett. 3. The entire chapel of Keililin, outside St. John's Gate, near the walls. 4. The rectory of the chapel of Rathiuird, near Limerick, because it is part of St. Nicholas's parish. 5. The parish of Cathiornary. 6. The rectory of Bruiry. 7. The rectory of Baillishiowaird. 8. The rectory of Keappach, alias Tristane.

III. To the precentor belong:—1. The rectory of Keilfiny. 2. The parish of Neantonan. 3. The rectory of Dromdily, or Tomdily, or Dromdelithy. 4. The rectory of Scannaghuoilin, or Seangolden. 5. The rectory of Leaughill. 6. The whole of Keilmile, alias Keilmuirelle. 7. The whole chapel[1] of Crag Desert Morogan, or Merogan, or Muiririgan, alias Morgans. 8. The whole of the chapel of Crinbhailly, or Cliny. 9. The rectorate of the parish of Cnocknaghauil. 10. The rectory of Cluomagh, in the ecclesiastical tenure only. 11. The chapel of Rathnasaon, according to an ancient roll of the year 1542. 12. The church of Keilairissa, or Keilfargus.

IV. To the chancellor belong:—1. The rectory of Raithkeill entirely. 2. The rectory of Keilscainnill. 3. The rectory of Cluomagh, in the lay tenure only. 4. The rectory of Cluoinsierre.

V. To the treasurer belong:—1. The parish of St. Patrick entirely. 2. The tithes of all the mills of Limerick. 3. The chapel of Keilcuain, near Parteen, which is a dependency of the said parish of St. Patrick. 4. The rectory of Caithirthiovathalla, or Cahirivahala. 5. The rectory of Imilighrinin, near Killmallock.

VI. To the archdeacon belong:—1. The rectorate of the parish of St. Michael (outside the walls of Limerick). 2. The rectory of Keildimo. 3. Clouincreu, or Cluoinchremba. 4. Ardagh entire.

VII. To the college of Vicars Choral of Limerick belong:—1. The vicariate of the parish of St. Nicholas of Limerick. 2. The vicariate of Rathiuird. 3. The vicariate of the Chriochourtha. 4. The vicariate of Corcomoithid. 5. The rectory of Kilmallock. 6. The rectory of Keilmuallan. 7. The rectory of Cluoinelthy. 8. Cluoincagh. 9. Chapel of Kilghobban. 10. Chapel Mineta. 11. Chapel of Magrainy, or Keilcagny.

VIII. To the college of Kilmallock belong:—1. The vicariate of the college of Kilmallock. 2. The vicariate of Athnese. 3. Ballinghaddy. 4. Chapel of Saycaithile. 5. Chapel of Keilionan. 6. Chapel of Dune-gaddy and Dune-joris. 7. Chapel Martell. 8. Kilbeedy Major. 9. Chapel of St. Martin.

IX. To the Corporation of the Mayor and Aldermen of Limerick belongs the Church of St. Laurence beyond St. John's Gate.

X. To the prebend of St. Munchin's belong:—1. The half part of the fruits of the prebend—the other part to the vicar. 2. The rectory of Keilnochon, or Keilineunghe. 3. The rectory of the chapel of Drehid-Tarsne. 4. The chapel of Keilchiomogan.

XI. To the prebendary of Donoughmore belong:—1. The rectory of the

[1] The word *capella*, I imagine, means "chapelry", rather than "chapel", otherwise why add "the whole of it"?—Tomline gives *chapellania* for chapelry.

parish of Donoughmore. 2. The rectory of the parish of Keiliele with its appendices. 3. The rectory of Ardpatrick.

XII. To the rectory of Kilpeacon belongs the rectory of the chapel of Keilcuain of Aghennis.

XIII. To the rectory of Croom belong:—1. The rectory of Cluonnana. 2. The chapel of Cnockdromaissel. 3. The chapel of Dolla. 4. The chapel of Dunenamaun, or Tristan.

XIV. To the hospital belongs the chapel of Bruff.

XV. To the rectory of Rathronan belongs the chapel of Mount Temple.

NOTE 1.—The decanates in the diocese of Limerick are six, viz., the decanate of Limerick, the decanate of Kilmallock, the decanate of Adare, the decanate of Ballingarry, the decanate of Rathkeale, and the decanate of Ardagh.

NOTE 2.—There are eleven prebends or canonries in the diocese of Limerick.

1. The canonry or prebend of St. Munchins,
2. The canonry or prebend of Donoghmore,
3. The canonry or prebend of Kilpeacan,

} In the decanate of Limerick.

4. The canonry or prebend of Eflin,
5. The canonry or plebend of Tullybracke,

} In the decanate of Kilmallock.

6. The canonry or Prebend of Ballycahane,
7. The canonry or prebend of Ardcanthy,
8. The canonry or prebend of Disert,
9. The canonry or prebend of Athnitt,

} In the decanate of Adare.

10. The canonry or prebend of Croagh, In the decanate of Ballingarry.
11. The canonry or prebend of Killeedy, In the decanate of Ardagh.

So far the important matter in White's MSS.

With respect to the property of the cathedral in its ancient state, there can be no question of its extent, and of the jealous care with which it was preserved. Grants of land were frequently made to the cathedral; whilst, as we perceive by the *Black Book*, the possessions in mortmain of all the churches of Limerick have been taken into account in the Patent and Close Rolls of Chancery in several successive reigns. These lands were most frequently leased out to tenants. The bishop's manors, of which Mungret, containing six large plow-lands, was one, Kilmallock another, which "hath been ever the bishop's manor", where the bishop was lord paramount, when it (Kilmallock) was a strong walled town; where the bishop had a fair which he purchased for £10 from David Lord Barry; where he held a court twice a year, had a mill, a bake-house, and a shambles; where all persons should grind at the bishop's mill, bake at his bake-house, and pay for the shambles according to custom; and where the burgesses and townsmen were called and impannelled as juries in the bishop's court.[1] Ardagh, as we have above seen, was another bishop's manor in which bishops held courts and received rents; Drumdeely was another; and there is an entry in the little *Black Book*[2] (quoted by Bishop Adams),

[1] See *Black Book* and Bishop Adams's MSS., account of the property, etc.

[2] See also folio 7, p. 2, of the *Black Book*, and folio 8, p. 1, in the two offices of inquisition, where Drumdeely is found to be the bishop's land.

to the effect that the inhabitants of Inniscattery are bound "carriare lignum, gramen et victualla ad omnia manoria sua de Lesamkill, Drumdeely et Mungarett".

No church was more richly endowed by kings and princes, than the Cathedral of St. Mary's, Limerick.

We now procced with the Bishops:

Robert of Dondomhnal or Dundonald, a canon of Limerick, was elected bishop by the king's assent, after canonical election in 1302. He was not restored to the temporalities until the 23d of September following, as appears by the accounts in the Chief Remembrancer's office. He died on the 3rd of May, 1311, and was buried in his own cathedral.

Eustace de L'Eau, or Waters, Dean of Limerick, succeeded, and was consecrated at the close of the year 1311. He indeed was a great benefactor to the cathedral in his time. The citizens, who appear to have been not only wealthy, but pious, and to have appreciated the value of the cathedral, gave their energetic assistance towards the good work in which the bishop was engaged. After a session of twenty-four years, he died on the 3rd of May, 1336, and was interred in his own church.

Maurice de Rupe Forte, or Rochfort, succeeded to the episcopacy in the same year, and was consecrated on the 6th of April in Limerick. An information was exhibited against him for opposing the levying of a subsidy granted to the king, of which he was found guilty. It appears that, in 1346, a parliament was held at Kilkenny, which granted the subsidy to the king (Edward III.), to support the exigencies of the state. Ralph Kelly, Archbishop of Cashel, opposed the levying of it within his province, and for that end summoned a meeting of his suffragan bishops at Tipperary, at which Maurice, Bishop of Limerick, Richard, Bishop of Emly, and John, Bishop of Lismore, appeared. They fulminated excommunication against all who should contribute to the subsidy; and at Clonmel the Archbishop appeared in the public streets, robed, and boldly published the decree of excommunication, particularly against William Epworth, the king's commissioner in the county of Tipperary, for gathering in the subsidy from the collectors. Maurice Rochfort was for some time deputy to Sir Thomas Rokeby, Lord Justice of Ireland, and according to Friar Hogan's *Annals of Nenagh* (preserved in the Brundusian Library, Brussels), Maurice was "a man of good life and honest conversation". The mortmain laws were so strictly enforced during his episcopacy, that whereas Gerald le Marescal, above mentioned, in A.D. 127$\frac{2}{3}$ had purchased some lands for the see, without having previously obtained his license of mortmain, Edward III. obliged Maurice Rochfort, in 1337, to pay a fine of twenty marks. An ancient rental of the Diocese of Limerick is attributed to Maurice Rochfort.

The attitude assumed by the Church at this period was bold and vehement against the tyrannical usurpations of the crown, which not only sought to set aside the liberties extended by Magna Charta, but under the falsest of pretences, levied oppressive taxes, and frequently revoked all previous grants, letters patent, etc., as well to all persons denounced, as to the Church itself, which maintained its position as the champion of truth and the protector of the persecuted. Many instances are given, in contemporaneous records, of the rapacity of the crown, and of the resistance of

the Church to the spoliating hands of royalty and to the unscrupulousness of its agents; and the vehemence with which the Archbishop of Cashel hurled defiance at the decrees of the subservient parliament of Kilkenny, and the readiness with which his zeal was seconded by his suffragans of Limerick, Emly, and Lismore, afford a proof, if proof were wanting, that the Church, in those times, never abandoned the people, though the power of the state and the influence of the crown were brought to bear against it on many occasions.

Stephen Lawless, or Lellies, Chancellor of Limerick, succeeded in 1353, and was restored to the temporalities by the king on the 13th of May, 1353. He died on the 28th of December, 1359.

In 1360, Stephen de Valle, or Wall, Dean of Limerick, succeeded by provision of the Pope, and was consecrated this year. He filled the high office of treasurer of Ireland. He was translated to the bishopric of Meath, where having sat ten years, he died at Oxford on the 4th of November, 1379, and was buried there in the Dominican monastery. While he was Bishop of Limerick he translated the bones of Richard FitzRalph, Archbishop of Armagh, commonly called St. Richard of Dundalk, from Avignon to Dundalk, the birth-place of that archbishop, and deposited them in the Parish Church of St. Nicholas in that town.[1]

Peter Curragh (in a MS. in T.C.D., said to be taken out of the *Black Book*, he is called Creagh; and in White's MSS. he is designated Pierce Creagh, a native of Limerick, though Ware states that he was a native of the county of Dublin) was elected next in succession, in 1369. He took the oath of fealty to Edward III. before the illustrious William of Wykeham, Bishop of Winchester, on the 10th of February (English style). Creagh's episcopacy was full of troubles. He engaged in implacable opposition to the Franciscans. When Archbishop Warrington came to Limerick to redress their grievances, and cited the bishop to answer their complaints, he (the bishop) laid violent hands on the archbishop, and tore the citation from him with such force that he drew his blood, and ordered the archbishop to begone, or that it should fare worse with his attendants. It is said, moreover, that the bishop laid censures on and threatened with excommunication all who should repair for divine service within the church of the Franciscans; that he excommunicated all who afforded the archbishop food and entertainment. There are other matters equally harsh said of this bishop: some of these accusations are preferred by Ware, on the authority of Luke Wadding; but we must accept them with some reservation. We must bear in mind that this prelate governed the see of Limerick for the long period of thirty years. During his time religion flourished in Limerick. Some of the most eminent of the families of the city then lived, and by their munificent expenditure on the churches and monasteries, showed that their zeal was ardent and their faith sincere. It was during the episcopacy of Pierce Creagh that Martin Arthur made a will[2] which shows that there were nine churches in the city. This will was made A.D. 1376. Among the bequests was one to the Franciscan friars, which the assertion of Ware, or rather of his commentator, Harris, as to the resent-

[1] In a Parliament held at Trim, in June, 1485, a chantry was confirmed in this church of St. Nicholas, at Dundalk, in honour of God, the Blessed Virgin, St. Nicholas, and St. Richard, of Dundalk. Ware's *Bishops*.

[2] Preserved in the Arthur MSS.

ment manifested by the bishop towards the Franciscans, shows did not extend to the citizens. This will indicates the curious domestic manners of the times, and sets out several curious bequests. Confirmation of it is granted, and letters of administration, by the bishop. The will concludes as follows:

"In the name of God, Amen, I, the aforesaid Martin, bequeath my soul to God, the Blessed Virgin, and all the saints; my body to be buried in the church of the Preaching Friars in Limerick. I also bequeath to the Cathedral of St. Mary's, Limerick, for forgotten tithes ... (marks) 20 0

Also to the Preaching Friars ...	...	1	8
Also for a friar's habit, to be put on him, half a mark			
Also to the Friars Minor (Franciscans) ...	...	10	0
Item to the Vicars of the Church of St. Mary	...	2	0
Item to the Church of the Holy Cross	...	3	4
Item to the Vicar of St. Nicholas ...	...	2	0
Item to repair of the Church of St. Munchin's	...	3	4
Item to the Church of St. Peter ...	...	1	0
Item Church of St. Michael ...	...	1	0
Item Church of John Baptist ...	...	1	0
Item Church of St. Lawrence ...	...	1	0
Item Church of St. Patrick ...	..	1	0
Item to Sarah Wingaine ...	...	1	0
Item to Mr. John Lawless ...	...	1	0
Item Mr. John White, Chaplain ...	...	1	0
Item to Mariota Mylys ...	...	1	0
Item to John Sole, Monk ...	half a mark.		
Item to Friar Maurice O'Cormacaine ...	....	3	4
Item to Friar Simon Modin ...	...	2	0
Item to Preaching Friars, to pray for his soul	...	2	0
Item to Nurse Johanna ...	...	8	0

This bishop resigned his see A.D. 1400, and died about the end of October, 1407. Before his death, but after his resignation, viz., in 1401, John Budstone, a wealthy citizen of Limerick, bestowed four great bells on the cathedral of St. Mary's, to which we shall have to refer in the next chapter. Up to this period, from the foundation of the chapter by Bishop Donat O'Brien, there had been nine[1] Deans.

CHAPTER LVII.

BISHOP CORNELIUS O'DEA—HIS MITRE, CROZIER, AND SEAL—HIS IMPROVEMENTS—STATE OF AFFAIRS IN HIS TIME—GRANT OF HENRY VI. TO THE CITIZENS—THE CATHEDRAL OF ST. MARY'S—MONUMENTS AND MONUMENTAL INSCRIPTIONS—THE BISHOPS IN SUCCESSION—THE "REFORMATION", ETC., ETC.

THE illustrious Cornelius O'Dea, Archdeacon of Killaloe, succeeded Curragh or Creagh, A.D. 1405. He was a liberal benefactor to the cathedral, as we have already seen, and he also enlarged and beautified it. His mitre

[1] Viz.:—in 1204, p. 1212, T. ibid. W. Reymundus, tempore Henrici de Walyn, Dec. Lim.; 121 to 1278, Thomas of Woodford; 1295-8, John de Cotes; 1302, Luke; 1311, Eustace de l'Eau or Waters, who was raised to the bishopric this year; 1366, Adam Owen; 1398 to 1409,

and crozier are yet extant, and have won the admiration of all antiquarians and learned societies: they have been shown at the great National Exhibition in Dublin in 1852, and at the congress of the Archæological Society in England in 1862.[1] The mitre is of thin silver parcel gilt, ornamented both on the front and back, as also on the *infulæ* or pendants, with a profusion of pearls, crystals, rubies, amethysts, emeralds, and other precious stones. The two sides are composed of silver laminæ, gilt, and are jewelled in a broad band round the base, up the centre, and along the sloping edges; these bands are edged with mouldings, and the sloping portion has been enriched with an elaborate cresting of vine-leaves along its outer edge. The interspaces on either side are now occupied by a foliated ornament, composed of pearls laid down over foil. The infulæ, or pendant ornaments, are not so ancient as the mitre itself. There are, however, among them two ancient cabochon crystals, and two small ornaments of translucent enamel, one with the emblem of a hare pursued by a hound, the other with a winged lion. It has the following enamelled inscription, under a crystal cross in front:—

"HOC SIGNUM CRUCIS ERIT IN CŒLO".

Under a similar cross on the back the inscription goes on:

"CUM DOMINUS AD JUDICANDUM VENERIT".

Round the base of the mitre is the following inscription, in letters of the period, on ground covered with blue, green, and purest translucent enamel:

+Me+fieri+fecit+Cornelius+O Deaygh+
episcopus+——+anno+Domini+milli°+
——+——+

The name of the artist is engraved in similar characters above the hinged band:—

Thomas+O'Carryd+artifex+faciens.

The crozier is of silver gilt, and ornamented round the curve with vine leaves and real pearls, and down the shafts with crowns and chased work. Within the curve are statuettes of the Blessed Virgin and the Angel Gabriel, and that of a dove over the former. This curve is supported by a pelican, with extended wings, feeding its young ones. Beneath are the enamelled figures of five female saints and St. John the Evangelist. The crozier weighs about 10 lbs. The boss of the crozier exhibits six elegant statuettes under rich canopies of Edwardine architecture, and standing upon appropriate pedestals. These statuettes represent the Blessed Trinity, the Virgin Mary, St. Peter, St. Paul, St. Patrick, and St. Munchin, the patron saint of the diocese.

Richard Warren, Waryer, or Warying. Of prebendaries, up to this period, we find only the names of: 1320, Richard Fort, Preb. of Kilbeakan; John de Bosworth, presented by the crown, September 10th, 1346, Preb. of Tullabrackey; 1389, John Eyleward [Aylward], presented by the crown, September 20th, Prob. of Tullaghbrackey; 1388, John de Karlell [Carlisle ?], Preb. of Effin—held.

[1] Dr. Milner gave a particular description of these most valuable treasures to the Society of Antiquaries, with a sketch of them, which was made by Mr. John Gubbins, of Limerick, Artist.

On the crozier, in beautifully executed letters of the time, are these words:—

"Me fieri fecit ‖ corneli' odeaigh ‖ eps limiricens' ‖ a°do[1]
M°cccc°xviii t(et) consecracionis ‖ sue anno xviii.[1]

It is stated in the White MSS. that these precious treasures had been always in the possession of the Catholic Bishops of the See of Limerick.

O'Dea, who was connected by fosterage with the royal family of O'Brien, was buried near the tomb of the O'Briens, under a monument of black marble adorned with a statue; but in 1621 this monument was removed to a place set apart for the bishops of Limerick, on the south side of the choir." The following inscription is on the monument:—

"Hæc est effigies Reverendissimi Viri Cornelii O'Dae
Quondam episcopi Limericensis qui ad monumentum
Hoc novum Episcoporum Limericensium ad
Perpetuandum memoriam et honorem tanti Præsulis
Translatus fuit ut hic cum fratribus suis requiesceret
14 die Julii, Ano Domini 1621. Remotus autem huc evi (qu. fuit?)
Sumptibus nobilissimi heroïs Donati comitis Thomoniæ
Tunc Honoratissimi Domini Presidentis provinciæ Momoïæ".

Thus translated in Harris's Ware:

"This is the effigies of that most reverend man, Cornelius O'Dea, formerly Bishop of Limerick, who, to perpetuate the memory and honour of so great a prelate, was translated to this burial-place of the bishops of Limerick, that he might rest with his brethren, on the 14th day of July, 1621. But it was removed hither at the charge of that most noble hero, Donat, Earl of Thomond, then the Right Hon. Lord President of the province of Munster".

O'Dea resigned in 1426.

We must dwell for a short time on the state of religion in Limerick during the episcopacy of this illustrious bishop, and show what was done for his cathedral by him and by the citizens. Among other improvements, Thomas Arthur, who was born about the year 1378, with his wife Johanna Morrough, daughter of David Morrough, senator of Cork and Youghal, built up at their own expense, in a magnificent manner, the eastern front and the costly wrought window of the choir of the cathedral church of the Blessed Virgin Mary at Limerick, the western door of which he caused to be sculptured, in a workmanlike manner, in stone, with the armorial bearings of the Arthurs, and the southern door with the armorial bearings of the Murroughs, "not through a spirit of vain glory, but in order that others hereafter should imitate the memorials of their piety". He was thought worthy to hold the dignity of Mayor of Limerick twice. The first time he entered upon its duties was in the year 1421, which was the tenth and last year of the reign of Henry V., in which time they began to build the walls of the southern suburbs. The second time he discharged the duty of Mayor was in the year 1426, in which year the

[1] That is, "Cornelius O'Deagh, Bishop of Limerick, caused me to be made A.D. 1418, and in the eighteenth year of his consecration". The Right Rev. Dr. Butler, the present Catholic Bishop of Limerick, wore the precious mitre at his consecration; and his lordship lent it to the South Kensington Loan Exhibition in 1862, where it was admired as a matchless curiosity, as the mitre of William of Wykeham, which was like it, but has gone to decay.

gate dedicated to St John the Baptist, and the eastern walls, were begun. And having six months of his office unexpired, he died on the 15th of the kalends of April, 1426 (*Arthur MSS.*).[1]

The great Bishop O'Dea gave an impetus to improvement, not only as regards the cathedral, but to the convents and monasteries, and the city generally. He was liberal, energetic, and pious. The spirit by which he was animated was largely participated in by the citizens, of whose coöperation in raising and erecting costly monuments we have records in the Arthur MSS.

The cathedral contained several chapels dedicated to saints, the chief of which were those of St. Mary Magdalene and St. Catherine, St. James, etc. It was the invariable custom of those who could afford, to bequeath certain sums for the repairs of the cathedral, as well as for the repairs of the parochial churches of St. Manchin, or Munchin, St. Nicholas, St. Peter, St. Michael, St. Laurence, St. Patrick, and the priories and monasteries, and fines imposed on citizens and others were appropriated to the repairs and adornment of the edifice.[2]

In reference to John Budstone, above referred to, Dr. Thomas Arthur, in his MSS., writes in Latin, which we translate literally:—

"I composed this inscription to be set up by the stone-cutter by way of epitaph, on the mural tablet of marble, sculptured in golden letters, inserted in the wall of my chapel, dedicated to the Blessed Mary Magdalen, in the church of the Virgin Mother of God, in Limerick, in happy memory of my grandfather's grandsire, John Budstone, by whose gift I, my parents, my grandfather, my great-grandfather, and my great-great-grandmother, Margaret Budstone, have possessed that part of the chapel.

"This pious man made a gift, to the church aforesaid, of four large brass bells, as I have found in a writing in a book belonging to my grandfather, William Arthur, grandson of the same, by his daughter:

"Now stay thy steps, and, reader, cast thine eyes,
And read the fate that waits on thy demise:
That fair corporeal mass dissolved and passed,
Shadow and dust shalt thou become at last.
That shadow passeth not to empty air,
Nor into other bodies doth repair,

[1] The will of the abovenamed Thomas Arthur, which was made on the 17th March, 1426, s sealed with the seal of Cornelius, Bishop of Limerick, impressed on red wax. The following is a description of the seal: it represented on the upper part the image of the Blessed Trinity the Father bearing up the crucified Son; in the middle was an image of the glorious Virgin Mary, with two other images, one at each side; on the lower part of tle same seal was an image of the bishop, with the shield of the Earl of Desmond on the right side, and of the Earl of Ormonde on the left; on the circumference were these letters: "The seal of Cornelius, by the grace of God Bishop of Limerick" (*Arthur MSS.*).

[2] (From the Arthur MSS.) "I wrote this epigram, to be sculptured sometime on a marble altar which I wish to erect in the chapel of the tutelary saints, Saints James the Greater and Mary Magdalene, if ever I shall survive the close of this war—(He means the war of 1641)—between the walls of both alabaster statues, to be placed upon neat arches or conches of both:

The hostile flame, pent up in densest clouds,
A rain mist, like to water, has poured forth.
The heavenly fire diffused in sacred minds
Draws forth the lightning of the Word, and then
Devotion thunders, rivalling the saints
With sighs and moans; but let the limpid tear
Wash away sin".

But with the spirits of the blest reposes,
Where gales benignant fan Elysian roses.
If aught impure the flesh contracted here,
Passed through the fire the soul becometh clear.
While, racked on sulphur piles, the wicked lie,
Banded with souls accurst eternally,
Darkling in gloomy night, whom nevermore
Water of life shall unto health restore.
Traces of human shape it doth retain,
Longs to return and join the flesh again;
But ages pass before it re-attires
The mouldering ashes with their former fires.
Then shall the soul its members reassume,
And, widowed once, rise glorious from the tomb.
Then shall the dreadful trumpet's awful tone
Summon the crowds before the Judge's throne;
Returned to life, the bad to tortures doomed,
The good with light eternally illumed.
Oh! stain not, then, your pious souls with crime,
Comport your holy life to faith sublime.
Without morality all faith is vain,
John Buston teaches in this warning strain,
Who to the church these powerful bells has given:
Do thou, departing, wish him rest in Heaven".

Bishop Milner states that the ancient *taxatio diœcesis* in the *Black Book* which he saw on his visit to Limerick in 1808, is in the handwriting of Cornelius O'Dea. A description of the episcopal seal, the only one extant, is preserved in the note we have just given from the will of Thomas Arthur. Those indeed were bright and happy days for the Church. Under the influence of this great Irish bishop everything flourished. Men lived and died for religion. It is probable that the oak stalls and "misereres", which even at this hour win the admiration of every visitor of St. Mary's Cathedral, are of the time of O'Dea: the carvings on the "misereres" (or seats with ledges, which were turned up to allow the occupant of the stall to rest during the recital of the divine offices) are of this period; they are similar in many respects, to the carvings on the misereres in some English cathedrals.[1] It is equally probable that Bishop O'Dea founded the valuable MS. library of St. Mary's Cathedral. (a few specimens of which we believe are yet in existence), and of which a catalogue, to some extent at least, is preserved among the Sloane MSS. in the British Museum.

The following is a portion of the catalogue translated:

No. 46, Sloane MSS., 4793, page 119.
A 1631.

The names of 45 MSS. in the Library of the Cathedral of Limerick:

1. Last of the Four Gospels and Richard the Hermit.
2. „ Explanations.
3. Tract on Vices and Virtues.
4. Explanation of the Apocalypse.
   Augustine on the Wonders of Scripture. Historical Allegory on the Scriptures.

[1] Glossary of architecture.

5. Augustine on the Domination of Devils. Meditations of Anselm.
6. Great Prologue containing all the Prologues in the Bible.
7. Chrysostom.
8. First Book of the Summa of St. Thomas.
9. Explanation of the Names in Scripture.
10. Acts of the Apostles, and all the Epistles.
11. Questions in the Old and New Testaments, and Lombards.
12. Four Books.
13. Concordances.
14. On Vices and Virtues, in Folio.
15. Explanation of the whole Bible.
17. Explanation of the Canticle of Canticles, and certain Symbols.
18. Text and Explanation of Matthew.
19. Five Books of the Decrees of Gregory.
21. Paraphrase of the Psalms.
22. Fifteen Books of Augustine on the Trinity.
Anselm on the Incarnation of the Word.
The same on the —
Monologia of the same.
Prologia of the same.
The same on the Trinity.
The same on God-Man.
Anselm on Truth.
etc., etc.
23. Dictionary of Words.
24. Observations on the History of the Bible.
25. Innocent IV. on Canon Law.
26. Summary on Vices.
28. Text of the Gospel of John.
30. On Vices.
31. Explanation of the Psalms.
32. Explanation of the Epistles of St. James and St. John.
33. Explanation of the Epistles of St. Paul.
etc., etc., etc.

Those MSS. appear to have still existed, as the catalogue states, in 1631. Most likely, they were scattered and destroyed in the wars of Cromwell.

Bishop O'Dea lived some years after his resignation, and died A.D. 1434, and was buried, as we have seen, in the cathedral to which he was a munificent contributor. The year previous to his death, viz., in 1433, on the Monday before the feast of St. Michael the Archangel (12th Henry VI.,) the Mayor and community of the city of Limerick, by unanimous consent and assent, admitted Dr. John Oveni, as prior of the House of St. Mary and St. Edmond, to the freedom of the city; "so that he shall render and give with the citizens of the same city as his predecessors rendered and gave with the citizens of the same city and their predecessors"; (*Arthur MSS.*).

This prelate lived in troubled times. The city suffered as well from the attacks of Irish as of English rebels. In the British Museum, among the Sloane MSS., appear letters patent by which Henry VI., to prevent the destruction of the city from day to day, grants to the mayor, bailiffs, and commonality of the city of Limerick, power

"as often as they please to retain with them sufficient people (or septs,

gentes) for defence, both horse and foot of the county of Limerick and marches of the city and county aforesaid, and to lead these people with them in resistance to the malice of said enemies and rebels, to make war upon and to chastise and punish them according to their demerits, and to be able with God's assistance to make head against them. And we also of our special favour grant that neither the aforesaid mayor, bailiff, and commonalty, or their successors the mayors, bailiffs, and commonalty of Limerick city, neither any of them, nor any one of any of the county and marches aforesaid, who shall thus have gone hereafter with the aforesaid mayor, bailiffs, and commonalty, and with their successors the mayors, bailiffs, and commonalty of the said city, against the said enemies of ours, and English rebels who are to be curbed in the manner and form aforesaid, be impeached, nor any of them be impeached or in any way be aggrieved by our heirs, officers, or servants, or any of our heirs hereafter whatever in the causes aforesaid, or any of them. And we further of our fuller favour grant unto the same mayor, bailiffs, and commonalty of the said city for ever, the power of treating and parleying with the aforesaid our Irish enemies dwelling about the city, county, and marches aforesaid, and to restore them to peace with us, or of our heirs, and as often as they please to make armistices and truces with them, without impeachment on the part of us, our heirs, officers, or servants, or of our heirs whatever hereafter, providing, however, that such treating be not to our prejudice or that of our faithful people. In testimony whereof we have caused to be made these our letters patent. Witness our beloved Thomas Straunge, Knight Deputy; our beloved and faithful John Sutton, Knight, our Lieutenant in our land of Ireland. Trim, the 8th day of March, in the eighth year of our reign, Sutton, by petition by the Deputy himself and the whole council, and sealed with the privy seal".

We thus perceive the state of society without the city, at a period in which religion was effecting so many improvements within the walls, and when piety among the citizens was one of their chief characteristics. By a special patent the bishop himself was empowered to parley with the rebels.

In the third of Henry VI., the king, by his letters patent, remitted to Cornelius, Bishop of Limerick, all debts, compositions, arrears, fines, and amercements which were due of him to the crown of England. The letters bear date the 26th of April, and are witnessed by Sir John Talbot, Lord Justiciary of Ireland (*Pat. R. Hib.*, Henry VI).

John Mothel, or perhaps more correctly John of Mothel, an Augustinian canon of the abbey of Kells, in the county of Kilkenny, succeeded O'Dea by provision of Pope Martin V., and was restored, according to Ware, to the temporalities on the 23rd day of January, 1426 (English style). He governed the see nearly thirty-two years; resigned it in 1458; and died in 1468. The Royal Irish Academy, in 1849, according to Dr. Cotton, became possessed of an ancient seal or stone, which was probably that of this bishop. It bears the rude figure of a bishop under the usual canopy, beneath which is another figure of a prelate with his pastoral staff. The workmanship of these is coarse. It is inscribed:—

SIGILLU. DNI. JOHS. EPI. LYMRENSIS.

An account appears in the *Black Book* of an inquisition which was held by Bishop John Mohel, which is to this effect:—

"An Inquisition was held in the [bishop's] court of Tullabrek, on the 9th day of September, in the year of our Lord 1447, before our Lord John, Lord Bishop of Limerick, Robert Stancon, and many others; item, Eoy. O'Cachane, jur.; it. Sehan O'Pharrell, jur.; it. Nichus. Fyn, jur.; Richus. McJonyn, jur.; Donaldus McJonyn, jur.; Richus. Duff, jur.; Thos. O'Morvie, jun.; Thos. O'Bogane, jur.; Cornelius O'Morio; Willmus. Blewet, jur.; who being sworn as witness, on their oath depose, that in whatever way the tenants of Tullabrek did work by their horses and cattle for themselves, they would do in like manner for the Bishop of Limerick."

The deans, from the time already enumerated to the episcopacy of this bishop, were, according to Dr. Cotton, Luke (1302), Eustace de L'Eau, or Waters (1311), who was raised to the episcopacy in that year; Stephen de Valle (1360), who was elected bishop, according to Ware; Adam Owen (1366), Richard Warren, Waryn, or Warying, Eustathus d'Aqua, who is named in a MS. T.C.D., f. 1–18. "But, perhaps", says Dr. Cotton, "there is a mistake of a figure, and 1405 ought to be 1305 (see above)". Robert Poer also was Archdeacon of Lismore as well as Dean of Limerick (1434), and was sent as proxy for William, Bishop of Meath, to the council of Bâsle, and on his return the council ordered the bishop to pay all his expenses—[see Register Swayne]:—Poer in 1446 was raised to the bishopric of Waterford; and, lastly, Thomas O'Semican. From the foundation of the cathedral up to this period, there were four precentors, viz.: M. Omelinus (*Black Book*), (1204 to 1207); Thomas (*ibid.*, id.) (1272); Dyonysius O'Dea (perhaps a relative of Bishop Cornelius O'Dea), who obtained leave of absence for five years to go and study in the schools of Oxford and Cambridge (Robert Patrick Wark), and who in 1421 was raised to the bishopric of Ossory;[1] Maimer Fleming (1426)—(*Cod. Clar.* 36).

William Creagh, a native of Limerick, succeeded John Mothel by Papal provision, on the resignation of the latter, and was consecrated in 1459. He occupied the see about thirteen years. He recovered for the church the lands of Donoughmore, according to the *Black Book*, which were usurped by others.[2] The salary of the organist in his time was 6s. 8½d. per annum.[3] He was a distinguished member of a highly distinguished family, which gave archbishops and bishops to the Church, commanders to the army, chief magistrates to the city, and which traces its pedigree to Eugenius, son of Nial of the Nine Hostages, son of Eochaymoyvegan, several monarchs of Ireland having been of the family.[4]

Most probably it was during the reign of this prelate that the Galway monument, or, at all events, the principal portion of that very remarkable monument, was erected in the cathedral, the inscription on which has been much defaced, no doubt purposely, and most probably by the soldiers

[1] This Bishop of Ossory may, however, have been of the Kilkenny sept of O'Dea, located near Waterford.

[2] The entry is in his own handwriting.

[3] Arthur MSS.

[4] From an old MS:—"Here followeth the antiquity, geanologie, and explanation of the most antient family of the Creaghs in all places where they be, and the reason why they were called Creaghs, and their pedigree to Eugenius, son of Nial of the Nyne Hostages, son of Eochaymoyvegan, with account of each monarch of Ireland that had been of the ancestors of the said family, with the year of the world or of Christ each monarch began their reigne, and how many years each monarch reigned first, and begin with". Three brothers, Pierce, Patrick, and James, commanded the party that forced their way through Creagh Gate, which is called after their name from that day, because they wore green branches in their helmets, to distinguish themselves from their enemies, the Danes, whom they conquered.

of the Commonwealth, Sir Geoffrey Galway, of whom we have already written so much (see p. 127), having been one of the citizens proscribed by Ireton. The coat of arms, which surmounts the monument, seems to have been placed above the tomb many years after the erection of the latter. The arms of the Galway family are those of the De Burghs, distinguished by a bend. On a shield at the right, over the tomb, are the arms of Galway, impaling those of Stritch; and on a second shield, at the left, are the Galway arms impaling those of Arthur. There is a third shield under the apex of the monument, but we have not been able to ascertain with correctness to whom it belongs. The inscription, as far as it can be at present made out, is as follows:—

vir Ricardus xx. . . .
. . . . . ort . . . . roa . . . civitatum Lime xxx.
Corgagiæ qxx. . . . . anno di mccccxxxx. . . .
Hic jacet xx. . . . . venerabilis vir Galfiridus
Galwey quondam civis civitatum Limerici Corcag xxx. . . . . .
Waterfordie qui obiit xx. . . . Januarii anno Domini mcccclxxx um
xx filius talis xx. . . . . Margarite filie talis Ricardi xx. . . . fort
hunc tumulum fieri fecit.

Thomas Arthur succeeded in 1472, and died on the 19th July, 1486. He was the third son of Nicholas Arthur of Limerick, and Catherine Skyddy of the city of Cork.[1] His father was one of the most eminent citizens of his time—(see p. 369), and appears to have been on intimate terms with the Kings of England, to whom he was accustomed to make valuable presents. His grandfather, Thomas, did much, as we have seen, towards the decoration of the cathedral. The bishop had five brothers, all of whom rose to distinction in their native city.

Richard, whose surname is not given by our authorities, succeeded in 1486, and died in the same year, in Rome, where he was appointed to the see by Pope Innocent VIII. He never took possession of his see.

John Dunow or Dumow, a canon of Exeter, doctor of laws, and, at the time, ambassador of Henry VIII. to the court of Rome, was nominated, on the 13th of November, 1486, by the Pope's provision, to succeed; but he also died in Rome the third year after his consecration, before he had time to visit his see.

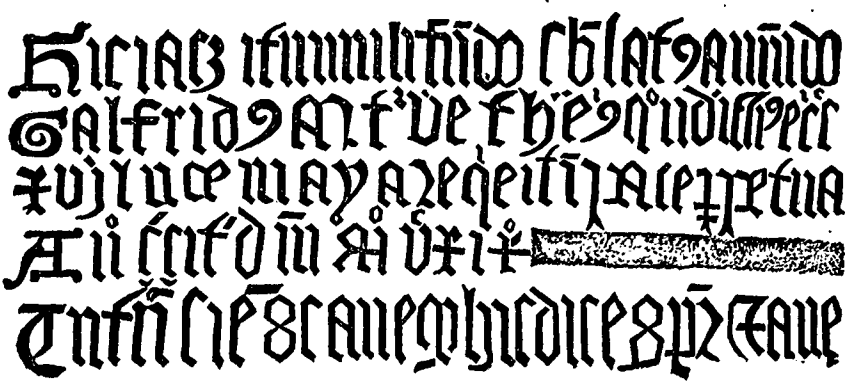
John Folan succeeded in 1489. He was canon of Ferns, rector of Clonmore, and procurator for Octavian de Palatio, Archbishop of Armagh at the court of Rome, and was advanced to the see of Limerick by the Pope, on the 13th of May in the same year. During the episcopacy of this prelate in 1449, the nave of the church of the Blessed Virgin Mary, which was narrow and mouldering to decay, was enlarged, and several other additions were made, including the erection of three transepts, as well as the formation of various aisles. The citizens undertook the duty of decorating the cathedral.[2]

The Arthurs appear to have given their aid towards these improvements. Robert Arthur filled the office of mayor at the time, and Christopher Arthur was one of the bailiffs. It was the custom, a few years after, if it

[1] Arthur MSS. [2] Ibid.

was not at this period, to apply the fines that were levied by the mayor on the citizens, towards the restoration and improvement of the cathedral. For instance, during the mayoralty of William Stackpoll, John Everard and Richard FitzNicholas Creagh, bailiffs, A.D. 1500, the Mayor commanded that the fines which had been imposed on Anthony Galway and Philip England should be expended on the repairs of the Church of the Blessed Virgin; and in 1505, William Harrold for the second time mayor, Nicholas Creagh and John Rochfort, bailiffs, the Mayor expended the fines imposed on the citizens in the building the Church of the Blessed Virgin Mary.[1]

In 1519, Geoffrey Arthur, the ninth treasurer of the cathedral, according to Dr. Cotton, died, and his monument, which has been a serious puzzle to antiquaries and historians, and which Ferrar and Fitzgerald made ridiculous, deserves particular notice. The following is an exact engraving of a tracing of this monument, made by the author of this work, and which is followed by the contracted Latin of the original, expanded, with a translation:—



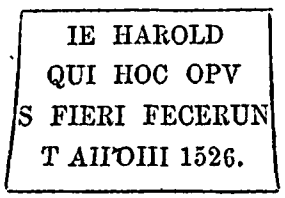
"Hic jacet in tumuli fundo sublatus a mundo
Galfridus Arture thesaurarius quondam istius ecclesiæ
xvi. luce maya requievit in pace perpetua.
Anno crucifixi domini 1519.
Tu transiens cave qui hic dices pater et ave.

"Here lies, in the bottom of the tomb, removed from the world, Geoffrey Arture, formerly treasurer of this Church. He rested in perpetual peace on the 16th day of May, in the year of the Crucified Lord 1519. You who pass by take heed that you here say a Pater and Ave".

John Coyn, or Quin, a Dominican Friar, and, according to Dr. Cotton, a brother of the direct ancestor of the present Earl of Dunraven, succeeded to the bishopric through the immediate influence of the Pope, though Henry VIII. laboured zealously to substitute in the room of Bishop Folan Walter Wellesley, Prior of Conal, who was afterwards elevated to the See of Kildare. Bishop Quin, who was consecrated in 1521, resigned on the 9th of April, 1551, not being able any longer, through age, want of sight, and other infirmities, to hold the office. He assisted at the synod held in Limerick by Edmund Butler, Archbishop of Cashel, about the festival of SS. Peter and Paul, 1529, at which Nicholas Comyn, Bishop of Water-

[1] Arthur MSS.

ford and Lismore, and James O'Corrin, Bishop of Killaloe, also assisted. At this synod power was given to the mayor of Limerick to imprison ecclesiastical debtors, until they made satisfaction to their creditors, without incurring danger of excommunication. The privilege was sought for by Nicholas Stritch, mayor, for himself and his successors, but a doubt is expressed that the concession was valid.[1] The clergy arraigned the decree as a violation of their canonical privilege; and judging from the brief record of the event in the Arthur MSS., it would seem that the laity were not in favour of it, whatever cause may have impelled the mayor to demand a power hitherto unknown in the municipal annals. Whilst John Quin was bishop, there were improvements made in the cathedral by James Harold, mayor, which we find by a rudely cut tablet, inserted in recent years, in the wall of the north transept of the cathedral. The letters are relieved Roman, and the tablet was brought from another part of the cathedral, near the O'Dea monument, during the alterations in 1861:



The words before 1526 appear to be Aug. 3.

James Harold was mayor, "for the first time", in 1525.[2] The bishop was a member of the old family of O'Cuin, of the tribe of Muinter Iffernan, located at Corofin, in the county of Clare, his brother James Quin, of Kilmallock, being the direct ancestor of the Right Hon. the Earl of Dunraven.

It appears by Dr. Moran's introduction to the *Lives of the Archbishops of Dublin*, that John Coyn, or Quin, for some time had a coadjutor named Cornelius O'Neil, of the Tyrone family. Writing on the authority of Father Domingo Lopes, the annalist of the Trinitarian Order, whose rare work was published at Madrid in 1714, he says this coadjutor was a member of that order, and had acted in preceding years as provincial; that the convent contained forty-five religious, and that in 1539, when acting as suffragan, he preached in the cathedral, denouncing the threatened innovations in religion, the destruction of the religious houses, and anathematizing any of his flock who should renounce the saving doctrines of the Catholic Faith for that which had then begun to be preached to them. On the same evening, 24th June, 1539, in his own residence, according to the same authority, his head was struck off by a blow of a sword by one of the emissaries of the crown. On the 16th January, 1540–41, we find Bishop Quin at Cahir, where, with the Lord Deputy Sentleger, the Archbishop of Cashel, and the Bishop of Emly, he certified the submission of James FitzJohn, Earl of Desmond. The Bishop of Limerick is mentioned in some state papers printed in Lynch's *Feudal Dignities of Ireland* (p. 341), and in the *State Papers of Henry VIII.* (vol. iii. part iii. p. 307), as having been present at the parliament of 1541, which enacted that Henry should

[1] Arthur MSS.

[2] The reader is aware that the mayoralty occupied from September to September, thus running over portions of two years.

be king in place of lord of Ireland; but no Christian name is mentioned, although given as was customary to several other bishops. The list too, as to numbers, totally disagrees with those mentioned by the Deputy Sentleger; hence it seems questionable whether he was there, though there is no doubt he had been summoned. There is little doubt also that Bishop Quin opposed the progress of the Reformation, as we find in a letter from Sentleger to Secretary Cecil, dated 19th January, 1550–1,[1] the following statement: "And nowe, as tuching religion, altho it be hard to plante in men's mynds herein, yet I trust I am not slake to do what I can t'advance the same. I have caused the whole service of the commyon to be drawen into Latten, whiche shalbe shortly set furthe in print. I have caused boks to be sent to the citty of Lymik, who most gladly have condescended to ymbrace the same with all effecte, altho the Busshop therr, who is both owlde and blind, be moost agensyt it". According to Ware and Morrin's Patent Rolls, Bishop Quin resigned his see the 9th of April, 1551, and there can be little question but that his resignation was compelled, considering what Sentleger wrote against him, and that in another letter written by him to the Duke of Somerset, 18th February, 1550–1 (Shirley, p. 49), he mentions that the Lord Chancellor, accompanied by the Master of the Rolls, had made a late journey to Limerick and Galway, and "had established the king's maties. ordres for religion in such sorte as there is greet assuraunce the same shalbe duely observed, so as I trust those parties be wthoute suspecte of adhearing to anny forreigne power". This view is confirmed by the Rev. James White in his MSS., p. 51, who writes, "I find by an old MS. in my possession, that John Coyn was '*deposed*' by an order of Edward VI., for being a Catholic bishop, and that William Casey, 'a conformist, was put in his place". It was during Quin's time that a most cruel persecution began to rage, and expended no small share of its fury. He was fated to witness the suppression of the abbeys in 1538, and the arrival of Edmond Sexten at Limerick, on special employment by his royal master, alienating the property of the churches and uprooting the ancient landmarks. He saw his cathedral church of St. Mary's, which had for centuries been dedicated to the observances of the old faith, handed over to William Casey, who, at the instance of James Earl of Desmond, according to Ware, was advanced to this see by Edward VI., and was made bishop by George Browne, the first Protestant archbishop of Dublin.[2] He lived to see himself restored to his see by the advent of Queen Mary to the throne of England, but not to find religion in the flourishing state it had been in when he first enjoyed the episcopal dignity, and during several of those years in which he had filled that exalted office. He saw Thomas Creagh, mayor of Limerick, A.D. 1569, proclaim Connor O'Brien, Earl of Thomond (who had fled to France, and returned and obtained pardon in London) a traitor.[3] It is strange to observe that on the very eve of the troubles which brought such deep affliction on Church and people, the citizens of Limerick were extending their venerable cathedral, making improvements in it, and decorating it with great taste and even elegance. Thus we find that during the episcopacy of our prelate

[1] Shirley's *Original Letters*, p. 47.

[2] Casey's Life in *Ware*, p. 510, shows that he was never canonically appointed.

[3] *Sexten's Annals*, in the British Museum.

John Quin (A.D. 1532–1533). "Daniel Fitzgregory Arthur, mayor, George Creagh and William White, bailiffs; the mayor, from a principle of piety and for the sake of his offspring, had the three aisles and the whole choir of the church of the Blessed Virgin Mary in Limerick, laid with square polished marble flags, from whence it is to this day called Leccaomel (Daniel's pavement or flags); and the Lord blessed him with a numerous offspring".[1]

Among the deans during those years, was Andrew Creagh, who resigned in 1543, and received the king's pardon for some unknown offence on the day when his successor was confirmed (*Rot. Pat.*, 35th Henry VIII.). In the cathedral a stone is placed to his memory with the inscription:

Hic Jacet Magister
Andreas Creagh
Istius Ecclesiae
Decanus.

This marble slab had lain near the great altar; but in the alterations in 1861 it was removed to the north transept, where there are some other ancient tombstones of an apparently contemporaneous period, a few of which we shall notice here:

Lying with the head from the western wall of the north transept, is a highly elaborate cut stone, with floriated ornamentation in high relief, divided into four compartments by a cross embraced in the middle by a circle. In each of the compartments is the figure of a lion passant, the arms of the O'Briens. This ancient relic is said to have formed the lid of a stone coffin, and until the alterations in 1861, it lay near the western entrance, from which it was removed to its present place.

The monument of Dean Creagh, above referred to, is placed next to the above tombstone.

The next in position is a floriated cross on a plain black marble slab without any inscription.

A tombstone, apparently belonging to the Roche or Rice family, is placed next to the above.

A monumental slab in black letter, somewhat broken and defaced, is placed next in order. This monument was erected to Thomas Mahon, and his wife Creagh; the former died 1st November, 1631, the latter November 2nd, 1637.

On the deprivation of William Casey, who had been advanced, as we have seen, by Edward VI., from the rectory of Kilcornan, on the recommendation of James, Earl of Desmond, Hugh Lacy, or Lees, a canon of Limerick, was appointed by Queen Mary.[2] The following abstract of the royal letter is in Morrin's *Calendar of the Patent Rolls:* The queen to

[1] Arthur MSS. These, we suppose, were the tiles which were taken up in the repairs of the cathedral in 1861, and which were similar in many respects to the ancient encaustic tiles found in Mellifont Abbey, Christ Church, and St. Patrick's, Dublin, and in other abbeys and churches, and a descriptive catalogue of which has been published by Thomas Oldham, Esq., in his work on ancient Irish pavement tiles. The tiles of St. Mary's were encaustic, with the lily impressed on them —some were vitrified, and the lily also impressed on them. [I have a few specimens of them.]

[2] He was of the great De Lacy family of the County of Limerick.

the lord deputy, stating that the see of Limerick being vacant, the pope was pleased, on the recommendation of her majesty, to prefer Hugh Lees, or Lashy, to that see, as by the bulls sent over would appear, and requiring the lord deputy, therefore, according to the laws and customs of the realm before the twentieth year of the reign of the late King Henry VIII., to restore to him all the temporalities of the bishopric, first requiring him to take his corporal oath of fealty, truth, and allegiance. He was restored on the 13th of April, 1557, having first taken such oath, which, as given by Ware, was as follows:—"I, Hugh, Bishop of Limerick, elected and consecrated, do acknowledge that I have and hold all the temporal possessions of the said bishopric from your hands, and from your successors, Kings of England, as in right of the crown of your Kingdom of Ireland, and to you and to your successors, Kings of England, faith will bear. So help me God and his holy Gospels". After the accession of Queen Elizabeth he attended her first parliament in 1560, in which the act of uniformity was passed, and the royal supremacy reënacted, but there is no evidence that he supported these acts or ever conformed: in fact, the evidence is the reverse, for in 1562 we find David Wolf, a native of Limerick, and Jesuit father, who had been appointed nuncio for Ireland, residing with him when he was desired to see "what bishoppes did their dewties there, and what sees ware voyde". And Dr. Richard Creagh, Archbishop of Armagh, states in his examination taken by Ousley, Recorder of London, March 17th, 1564,-5,[1] that on going out of Ireland to Rome, he obtained from the nuncio forty crowns, and "from the Bysshoppe of Lymericke twelve markes". Previous to his departure Dr. Creagh had, by the directions of his diocesan, been engaged in denouncing "in public and private, in season and out of season, the oath of supremacy and attendance at the Protestant worship". Inasmuch, wrote the late Dr. Kelly (*Rambler*, May, 1853), as "the strong attachment of the citizens to the English crown, and the general ignorance regarding the precise nature of the changes introduced, endangered the fidelity of the people".

In 1565 it seems the English government intended to deprive Dr. Lacy, as, in the instructions to Sir Henry Sidney, Lord Lieutenant, on assuming the viceroyalty, it was amongst other matters directed, that "Inquisition also would be made of the bishoprick of Lymerick, whether it be voyde, or that by some means some mete person were placed there to serve for the like purpose in such a counsell". That is, to serve thereafter as a counsellor in Munster for the governance of those parts. Sidney, in the opinion he gave upon these minutes, states, he would certify the opinion of the Irish council as to the bishoprick of Limerick, but it does not appear any action was taken as to it, and as, in the original instructions, the execution of the Ecclesiastical Commission previously issued was directed to be confined to the English Pale and other obscure places, we may fairly presume that in the then unsettled state of the south-west of Ireland, Sidney considered it unwise and imprudent to then interfere with De Lacy.

In January, 1568, Lacy was appointed one of the commissioners of Munster, along with Brady, Bishop of Meath, John Plunket, Henry Draycott, and Justice Edward Fitzsymon, and was directed to join the others at Youghal. He wrote them from Kilmallock on the 11th, that he could not join them for lack of money, after which they wrote him from Cork, re-

[1] Shirley's *Original Letters*, pp. 171, 173.

quiring him to repair to them speedily, bringing with him the Countess of Desmond, if possible, and that they would bear his charges. He, accompanied by the countess, accordingly reached Cork on the 21st. What was done there does not appear from the state papers, but on the 19th March, they wrote a joint letter to the Lord Justice, in which the countess thanks him for his care of the Earl of Desmond's lands, tenants, and followers [he was then in London Tower], and beseeching that James Fitzmaurice might rule in the earl's absence. Shortly after, the bishop wrote to the Lords Justices complaining of Thomas Lord Fitzmaurice of Kerry. The nature of the complaint does not appear, but Lord Fitzmaurice, writing from Lixnaw on the 6th July, calls it a false book. Desmond wrote him from the Tower on 18th November, requesting him to assist in executing justice to poor and rich, to help in collecting money, that is, the earl's rents, and stating that Donoghow Casshie,[1] Chancellor of Limerick, would not give a penny for his discharge. In other letters he frequently and bitterly complains of Casshie's conduct in detaining his money. The very same year, when Dr. Creagh, before mentioned, was a prisoner in the Tower of London, it appears by the Consistory Acts in the Vatican Archives, that O'Hairt, Bishop of Achonry, was recommended by Cardinal Morone to administer Armagh, and at the same time, the Bishop of Limerick to be chosen by the Apostolic See to give testimonials for the provinces of Munster and Leinster to those clergy who went to Rome.

Dr. Lacy is also said to have resigned in 1571; but the real fact is, that he was *deprived* of the temporalities, continuing as before to exercise his spiritual jurisdiction till the time of his death. Dr. Moran, in the introduction to his *Lives of the Archbishops of Dublin*, writes: "We find him (Dr. Lacy) petitioning the Holy See for special faculties for his diocese in 1575; and the same year we find the Holy See expediting these faculties for 'Hugo Epus. Limericensis', and on account of the wants of the Irish Church, these faculties are further granted to him for the whole province of Cashel, 'quamdiu ven. frater noster Archiepus. Cassellensis a sua diocesi et ecclesia et universa provincia abfuerit'. Indeed so high was the esteem in which Dr. Lacy was held at Rome that he was selected by the Holy See to recommend members of the Irish Church for the vacant sees. The see of Limerick, in 1580, is described in a Vatican list as vacant 'per obitum D. Ugonis Lacy in sua ecclesia defuncti'. Thus", continues Dr. Moran, "by the so-called resignation of Dr. Lacy, the temporal possessions of the see were, indeed, *merged* in the Established Church, but the hierarchical succession remained unchanged, and both clergy and people continued attached to the faith of their fathers". The concluding years of Dr. Lacy's life are thus summed up by the Rev. Dr. M'Carthy, in his valuable chapter on the Irish bishops from 1536 to 1600, subjoined to his edition of the late Rev. M. Kelly, D.D.'s *Dissertations on Irish Church History*. "He, like his predecessors, was deprived, and died in 1580 (according to White's MS. p. 52) after three years' imprisonment. He was confined in Cork jail, as Bruodin informs us, fled thence to France in the reign of Edward, returned under Mary, and died in prison under Elizabeth. Rothe, pars 3^{tia}, p. 4, reckons him among the confessors of the faith".

On the death of William Casey, who was restored by Queen Elizabeth, and to whom the first Protestant dean, viz., Denis Campbell, a native of

[1] Casey.

Scotland, and formerly archdeacon of Limerick, was appointed coadjutor, John Thornborough, D.D., a native of Salisbury, and educated at Magdalen College, Oxford, who became Dean of York and chaplain to Queen Elizabeth, was appointed Protestant bishop, after a lapse of two years since the death of William Casey. He, however, was translated to Bristol, A.D. 1603, and subsequently to Worcester, where he died in July, 1641. A long account is given in Harris's *Ware* of his monument in Bristol.

From this period till the days of the Confederation, A.D. 1641, etc., the cathedral appears to have been for the greater part of the time in the hands of the Protestant bishops and clergy; nor can we find that any improvement had been made in it during the troubled and anxious days they held possession. It is true that on the death of Queen Elizabeth "all the cittyes and towns of Munster entered into arms and put upp masses in their churches",[1] which our authority adds, "did not continue long". We are informed also,[2] that the utmost joy pervaded the citizens of Limerick at the removal of the persecuting queen, who had purpled the scaffold with the blood of so many martyrs on account of the faith, and who was succeeded by a monarch whose tendencies were thought to be entirely in favour of the utmost toleration to the religion which had been suffering for over half a century at the hands of an unrelenting despotism. Among the "English by descent"[3] who inhabited the county of Limerick, at the end of the sixteenth century, there were none who sympathised with the change in religion; they were *ipsis Hibernis Hiberniores;* for the mere Irish were true as steel to their religion; they could not be subdued; and for Edmund Sexten and his followers to conquer so bold and resolute a band as then existed thoughout the diocese or to confront them, was impossible. As the record of the names and districts of the old possessors is of very great interest, we give it, containing, as it does, the names of those who at the time held the highest positions in county and city, and who never swerved from the assertion of principle at any cost.

No. 635, *Carew MSS., Lambeth Palace.*

Copy of book by Sir Hy. Gilbert, 1570.

(End of sixteenth century)

LIST OF ENGLISH BY DESCENT.

LIMERICK.

Hurlies, Supples, Pursell, Lacies of Ballingarry.

GENTLEMEN FREEHOLDERS ABOUT KILEMALLOCK.

Thomas Brown, Constable of Aney; Thomas Hurley, of Knocklong; John Brown, of the Hospital.

THE GENTRY AND FREEHOLDERS OF OWNEY.

William Leashe (Lacy), of the Browfe, and his son young William; David Leashe, Alleshaighe; James Fitzmaurice Leashe, of the Clewhir.

THE GENTRY AND FREEHOLDERS OF CONNELLOH.

Edye Lacye, of the Browery; Piers Pursell, of the Croagh; John Lacy, of Ballingarry; William Lacy, of Ballinderyhly; the Walls, and others.[4]

[1] *Sexten's Annals.*
[2] *Arthur MSS.*
[3] *Carew MSS.* in the Lambeth Palace, No. 635.
[4] Browfe and Browery are now called Bruff and Bruree.

ENGLISH OF DESCENT.

Erle of Kildare, Lord of Cohonay; Erle of Desmond, Lord of Connologh, was the second man; Sir Will. and Sir Ric. Burghe, Lo. of Clanwilliam; Burke, of Limerike; Lo. Burgh, Castelconel; Hurlies, Casies, Supples, Pursels, Lacies, of Ballingarry; Qr. Mtie. for Kenry, with. Edm. Fitzdant, clameth; Welshes, Keasis, Plants, Jordons, Verdons, Whites.

MERE IRISHE.

M'Shees, Gullogless; M'Bryan, Ogonaegh, Aregh; Brian Duff, O'Brien, O'Mulrea, O'Brien, Arlogh.

GOOD TOWNS.

Limericke, Killmalloc, Asketon, Emely.

CASTLES.

Adare, Loghger, Crome, Newcastle, Ballinity, Castleconel.

RIVERS.

Shenan; Havens, Limerick; Loughes.

FACTIONS IN MOUNSTER.

The most part of the Factions of this Province were grounded in the Erle of Desmond, who, beinge nowe dead, they are for the most part extinguished. The Geraldines and the Butlers are naturallie emulous the one of the other.

The M'Swines and M'Shees in faction.

THE NAMES OF THE FREEHOLDERS AND GENTLEMEN OF THE COUNTRIE OF LYMBURYCKE, AS FOLLOWETH.

Imps. Sir William Burcke, of Castleconell, A. Ric. Burck, of Caherconlis, R. (Other names as in 635.)

No. 292 *Harleian MSS.*

DIARY OF EARL OF ESSEX'S PROCEEDINGS, 1599.

"There have come to his lordship, and simply without conditions submitted themselves to her Majesty's mercy: Vt. Mountgarrett, with his 5 sons and brother; the Lord Roche, Vist. Fermoy; the Lord Baron of Cahir; Teige O'Brien, brother to the Earl of Thomond; Thomas Bourk, brother of the Lord Bourk; Jas. FitzPeerce of the House of Kildare, etc., and others.

No. 627, MSS.

NAMES OF REBELS WITH EARL DESMOND, 1584.

(As per Inquis. Ush. MSS. 1589.)

Gibbon, Thos. McShurlye, or Karlye; Jas. Nagle, alias McErnellen; Ulick Leashy, gent. We find that the aforesaid Ul. Leashy was in rebellion and died therein, and for any lands he had *ignoramus*. Gerald Brown, *ignoramus;* qry. Odonog More, Hugh Lacy, Lord of Glanfleske,[1] to Cork (qry. England); Nagle Condon, Deanes of Broghel.

So far the Harleian MSS. on this subject. We conclude this chapter with the names of a few of the Protestant Bishops.

Bernard Adams succeeded John Thornborough as Protestant bishop, A.D. 1604. He was an A.M. of Trinity College, Oxford, and was appointed by King James. He expended large sums in repairing the cathedral, and furnished it with an organ. He died on the 22nd of March, 1625; was buried near the celebrated Cornelius O'Dea; and on his monument, which is a mural one, over the tomb of O'Dea, the following inscription was cut:—

BERNARDUS jacet hic en ADAMUS, episcopus olim,
Omnia non vidit Solomonis, at omnia vana.

[1] O'Donog More must have been Lord of Glanflesk, not Lacy.

A bishop once, here Bernard's bones remain;
He saw not all—but saw that all was vain.

Then follow four lines in English:—

Sufficient God did give me, which I spent;
I little borrowed, and as little lent,
I left them whom I loved enough in store,
Increas'd this bishopric, relieved the poor.

The monument contains these lines also:

Nemo mihi tvmbam statvat de Marmore faxit
Urnula Episcopolo satis ista Pusilla Pvsillo
Angli quis vivus fveram et testentvr Hyberni
Cœlicolæ quis sim defunctus testificentvr.

Which we thus translate:

Let none erect to me a marble tomb;
For a little prelate that little urn suffices;
What I was living, let the English and Irish tell;
The celestials, what I am now.

On the pillars of the monument there appear to have been emblems of the passion, the spear, cross, etc. These were defaced, as were the ornamental bosses and emblems on the lower part of the monument. At present, too, nothing more than the last lines above given can be read.

Francis Gough, Chancellor of the Cathedral of Limerick, A.D. 1626, was the next Protestant bishop after Adams. He was educated in New College, Oxford. He died in Limerick, 29th August, 1631, and was buried in St. Mary's Cathedral.

We should have stated that next to the monument of Geoffrey Arthur is another of about equal dimensions, with the following inscription cut in relieved Gothic letters:—

Hic jacet Reverendus. Doms. Johannes Ffox
quondam istius Ecclesiæ decanus[1] qui diem clausit,
extremam xxviii. die mensis Augusti,
Ann. Domi. MDVIII. cujus aie propitietur Deus.[2]

This tablet was removed, in the alterations of 1861, from beneath or near the Communion table to its present place. It is broken in the centre, and some difficulty exists as to that portion of the inscription in which the supposed word "decanus" occurs. There is no mention, however, of a John Ffox as dean of St. Mary's Cathedral.

[1] The word is supposed to be Decanus—but it is very indistinct.

[2] "Here lieth the Reverend John Ffox, formerly Dean of this Church, who died on the 18th day of the month, A.D. 1508, to whose soul may God be merciful".

CHAPTER LVIII.

THE CATHOLIC BISHOPS IN SUCCESSION—NACHTEN—MACRAH—RICHARD ARTHUR—APPOINTMENT AND DISTRIBUTION OF PREACHERS BY RINUCCINI ON THE RESTORATION OF THE CATHEDRAL—O'DWYER—NEW PARTICULARS OF THE ATROCITIES DURING IRETON'S OCCUPATION OF LIMERICK—THE MONUMENTS OF ST. MARY'S CATHEDRAL DURING ITS OCCUPATION BY THE PROTESTANTS—THE PROTESTANT BISHOPS IN SUCCESSION.

ACCORDING to Dr. Moran,[1] Cornelius Nachten succeeded Hugh Lacy in 1581; in White's MSS., however, there is a statement to this effect:

"I have in my possession a dispensation granted in the forbidden degrees of kindred to Leonard Creagh and Joan White in order to be married, which is dated the 6th of November, 1613, and signed Mathew Macrah, but the place where it was dated is not mentioned, which induces me to suspect that the said Mathew Macrah was the Catholic Bishop of Limerick before Richard Arthur. Said dispensation is written in Latin, and the granter says he granted it by authority vested in him by the Holy See".

The name of Mathew Macrah appears in the list of Bishops in White's MSS. as the Catholic bishop in succession to Hugh Lacy.

On the same authority we learn that in 1623 Richard Arthur succeeded in the episcopacy: he was a native of Limerick, and one of the family of which we have already written so much in the course of this work. He was consecrated by David Rothe, Bishop of Ossory, on the 7th of September in that year, the Bishop of Cork and the Abbot of Holy Cross, Luke Archer, assisting at the ceremony. He received the Papal Nuncio, Rinuccini, in his cathedral of St. Mary's, again restored to its ancient possessors, on the 30th of October, 1645, the clergy and the municipal and military authorities, in solemn procession having accompanied Rinuccini from St. John's Gate to the cathedral. Dr. Meehan[2] states that even the Nuncio could not but admire the splendid crozier and mitre which Dr. Arthur used in the solemn function of receiving the Pope's ambassador on the threshold of his metropolitan church. These were believed indeed by some to be the work of some celestial artificer, and not of mortal hands, the legend running that on one occasion when there was a synod of prelates in Dublin, it so happened that the Bishop of Limerick went thither without his pontificals, and was thus compelled to seek throughout the metropolis a crozier and mitre. At length, having given up all hopes of obtaining them, a youth just landed from a ship, which a few minutes before had entered the harbour, approached and presented the bishop a case in which he told him that he would find the articles he sought for, and that if he liked he might keep them. When he sent a messenger in haste after the stranger to pay for the precious objects, the ship had weighed anchor and vanished beyond the horizon! The mitre, it is further added, was entrusted to a wealthy Catholic merchant to keep it from falling into the hands of the reformers, but he abstracted some of its precious stones and replaced them with false ones, a sacrilege which heaven avenged on

[1] *Lives of the Archbishops of Dublin.* [2] *Irish Hierarchy in the seventeenth century.*

his posterity, for they all died in misery. In the time of Dr. Arthur, Rinuccini restored the services in the Cathedral of St. Mary's, and appointed the different preachers and the days on which they were to preach. The document which shows this, was found, as was the taxation given in the preceding chapter, among the papers of the Reverend Doctor Jasper White, precentor and parish priest of St. John the Baptist of Limerick; and the MS., according to an entry in White's MSS. by Dr. Young, was in his (Dr. Young's) possession in 1795. The following is a translation of this important document, which also gives the names of the religious orders who were in Limerick at this period:

"Distribution of preachers in the cathedral church of the Blessed Virgin Mary of Limerick, and who are obliged to preach:—

The Bishop should preach:
1. Sunday of Pentecost.
2. On the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin Mary.
3. On the festival of all Saints.
4. On the first Sunday of Advent.
5. On Christmas Day.
6. On the first Sunday of Lent.
7. On the festival of St. Patrick.
8. On the Annunciation of the Blessed Virgin Mary.
9. On Easter Sunday.
10. On the festival of SS. Peter and Paul Apostles.

The Dean is obliged to preach
1. On the Third Sunday of Lent.
2. On the festival of St. John the Evangelist.
3. On the Seventeenth Sunday after Pentecost.
4. On the Invention of the Cross.

The Precentor Preaches
1. On the feast of St. Bartholmew the Apostle.
2. On the feast of St. Andrew the Apostle.
3. On the Second Sunday in Lent.

The Chancellor preaches
1. On the third Sunday after Pentecost.
2. On the feast of St. Thomas the Apostle.
3. On the fourth Sunday of Lent.

The Treasurer preaches
1. On the fifth Sunday after the Epiphany.
2. On Passion Sunday.
3. On Dominica in Albis.

The Archdeacon preaches
1. On Trinity Sunday.
2. On the feast of St. Sylvester.
3. On Palm Sunday.

The Prebendary of St. Munchin's preaches
1. On Septuagesima Sunday,
2. On Easter Tuesday.

The Prebendary of Donaghmore,
1. On the 5th Sunday after Pentecost,
2. On the sixth Sunday after the Epiphany.

The Prebendary of Ballycahane,
1. On the sixth Sunday after Pentecost,
2. On the second Sunday after Easter.

The Prebendary of Kilpeacon,
1. On the Seventh Sunday after Pentecost,
2. On the third Sunday after Easter.

The Prebendary of Tullebracke,
1. On the eighth Sunday after Pentecost,
2. On the fourth Sunday after Easter.

The Prebendary of Keilidy,
1. On the ninth Sunday after Pentecost,
2. On the fifth Sunday after Easter.

The Prebendary of Ardcanthy,
1. On the 10th Sunday after Pentecost,
2. On the 6th Sunday after Easter.

The Prebendary of Effin.
The Prebendary of Athuid.
The Prebendary of Croagh,
1. On the 12th Sunday after Pentecost.
2. On Easter Monday,

The Prebendary of Desert.
The Rector of Keilchuman preaches,
On the 13th Sunday after Pentecost.
On the 14th Sunday after Pentecost

The Rector of Croom.
On the 15th Sunday after Pentecost
The Rector of Athalaca.
On the 16th Sunday after Pentecost
The Rector of Drommin.
On the 18th Sunday after Pentecost
The Rector of Newcastle.
On the 19th Sunday after Pentecost
The Rector of Monaghea.
On the 20th Sunday after Pentecost
The Rector of Rathronan.
On the 21st Sunday after Pentecost
The Rector of Mahunagh.
On the 22nd Sunday after Pentecost
The Rector of Dundonal.
On the 23rd Sunday after Pentecost
The Rector of Lismakery.
On the 29th Sunday after Pentecost
The Rector of Keilbridy minor.
On the 1st Sunday after the Epiphany
The Rector of Keilbridy major.
On the 2nd Sunday after the Epiphany
The Rector of Derryghealvan.

The Dominicans preach
1. On the feast of Corpus Christi.
2. On the feast of St. Laurence the Martyr.
3. On the second Sunday in Advent.
4. On the Purification of the Blessed Virgin Mary.

The Franciscans preach
1. On the Sunday within the octave of Corpus Christi.
2. On the Nativity of the Blessed Virgin Mary.
3. On the third Sunday of Advent.
4. On the feast of St. Matthew, Apostle.

The Augustinians preach
1. On the feast of St. Michael the Archangel.
2. On the 4th Sunday of Advent.
3. On Ascension Day.

The Jesuits preach
1. On Whitsun Monday.
2. On the feast of St. Matthew, Apostle.
3. On the feast of St. Stephen, Protomartyr.
4. On Quinquagesima Sunday.

The Capuchins preach
1. On the Epiphany of our Lord.
2. On the third Sunday after Epiphany.
3. On the fourth Sunday after Epiphany.
4. On the Parasceve of our Lord.

The Carmelites preach
1. On the feast of SS. Simon and Jude, Apostles.
2. On Whitsun Tuesday.
3. On the feast of the Holy Innocents.
4. On Sexagesima Sunday".

Richard Arthur appears to have been Vicar General in 1613, and we learn on the authority of Fitzgerald's MS. narrative in T.C.D., but evidently of a subsequent date, under a heading, entitled, "A note of Archbushoppes and Bushoppes of Ireland consecrated and authorised by the Pope", under the head, "Elected Bushoppes, but not as yet consecrated", the following, *inter alia:*

"Richard Arthure ellected of Limericke, resident there, and is releeved by special friends and kinsemen of his owne, and by privie tyethes". White states—

"Considering the troublesome times that he lived in, and that he did not enjoy the temporalities, yet he was a great benefactor to this see, as there are many valuable presents he gave it still extant. In 1624 he gave two plate cruets for wine and water, engraved and partly gilt; in 1625 he gave a large plate gilt crucifix hollowed within side for relicts, nicely engraved, with a pedestal or degrees of plate, set with stones, and in the upper cross there is inlaid in the form of a cross a very large relic of the holy cross of Christ; it was designed to be carried before the bishop in 1627. The same year he gave a large gilded chalice and patena enamelled; he gave a plate pax nicely enamelled, and the enamelled work representing the Crucifixion and the soldier piercing Christ's side with a lance. In 1634 he gave a gilt plate remonstrance for the sacrament, supported by four pillars and a cover over it. He was succeeded in the see of Limerick by Edmund O'Dwyer".

Richard Arthur died on the 23rd of May, 1646, and his funeral was attended by the Pope's Nuncio Rinuccini and all the clergy; he was buried in the Cathedral of St. Mary's.

During Richard Arthur's episcopacy Richard Webb, D.D., of Oxford, and chaplain to king Charles I., was Protestant Bishop of Limerick; he was consecrated in Dublin, and, died a prisoner in the King's Castle of Limerick, A.D. 1641.

Robert Sibthorpe, Bishop of Kilfenora, was translated to the see, A. D. 1642, but on account of the civil wars he never took possession, and died in Dublin in 1649, where he was buried in St. Werburgh's Church.

At this time there were several monuments erected by Catholic citizens in the Cathedral of St. Mary's. Dr. Thomas Arthur informs us that he was deputed by his uncle, David Ryce, to compose an epitaph for a monument recently built for the Rice family in the Cathedral, and that he composed it as follows:—

"Quisquis in hoc busto Ryceorum conspicis ossa
Manibus exopta regna beata piis".

Which he thus translates:

"You which in this same fatale tumbe the Ryces' bones behouldes,
The blessed kingdom wish and pray unto their devoute soules".

Arthur MSS. p. 234–5.

About this period James Lord Viscount Dillon, of Roscommon,[1] having received a sudden fall in Limerick, by which he was mortally injured, having tumbled down twelve steps, indicated, by certain signs to those about him, his desire to be admitted into the bosom of the Catholic Church, which he had before deserted, and with profuse tears and every symptom of contrition repented of his apostacy: he received absolution and extreme unction, and on the fourth day after the accident died. A monument was erected to his memory in the Church of the Blessed Virgin Mary at Limerick, in the end of October, 1649. Dr. Arthur says he wrote the following epigram, which we translate from the Latin, on him:—

"Heroic Dillon stood, but sad to tell,
Forsook his ancient faith, and badly fell;
But having fallen, resumed at last with tears
And suppliant heart, his faith of former years.
Safer the fall, which, though his days are past,
Restored him upright to his God at last".

Upon the death of Richard Arthur in 1646, Edmund O'Dwyer was promoted to the see of Limerick, it is supposed by the Pope's Nuncio,[2] who was then in Limerick. He was one of those who were exempted in the surrender to Ireton. He was a native of the county of Limerick, and had distinguished himself during his collegiate course at Rouen, where he studied

[1] The Earl Wentworth Dillon, son of this James, third Earl of Roscommon, was the celebrated, at least the once celebrated, poet who wrote the essay on translated verse, who translated "Dies iræ", etc., etc., and of whom Pope says:

"Unhappy Dryden! in all Charles' days
Roscommon only boasts unpotted bays".

[2] White's *MSS.*

philosophy, as well as at the Sorbonne, where he won a character for profound knowledge of theology.[1] Soon after obtaining the degree of doctor in divinity at Rheims, he returned to Ireland, and became acquainted with Malachy O'Queely, then Vicar Apostolic of Killaloe, and the intimacy thus formed at the commencement of O'Dwyer's missionary career, ripened into a warm friendship, which terminated only with the life of the former, many years after he had been promoted to the archiepiscopal see of Tuam. In fact, such was the Archbishop's confidence in O'Dwyer, that he sent him to Rome as his proctor in 1644, and made him the bearer of a report on the state of his archdiocese, which he drew up for the Congregation de Propaganda Fide. Along with this valuable document, O'Dwyer was entrusted with a memorial from the Supreme Council of the Confederates, praying his Holiness Urban VIII. to bestow a cardinal's hat on Luke Wadding, in consideration of the great services he had rendered to the Irish Catholics then in arms. Pope Urban, however, died before O'Dwyer reached Rome, and the memorials signed by O'Queely, Walsh, Archbishop of Cashel; Fleming, Archbishop of Dublin; Lords Castlehaven, Fermoy, Netterville, and others, fell into the hands of Wadding, who, instead of having it presented to Innocent X., the late Pontiff's successor, modestly buried it in the archives of St. Isidore's, where it remains to the present day. The high opinion which the Supreme Council entertained of O'Dwyer, whom they styled in the memorial a "Doctor of Divinity, and an ocular witness of their proceedings", to say nothing of the commendations of Archbishop O'Queely, must have had great weight with the College of Cardinals, for, on reaching Paris, on his way to Ireland, after some months' sojourn in Rome, a bull was despatched to the French nuncio, nominating the Irish priest coadjutor to the then *decrepit* bishop of Limerick. O'Dwyer made no difficulty about accepting the exalted dignity which the Holy See conferred on him, and he was therefore duly consecrated by the Bishop of Senlis, in the church of St. Lazare, on Sunday the 7th of May, 1645.

We quote from Dr. Meehan's biography of this remarkable prelate :—

"Having purchased a goodly supply of vestments, books, and other requirements for the diocese of Limerick, Dr. O'Dwyer set out for Ireland from one of the French ports; but he had not been many days at sea when the ship in which he sailed was captured by a Turkish corsair, who carried him and his fellow-passengers as a prize to Smyrna. The bishop, however, when he saw that there was no chance of escaping the pirate, divested himself of all the insignia of his rank, and heaved overboard the valuable vestments and other sacred objects which he had collected at Paris, and which he knew would be desecrated, had the Turks got possession of them. On reaching Smyrna, he was sold as a slave, and condemned to work at a mill, with a mask on his face to prevent him eating the flour; and in this condition he might have lived and died, were it not for a contingency which seems almost miraculous. An Irish lady, wife of a French merchant then living at Smyrna, happened to visit the mill, and on discovering that the poor captive was a countryman of her own, and a bishop in reluctant disguise, she lost no time in reporting the fact to her husband, who at once paid a ransom for the prisoner, and sent him back to France, where he soon replaced the sacred furniture which he had flung into the sea, as we have already stated. O'Dwyer returned to Ireland early in the 1646, and, be it recorded to his honour, he was the first bishop who introduced the mission-

[1] Dr. Meehan's *Irish Hierarchy in the Sixteenth Century.*

aries of St. Vincent de Paul to this country. As a matter of course, he joined the Supreme Council of the Confederates as a spiritual peer, and in that capacity secured for himself the esteem of the Pope's nunzio, who in one of his earliest despatches to the Roman Court, speaks of him in a strain of the highest praise. Another letter, dated Limerick, July 16, 1646, and addressed by the same personage to Cardinal Panfilio, mentions the Bishop of Limerick taking part in the grand function solemnized in his cathedral, in thanksgiving for the memorable victory which Owen O'Neill had won at Benburb on the 5th of the preceding month. 'At four o'clock, p.m.' writes the nunzio, 'the procession moved from the Church of St. Francis, where the thirty-two stands of colours (taken from the Scotch) had been deposited. The garrison of Limerick led the van, and the captured colours were carried by the nobility of the city. Then followed the nunzio, the Archbishop of Cashel, the Bishops of Limerick, Clonfert, and Ardfert, and after them the Supreme Council, the mayor and magistrates in their official robes. The people crowded the streets and windows, and as soon as the procession reached the cathedral, *Te Deum* was sung by the nunzio's choir, and he pronounced the usual prayers, concluding the ceremony with solemn benediction. Next morning Mass *pro gratiarum actione* was sung by the Dean of Fermo, in presence of the aforesaid bishops and magistrates'.

"It might, perhaps have been fortunate for Dr. O'Dwyer to have died at that hour of his country's triumph; but, as we shall see, he was doomed to taste bitterness and sorrow at home and abroad, and to find his last resting-place far away from the old cathedral where his predecessors were entombed. Pious and zealous he was, no doubt, in the discharge of his high office, and none could gainsay the holiness of his life; but, as years sped onwards, and as the fortunes of the confederates waned, he unhappily proved himself in the politics of the period weak and vacillating. His conduct will not suffer us to doubt this, for instead of adopting Rinuccini's bold and honest policy, which spurned mere *toleration* of the Catholic religion, Dr. O'Dwyer allowed himself to be duped by the artifices of the lay members of the Supreme Council, most of whom were identified either by blood or by sordid egotism with the crafty enemy of their creed and race—James, Marquis of Ormond. In fact, the bishop, with several of his own order, allied himself to Ormond's faction, signed the fatal truce with Lord Inchiquin, and thus deserted the straightforward course which Rinuccini and the *old* Irish strove to maintain. 'For the last eighteen months', writes the Nunzio (in 1648), 'the bishop of Limerick, to my utter amazement and that of every one else, has devoted himself to the party of Lord Ormond, and this, indeed, is a sorry return for the benefits bestowed on him by the Holy See; but he has had his reward, for he is now the object of universal odium, and has separated himself from the sound politics of the rest of the clergy'. Six months had hardly elapsed since these words were penned, when Rinuccini, finding it impossible to harmonize the adverse factions which he strove to govern, or to bring about a solidarity of interests for the general good, deemed it necessary to abandon a country whose feuds were precipitating it to irretrievable ruin. For some, the last and direst weapon in the Church's armoury had no terror, and, unhappily for Dr. O'Dwyer, he was one of the few bishops, who, despite the nunzio's censures, foolishly adhered to the party of Lord Ormond. . . . To the bishop's credit, during these awful months, when Ireton beleaguered Limerick from without, and pestilence swept off the famishing population within the walls, there was no braver man among the besieged than their spiritual chief. He exhorted the inhabitants to hold out to the last extremity, and to lay down their lives rather than yield to the lieutenant of the man who could show no mercy either at Drogheda or in Wexford. Fully conscious of the doom that awaited such gallant resistance, a multitude of the citizens waited on the bishop, and besought

him to give them permission to blow themselves up, rather than fall alive into the hands of their enemies; but he dissuaded them from such a suicidal project, telling them that it was nobler to die with arms in their hands, than to rush uncalled into the awful presence of God. At last, when Limerick was forced to capitulate to Ireton (who was indebted for his success to the black treason of one of Rinuccini's most implacable enemies), Dr. O'Dwyer, finding that he was excepted from quarter, disguised himself in peasant's garb, and having smeared his face with gunpowder, passed unnoticed out of one of the city gates, and eventually contrived to make his way to Brussels, where he lived till 1654, eating the salty bread of exile, and, as we may suppose, regretting with his latest sigh the fatal error that helped to bring ruin on his unfortunate country. On the night of the 6th of April, 1654, his remains, followed by a few torch-bearers, were conveyed from the convent in which he breathed his last, to the Church of St. James in the above-named city, and were there deposited in the subterranean chapel, dedicated to the Blessed Virgin, without a single line to record his virtues or his failings. A career such as his, under other circumstances, would surely have been thought worthy an epitaph—that last of human vanities; but the *nocturnal* funeral, divested of all ghastly pomp, and the nameless grave will be sufficiently accounted for by the nunzio's censures".

Harris, *Writers of Ireland*, on the authority of Colgan's *Trias Thaumaturga*, says that O'Dwyer wrote two small pieces of poetry, in hexameter and pentameter measure, one on the miracles of St. Brigid and the other on the inextinguishable fire of St. Brigid at Kildare. In the *Hibernia Dominicana* there are several documents which have the name of Bishop O'Dwyer to them as one of the subscribers.

In a previous chapter of this work we have dwelt on the horrors connected with Ireton's siege, on the cruelties perpetrated after the surrender to the merciless general of Cromwell, and on the awful death of Ireton a few days after being summoned to his last account by the illustrious martyr bishop of Emly. In a manuscript,[1] to which we have had access since the printing of that chapter, we find with some surprise, that when Major-General Hugh O'Neill rode on and offered the pommel of his sword to Ireton, and desired the benefit of the law of arms, "in behalfe of a souldier of fortune voluntarily yielding himself and the lives of such other souldiers as served under his command, to his lordshipp's mercy and favour",—Ireton gently embraced O'Neill, bade him be of good cheer, told him he would receive no prejudice, and commanding his men to ride forward, held alone a serious private discourse with him, and "Earthon (Ireton) was so tender of Major Neyle's (O'Neill's) safetie that before he parted with him he did commande his propper guarde uppon perrill of deathe to attend only that gentleman and retire him to a place of safetie, where at their said perrill he did not receive the least prejudice, which was exactly performed. His ennemies running here and there massacreing and killing everie mother's child they mett other than the exempted traitors. Three days and so many nights were they in this bloody execution. No grotto, seller, (cellar) prison, church, or tombe was unsearched, all there found made pea meallş, hanged and quartered". The writer proceeds to give an account of the execution of the Bishop of Emly, of Mr. Barron of Clonmel, "who dresses

[1] Aphorismical discovery of treasonable faction, by N. S., styling himself secretary to General Owen Roe O'Neill.—MSS. T.C.D.

himself in white taffeta, and was thus hanged", going to the gallows as if to a wedding feast, joyfully—of the discovery of Dominick Fanning to the officer of the guard, in the church of St. Francis, to which he (Fanning) crept cold and starving, from his ancestors' tomb, where he had been concealed three days and nights before, and of that discovery by the treachery of a servant of Fanning's, who, contrary to the wish of the officer, who appeared desirous that Fanning should effect his escape, not only revealed the name of his master, but called the attention of the guards to him—said servant being immediately after killed by the guards for his treason to a good master. " These with several others of both clergie and laity, were pittifully mangled, massacred, hanged, and dragged, man, woman, and child, except the traytors, (a great multitude of these same in that furie perished",) etc. Ireton, as we have narrated, " dies of the plague and at the pointe of death was so nobly minded that he commanded his lieutenant-generall, Edmund Ludloe, and the rest of his officers and commanders, to use all good behavior towards the said gentleman (Hugh O'Neill) —to send him with his own corpse into England,—and he did accompany Earthon's embalshomed (embalmed) corpse, and carryed it to London", etc. From this MS. we further learn more of the open treason of Fennel, and that Cromwell's life-guard was defeated at Nenagh on the 17th of May, 1652, by Loughlen O'Meara and his foot, supported by Colonel Thibbot Gawley, where, after a severe skirmish, near the castle of Nenagh, " at lengthe the Irish had the honnour of the fielde, did kill 24 of the ennemie, took 8 prisoners, gott the pilladge of the camp, many tents, and a world of goods, each ennemie was found with £15 in his pocketts—these men were never faced in Ireland before this day—being my Lord Cromwell's life-guard, all major officers, several taken prisoners in battles and defeates against the kinge (Charles I.), who vowed never to have seen (for so many) better soldiers than these Irish".

These events were followed by the almost total prostration of the Catholics of Limerick. The monuments in the cathedral were nearly all shattered, defaced, or utterly destroyed. By order of the commissioners for the affairs of Ireland, dated 15th June, 1655, all Irish papists and traders, servants, shopkeepers, artificers, etc., were ordered to remove forthwith out of the city,[1] against which order they presented a petition, as we have seen, through the hands of Dr. Thomas Arthur, whose estate was saved to him and his son. From this period, there were no Catholic monuments erected in the cathedral, and for a short time only, during the reign of James II., was it in possession of the Catholics. In order, therefore, that we may bring to a conclusion our history of the cathedral, we will here give an account of the principal monuments which remain in it, and subjoin a list of the Protestant bishops in succession. The altar on which for ages the unspotted Sacrifice had been offered, had now given way to the communion table.

We proceed with the monuments:—

On the north side of the communion table is a very large monument which was originally erected to the Earl of Thomond, who died Sep. 4, 1624. It consists of three compartments, the entire of the back being black marble, the divisions or compartments red and white marble, with joint

[1] State Papers of Oliver Cromwell.

Corinthian and composite pillars on both sides, also of marble of Limerick—the arms and achievements of O'Brien at the top. The following inscription is cut on a marble tablet, gilt, in Roman capitals:—

This monvment being defaced in the
time of the late rebellion of Ireland,
was by Henry the II Earl of Thomond
of that name re-edifyed, anno 1678, in memory
of his noble grandfather, Donagh O'Brien,
Earl of Thomond, Baron of Ibreacan,
President of Mvnster, and one of his Majesties
Privy Covncil; who having derived
his titles from an ancient and honovrable
family, sometime the fovnders of this chvrch,
left them to posterity more ennobled by his
own vertve for giving equal proofs both for
covrage and conduct of his loyalty and
worth; he was rewarded by the high and mighty
monarchs Queen Elizabeth and King James,
with honours above the nobility of
his time.

Lying in two of the compartments are broken effigies, cut out in full, of granite, and in the fashion of Queen Elizabeth's days, the gilding and ornamentation of which are nearly utterly defaced. The effigies represent the Earl and Countess of Thomond, and were attached to the original monument. They were broken in pieces by Ireton's soldiers. Beneath is the tomb or crypt of the O'Briens; and when the cathedral was recently undergoing repairs, skulls of considerable magnitude, and bones were found in the crypt. For many years, we understand, a sum of £10 was paid yearly, by will of the Earl of Thomond, to the verger of St. Mary's Cathedral, for keeping the monuments clean. No payment has been made in latter years. Indeed the monuments generally appear to require much closer attention than is bestowed upon them.

During the incumbency of the Rev. Dean Hoare, in 1759, while Mr. Sexton Baylee was mayor, a sum of £1,327 14s. 8½d. was expended in repairs, alterations, and restorations, under the directions of the rev. gentleman. A sum of £100 was raised by the sale of pews at this period. In 1680, the south door and porch (as seen in the view of the cathedral given in Ware's *Bishops*), were added to the church, and a pavement made from them to the main street, or Mary Street. Previous to this, the grand entrance was at the western door, to which it has again been changed, and where it is likely to remain as required by the conveniences of the approaches, and the disposition, etc., of the interior of the cathedral.

The following on a black marble slab in a pillar at the entrance to the choir:—

This monvment was erected by
William Yorke, to the memory of his deceased
father Alderman William Yorke,[1] who
lyes here interred; was thrice mayor, gave
above fovr hvndred povnds for
bvlding the exchange and freely bestowed itt
on this corporation; contribvted to
the bells and chymes which were cast
and set up in his maioraltyes; was charitable
to the poore, constant to his friend;
died in the trve christian faith, the last year
of his maioralty, April 1, 1679, ætatis
sve 42. leaving William, Roger, and Jane,
by Anna the davghter of Henry Hart, Esq.

In the pillar near the western door entrance, is the following curious inscription quaintly cut in old-fashioned letters, gilt:—

Memento Mory.
Here lieth littell Samvell
Barrington, that great vnder-
taker, of famiovs citties
clock and chime maker,
He made his one time goe
early and lattei, bvt now
he is retvrned to God his Cre-
ator, the 19th of November then he
scest, and for his memory
this here is pleast by his
son Ben.[2] 1693.

The Pery chapel is one of the more recent improvements in the cathedral; it is situated in the south-west aisle, is large, and beautifully ornamented; the ceiling is done up in bright blue and silver stars, the walls in gray marble, and underneath are the tombs to which the remains of the Pery family are consigned. A white marble monument, with a full length recumbent effigy of Lord Glentworth, admirably executed by Baily, and of the finest workmanship, is an object of much attraction in the Pery chapel. The monument bears the following inscription:—

[1] The family of Alderman Yorke, who was of Dutch origin, is said to be represented by the present Duchess of Rovigo.

[2] Ben having been a clock and chime maker, had a contract from the corporation of Cashel for fitting up and making a clock, for five pounds.

Here lie the mortal remains of
Edmond Henry Lord Glentworth,
eldest son and heir of
Henry Hartstonge Lord Glentworth, and
Annabella, his wife,
grandson and heir of Edmund Henry,
Earl of Limerick, Viscount Limerick, Baron
Glentworth of Mallow, and Baron Foxford of
Stackpole Court, in the county of Clare, in
the peerage of the United Kingdom.
He was born on the 3rd day of March, 1809,
and married on the 8th of October, 1836,
Eve Maria, second daughter of Henry Villebois,
of Marham House, in the county of
Norfolk, Esq.
He departed this life on the 16th of February,
In the year of our Lord, 1844.
This monument is erected to the memory of
her beloved husband, by his widow.

The Pery chapel, which is railed off by a heavy iron railing or grating, produces a subdued sombre effect, suggestive of thoughts befitting a resting place sacred to the noble dead. Over the chapel is the hatchment of the deceased. It has a stained glass window of three lights, and it also contains the Stackpole and Roche (Catholic) vaults.

In the north aisle is a tombstone to the memory of Nicholas Rice, Esq., "counsellor-at-law", and his wife Mary Rice:—

Arms of
the Rice family,
cut on a floriated shield.

Here lies interred,
the body of Nicholas Rice, Esq.,
counsellor at law,
who departed this life the
19th day of March, 1709,
aged 56 years,
and also the body of Mary Rice,
his wife,
who died the 15th day of March, 1724,
aged 54 years.

Next to this is a slab cut with the Arthur arms and the date 1640. Adjacent to this are the following:

Floriated shield,
with the Arthur Arms.
Expectans ultimam resurrectionem
hic Jacet Thomas Arthur
Fitz Francis qui hac vita migravit
Die 6ª Junii, anno 1729,
Aetatis vo[1] 76,
venit hora qua omnes qui in
monumentis sunt audient vocem
Filii Dei
Jo. v. ver. 28.

The following mural tablet in this north transept was taken from its proper place in the same transept, where the Hartstonge family are buried; and the monument of Geoffrey Arthur, already described, was taken from the south transept, and placed where this slab had been, much to the chagrin of the Earl of Limerick:

This small monument was erected by
Standish Hartstonge, Esq.,
Recorder of this city,
in memory of his deare wife Elizabeth,
daughter of Francis Jermy, Esq.,
of Cuton, in the county of Norfolk,
and by Alice his wife,
the daughter of Anthony Irby,
of Boston, Knt.,
who died the 5th of July, 1663,
and lyeth buried in this church,
who had issue eleven children, whereof
seven are living.
1677.

There are several fragments of tombs with ancient dates, lying in the north transept. There is also the great altar stone of the ancient cathedral with its incised crosses. Outside this transept is a defaced tomb stone with the word "Rice" barely discernible. Among the fragments are the following:—

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N
D C

[1] Quere [An]no?

Among the tombs in the north transept is this:

D. O. M.
Here rests
with several of his children,
In sure and certain hope
of a glorious resurrection,
William Ferrar,
an honest man and a good citizen,
who died August 25th, 1753,
aged 53.
Also Rose his wife,
who died September 12th, 1772,
aged 57.

The above William Ferrar was father of John Ferrar, the Historian.

Several new monuments have been erected in the cathedral within later years. The following may be noticed:—

The monument to the Right Rev. Dr. Jebb is placed in the north transept. It represents the bishop seated in canonicals, with a book in his left hand, the right arm resting near the knee. It is admirably wrought out in all the details, in white marble, being the work of E. M. Baily, R.A., 1836.

On the pedestal, which is of white marble also, is this inscription:—

To the memory of John Jebb, D.D.
Bishop of Limerick,
this monumental statue is raised
by the friends of religion and literature in
Ireland, England, and America,
in commemoration of benefits conferred by
his life and writings
upon the universal Church of Christ.
Nat. Sep. 27, 1775.
Ob. Decr. 9, 1833.

A list of the subscribers, cut in white marble, is placed against the wall of the transept behind the statue. As a work of art the statue is highly admired.

In 1770, several feet of the church-yard of the cathedral were taken into Bow Lane; the verger's house, which stood over "the Bow", was taken down; the passage, walls, and gate at the north door of the church, which served to hide the beauty of the cathedral, were all removed, by which means a good broad passage has been made to the quay, and carriages can approach close to the church door, which they never could do before.[1]

In October, 1809, the passage to the chapter room of the cathedral was opened under the eastern window, communicating with the main street.

[1] Cotemporary MS. The Quay occupied the site of the present city and county court houses.

In 1812, Dean Preston dismantled and removed the old Episcopal Court, broke a passage through the wall at the back of a bench which was there, and laid the beams of a new gallery in the south aisle, to correspond with the gallery which had been recently erected in the north aisle. This was done for the accommodation of the then Corporation.

February, 1812, the gallery for the military was erected in St. Mary's Cathedral, by the Rev. Geo. Harte, Chanter.

March—An old house that stood in the S.E. end of Bow Lane, and projected five feet into the main street, was pulled down. While this house stood, the entrance into Bow Lane was no more than thirteen feet wide. The lane below this house, leading into the north gate of the church, was opened and enlarged in the year 1770—(*Ferrar*, p. 101). The improvement in 1812 was effected by the Rev. Dean Preston. Foundation of the new structure laid March 23.

In 1842 Mr. William Bardwell of London, architect, who had been engaged in supplying a monument to the memory of Daniel Barrington, Esq., brother of Sir Mathew Barrington, Bart., suggested restorations of the cathedral, interiorly and exteriorly, and gave drawings which are now in the verger's lodge of the cathedral. Mr. Bardwell manifested much taste and cleverness in the suggested restorations, particulary of the exterior, which, if carried out, would contribute to beautify the appearance of the cathedral, and take from it the very heavy and clumsy look which it still has. He suggested a variety of pinnacles with stone crosses, a new belfry independent of the peal of bells in the quadrangular tower, etc. Some of Mr. Bardwell's suggestions have been acted upon in the recent decorations and restorations of the interior of the cathedral, particularly in reference to the seats. Mr. Bardwell took a plaster covering off the ancient stone western doorway of the cathedral, and displayed the attractive and beautiful original to the view of the antiquary. From cuts and marks in the pillars of this doorway, it is probable that it was used by the soldiers that were quartered in it several times, in and before the last sieges, for the purpose of sharpening their swords and side arms.

The following is the inscription on the monument to the memory of Daniel Barrington, Esq., which is made of Caen stone, and very curiously and elaborately wrought:—

Samuel Barrington, Esq.,
second son of
Sir Joseph Barrington, Bart.,
born in October, MDCCXXII.,[1]
died in February, MDCCCXLII.,
leaving Anne, daughter of
Richard Williams, Esq., his relict, surviving, in
remembrance of his virtues, amiable
qualities, and fraternal affection, strongly
evinced through life,
this monument is erected by his elder
brother Matthew.

[1] This is an error of the sculptor.

Within the last few years, the cathedral has undergone a more thorough repair and restoration than it got since it was erected—at all events, since 1490, when it was so much enlarged, and the three bodies and aisles built. The occasion of the lamented death of Augustus O'Brien Stafford, Esq., M.P., in 1857, was suggested as a fitting opportunity to commence a work which had been rendered so necessary. The interior had been literally blocked up and rendered hideous by huge timber obstructions narrowing the nave and aisles, and giving a character of heaviness, gloom, and ugliness to the whole. A committee was formed to erect a memorial to Mr. Stafford; and it was finally decided that this memorial should be a stained glass window, and, at the same time, Mr. William Slater, of London, architect, was requested to examine the cathedral, when he found that a new roof over the chancel was essential, and subsequently, that the ceiling over the rest of the nave was bad and dangerous. Mr. Slater reported that it would be necessary to remove the modern perpendicular window, which had not been very many years in existence, and which was put up at very heavy cost, by Mr. Payne, architect. Contracts were entered into by Messrs. Clayton and Bell, of London, for the stained glass window, and with Messrs. Ryan and Son, for the roof and the stone work in the newly projected window. The Rev. F. C. Hamilton, and Robert O'Brien, Esq., Old Church, aided by John Long, Esq., Hon. Sec., proceeded to raise a portion of the money necessary for the roof, as the dean and chapter had not sufficient funds at their disposal to incur the expense. The appeal was successful. In £10 subscriptions, a sum of £460 was soon raised. Early in 1860, the dean and chapter sent a letter to the above named gentlemen to the effect, that they had voted a sum of £305 10s. 7d. for the new roof, and that the Right Rev. Dr. Griffin, Protestant bishop, had subscribed £50. The contract was entered into with Messrs. Ryan and Son; the work went on prosperously, and was not long in hands. The ancient oak roof was found to be in the best order; the oak as sound as ever, and nearly all that was removed of it was purchased by Mr. Stephen Hastings, brush manufacturer, who converted it into polished backs for hair-brushes, and walking canes. In addition, the organ gallery was removed from the west to the north side of the cathedral; the arches which had been blocked with brickwork and sashes were opened up. Dr. Griffin contributed £50 more to this work. The dean[1] provided new stoves, new seats to the transepts, and soldiers' seats, removing all the monumental tablets to the north chapel, and cleaned the walls of the whole building. He also erected a door to the south porch, where there had been one before, and which was the chief entrance in the earlier part of the last century. The floor of the choir was extended; twelve new oak stall seats were provided, similar to the ancient stall seats, which have been always looked upon with curiosity, for their strangely sculptured carvings under the seats, or "misericordes", as they were called in Catholic times. Deans' and precentors' seats, carved in oak, were provided, and a continuation of carved canopies over the stalls. Minton tiles, set in cement over brickwork, replaced the damp limestone flags and earth, which, in consequence of the numerous graves beneath, caused the floor to be in a bad state; the bells, which were deficient, and their working out of gear, were set right by the Earl of Limerick; carved oak altar table, chairs, and stools,

[1] The liberal and learned Very Rev. A. L. Kirwan.

were provided by the Rev. Maurice de Burgh, and the Rev. F. C. Hamilton, at their own expense; several other minor improvements and details were also introduced. The amount received for the memorial to Mr. O'Brien Stafford, was £1,556 18s. 2d. Mr. Ryan's contract for roof, etc., was £876 15s. 11d.; Mr. Forsyth, for reredos, cornice, and extra work, £37 15s. 0d.; Messrs. Clayton and Bell, stained glass window, £388; wire guard, £25 10s.; fixing same at Limerick, £15 17s.—in all £429 7s.; sundry other expenses made up the balance of £1,556 18s. 2d. The memorial window to Augustus O'Brien Stafford, Esq., may be described as follows:—

St. Mary's Cathedral, Limerick.

The east window erected as a memorial to the late Augustus O'Brien Stafford, Esq., M.P. Died 15th Nov., 1857, aged 47. Designed by Wm. Slater, Architect. Stained glass executed by Messrs. Clayton and Bell. Building by Mr. John Ryan, Limerick.

NORTH SIDE LIGHT.

No. 1.	Burying the Dead.	
„ 2.	"A stranger, and ye took me in".	xxv. Mat. ver. 35.
„ 3.	"In prison, and ye came unto me".	„ ver. 36.
„ 4.	"Thirsty, and ye gave me drink".	„ ver. 35.

CENTRE LIGHT.

The Charity of Dorcas	ix Acts, ver. 39.
Our Lord Seated.	
"Inasmuch as ye have done it unto the least of these my brethren, ye have done it unto me".	xxv. Mat. ver. 40.
The Good Samaritan.	x. Luk, ver. 33.

SOUTH SIDE LIGHT.

No. 1.	Guiding the Blind.	
„ 2.	"Naked and ye clothed me".	xxv. Mat. ver. 36.
„ 3.	"Sick and ye visited me".	„ ver. 36
„ 4.	"An hungered and ye gave me meat".	„ ver. 35.

It was intended to place an elaborate stone inscription over the window as an additional tribute to the memory of Mr. O'Brien Stafford; and the stone was actually cut for that purpose; but the Dean and Chapter objected.

A further sum of £1550 3s. 3d. has been expended by the Hon. Robert O'Brien, raised by subscription, in restorations, etc. The Rev. F. C. Hamilton has expended £240 18s. 2d., and in both instances balances remained due on the audits of accounts to the Hon R. O'Brien and Rev. Mr. Hamilton. The interior of the church has undergone quite a renovated appearance since these changes were made; and they have been followed by others, including a memorial to the Westropp family in the south transept, including a new roof, a new stone window of five lights filled with stained glass, and the complete fitting up of the transepts, from a design by Mr Slater. The subjects in the window are Scriptural, and are elaborately wrought out in colours particularly bright and well chosen.

And a monument of Bath stone, representing the agony in the garden, the resurrection, and the taking down from the cross, in three compartments, erected by Mr. Poole, of Bath.

A brass tablet has this legend:—

This transept was restored and its stained glass window and monument erected in the year 1862, by Mrs. Anne Westropp, in memory of her son Thomas Johnston Westropp, who died in Madeira, in the year 1830, aged 20 years.

The Westropp memorial is said to have cost a sum of about £2000.

Among the objects shown to view by the removal of sundry obstructions, is a beautiful credence arch with a circular window in the chancel. A stone had been placed here before; and of the existence of the arch, etc., there was no knowledge in modern days until the restorations were undertaken.

The family of the late Archdeacon Maunsell have placed a stone pulpit in the cathedral, with, carved in relief, representation of the presentation in the temple. It is very elegant. Other presents are about to be made, and further improvements effected, so that the traditionary zeal for the restoration and keeping of St. Mary's appears to have an active existence at this moment.

One of the latest memorials in the cathedral is in a western stone window, filled with glass, to Sir Matthew Barrington, Bart. This memorial was got up by subscription:

This west window was erected as a memorial to the late Sir Matthew Barrington, Baronet. Died 1st April, 1861, aged 72. Designed by William Slater, Esq., Stained glass by Messrs. Clayton and Bell. Building by Messrs. John Ryan and Son, Limerick.

NORTH SIDE LIGHT.

1. The Nativity.
2. Flight into Egypt.
3. Disputation in the Temple.
4. Baptism of Christ.

CENTRE LIGHT.

1. The Last Supper.
2. The Agony in the Garden.
3. Christ bearing the Cross.
4. Women at the Sepulchre.
5. "Noli me tangere".

SOUTH SIDE LIGHT.

1. St. Peter and St. John at the Sepulchre.
2. Journey to Emmaus.
3. The Ascension.
4. Pentecost.

In the south transept a window has been filled with stained glass to the memory of Charlotte, wife of Sir Matthew Barrington, Bart. Underneath is a brass tablet with the following inscription:—

In memory of Charlotte, wife of
Sir Matthew Barrington, Bart.,
who died November 18th, 1858,
this window was filled with stained glass
by her son, Croker Barrington,
as a mark of affection.

We subjoin particulars of other monuments in the cathedral:—

Quod vult, Valde vult.
Sacred to the memory of
Lieutenant-Colonel George Maunsell,
3rd or Prince of Wales' Dragoon Guards,
which regiment he commanded for
many years, served with it throughout
the whole Peninsula war, and received
medals for the battles of Talavera,
Albuera, Victoria, and Toulouse.
He was beloved by his brother soldiers,
and respected by the enemies of
his country.
The Almighty, who protected him in
the day of battle,
suffered him to depart this life in peace.
Sincere, honourable, gentle, and brave,
his surviving relatives have erected this
testimonial in commemoration of his worth.
Died Sep. 4th 1849.

Soldier, rest, thy warfare o'er,
Sleep the sleep that knows no breaking,
Dream of battle fields no more,
Days of danger, nights of waking.

Then follow the devices or emblems of war, and, we think, wolf dogs, etc.

A handsome brass mural tablet to the memory of Colonel Clouster of the 61st Regiment, a distinguished Peninsular officer, who died in July, 1861.

To the gallant Sir Michael Creagh, K.H., a Lieutenant-Colonel of the 73rd Regiment, his surviving children have placed the following monument of white marble on a pillar in the north transept:—

In memory of
Sir Michael Creagh, Knt., K.H.,
Major General in Her Majesty's Army,
and Colonel of the 73rd Regt.
Born in Limerick, 1787.
Died at Boulogne-sur-mer,
September 14th, 1860, aged 73 years.
Also his wife Elizabeth, only daughter of
the Right Honourable Charles Osborne,
Judge of the Court of King's Bench in Ireland,
who died at sea, January 14th, 1833, aged 36 years.
This tablet is erected by their surviving children.

A monument to Denis Fitzgerald Mahony, Esq., father of Alderman John Watson Mahony, J.P., is of white marble, and has the following inscription:—

Sacred to the memory of
Denis Fitzgerald Mahony,
Alderman, Chamberlain, and Magistrate
of the city of Limerick,
who died 22nd February, 1840,
aged 67 years.
He was a man of liberality, humanity, and moderation, a generous friend of the widow and orphan, a munificent contributor to the public charities of the city, an affectionate husband, a kind parent, and an humble follower of his Lord and Master.
He lived in the universal esteem of his fellow citizens, and died in the assured hope of a joyful resurrection.
His remains are interred in the family vault of St. Munchin's, in this city.
"Blessed are the dead who die in the Lord".

The following are a few other of the monuments:—

Sacred
to the memory of
Louisa,
wife to the Rev. Wm. D. Hoare,
who departed this life on the 9th of April, 1809,
having just entered on her 27th year.
This tablet is erected
by her affectionate husband as a small mark
of his love to her memory.
She fell asleep in full assurance
of a blessed and glorious resurrection to
eternal life, through the blood and righteousness
of Him who came into this world to
save sinners.
Blessed are the dead who die in the Lord.

Sacred
to the memory of
Matilda Alexina,
the beloved and only child of
Major General Thomas Erskine Napier, C.B.,
commanding the Limerick district,
and Margaret his wife,
who, after a protracted sickness,
borne with patient resignation
in the will of her Maker,
died April XVI., MDCCCXLIX.,
aged XXIII. years.
This monument is erected by
her beloved and affectionate parents,
who, consoled by the remembrance of
her affectionate disposition, cheerful piety,
and peaceful death,
sorrow not as those without hope for her
who now sleeps in the Lord,
in certain expectation in the resurrection
to Eternal Life through the merits of
Christ Jesus, her Saviour,
AMEN.

In the family vault of Caherconlish,
rest the mortal remains of
Robert Maunsell Gabbett, Esq., M.D.,
of Shelbourne House,
who died June 22nd, 1850,
aged 37 years.
This tablet,
sacred to his memory,
is placed here by his brothers,
to record
his amiable qualities as a man,
his good example as a Christian,
and their own deep sorrow
for the early loss of one who was
universally esteemed and beloved.
"Mark well the perfect man, and behold the
upright, for the end of that man is peace".
37 Psalm, 37 verse.

Sacred to the memory of
Major Thomas Summerfield,
who died at Limerick on the 1st of March, 1833,
in the 66th year of his age,
After a faithful service of nearly forty years
in the 83rd Regiment.
This tablet is raised by his brother officers,
as a tribute to the memory of a gallant veteran,
and to record their feelings of respect
for his character and worth.

In the north transept is a memorial window of stained glass to the late Dean Preston, it has the following legend:—

Arms of Preston
Sans Tache.

Arthurus Joannes Preston
Hujus Ecclesiæ Cathedralis
XXXV annos
Decanus
Nat 6 Junii MDCCLXI.
Ob 3 Novembris MDCCCXLIV.
Memoria Justorum Beata
testimonium
Hoc Monumentum pietatis
Posuerunt Filii Ejus
Arthurus et Gulielmus.

The following is a list of the Protestant Bishops in succession from Robert Sibthorpe, which we give from Dr. Cotton's valuable *Fasti Ecclesiæ Hiberniæ*:—

1660 Edward Synge, D.D. (brother of George Synge, Bishop of Cloyne), Dean of Elphin, was promoted by patent, dated January 19th, which patent empowered him to hold the sees of Ardfert and Aghadoe *in commendam*. He was consecrated at Dublin on the 27th of the same month. On 21st December, 1663, he was translated to Cork. At this time the sees of Limerick, Ardfert, and Aghadoe were united.

1663 William Fuller, LL.D., a native of London, educated at Westminster School, and at Oxford, became Chancellor of Dromore, Dean of St. Patrick's, and Treasurer of Christ Church, Dublin; and was advanced to the united sees of Limerick, Ardfert, and Aghadoe, by patent, dated March 16th. In 1667 he was translated to the bishopric of Lincoln, and was buried in that city in 1675. See particulars of his life in Mason's *History of St. Patrick's Cathedral*, p. 192, etc.

1667 Francis Marsh,[1] D.D., a native of Gloucestershire, educated at Cambridge, came to Ireland on the invitation of Bishop Jeremy Taylor, and became successively Dean of Armagh and Archdeacon of Dromore. His patent for these bishopries bears date October 28th, and he was consecrated at Clonmel on December 22nd. From hence he was translated to Kilmore and Ardagh, on 10th January, $167\frac{2}{3}$, and afterwards, in 1681, to Dublin.

$167\frac{2}{3}$ John Vesey, D.D. (ancestor of the Viscounts de Vesci, and of Lord Vesey Fitzgerald), was a native of Coleraine, and was educated at Westminster School and at Dublin University. He became Chaplain to the House of Commons, and was made Archdeacon of Armagh, and afterwards Dean of Cork, and Treasurer of Cloyne. He was promoted to this bishopric by patent, dated January 11th, and was consecrated on the following day. In 1678 he was translated to the archbishopric of Tuam.

$167\frac{8}{9}$ Simon Digby (son of Dr. Essex Digby, Bishop of Dromore) became a Prebendary, and afterwards Dean of Kildare: he also held a prebend in the church of Lismore. His patent for this bishopric bears date March 19th, and he was consecrated on the 23rd of that month. In the year 1691 he was translated to Elphin.

$169\frac{1}{2}$ Nathaniel Wilson, D.D., an Englishman, educated at Magdalene Hall, Oxford, became chaplain to the Duke of Ormond, and was made Dean of Raphoe. He was raised to the bishopric by patent dated January 20th, and was consecrated at Christ Church, Dublin, on the 18th of the following May. On July 27th he was enthroned at his cathedral, He died of apoplexy, supposed to have been caused by a fall from his horse, at Dublin, on 3rd November, 1695; and was there buried in Christ Church.

1695 Thomas Smyth, D.D.[2] (grandfather of the first Viscount Gort), was a Fellow of Trinity College, Dublin, and became Precentor of Clogher, Dean of Emly, and Chancellor of Clogher. He succeeded Bishop Wilson by patent dated December 2nd, and was consecrated in the Chapel of Trinity College, Dublin, on the 8th of that month, by William, Archbishop of Cashel, assisted by the Bishops of Clogher, Killala, Dromore, and Cloyne. He was enthroned at Limerick, on 30th April, 1696. In 1714 this prelate was appointed Vice-Chancellor of the University of Dublin. He was a liberal benefactor to the poor, both during his life-time and by his will. After being the founder of a numerous and distinguished family, he died on 4th May, 1725, and was buried in St. Munchin's Church at Limerick.

1725 William Bourscough, D.D., an Englishman, educated at Wadham College, Oxford, became Chaplain to Lord Carteret, Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, and was made Dean of Lismore. He obtained this bishopric by patent dated June 16th, and was consecrated at Dunboyne in July following by the Archbishop of Armagh. He is described as a man of great learning and piety, a good preacher, of a tolerant and kindly disposition to persons of all persuasions, but unpopular because he did not reside and spend his income in the city.[3] After filling the see thirty years, he died in 1755, and was buried on April 3rd, at his private seat, New Ross, in the county of Tipperary, in the eightieth year of his age [Mant] in a vault which he himself had made.[4]

1755 James Leslie, D.D., a native of Kerry, became a Prebendary of Durham. He was made Bishop of Limerick by patent dated November 4th; and was consecrated in St. Andrew's Church, Dublin, on November 16th, by the

[1] Marsh was son of Marsh of Edgeworth, Gloucestershire.
[2] Smyth of Dantrim, grandfather of first Viscount Gort, came from Yorkshire, temp. Charles I.
[3] White's MSS.
[4] Ibid.

Archbishop of Cashel, assisted by the Bishops of Cork and Killala. He died at Limerick, on 24th November, 1770, and was buried at St. Munchin's.

1770 John Averill,[1] D.D., Dean of Limerick, was promoted to the bishopric by patent dated December 31st, and was consecrated in Christ Church, Dublin, on 6th of January following, by the Archbishop of Dublin, assisted by the Bishops of Ossory and Clonfert. He was a man eminent and justly beloved for his piety and charity: but his career of usefulness was soon interrupted, for he was cut off by death on September 14th of that same year, while engaged on his diocesan visitation at Ennismore, in the County of Kerry. He was interred in the Cathedral of Limerick, where the following inscription records his name and virtues:—

Hic jacet Recte Johannes Averill, D.D.
Episcopus Limericensis obiit 14 mo. Sept. 1, 1771. Ætatis 58.
Cujus si in Deum pietatem
In Regem fidem
In Ecclesiam amorem
Si in equales Liberalitatem
In omnes spectes Benevolentiam,
Vix ætas ulla tulit parem
Nulla superiorem!

Though Averill's dust thus humbly here is placed,
With no proud monument or titles graced,
Yet shall he live when Kneller's tints shall fade,
And sculptured trophies moulder in the shade.
The saint-like character his life imprest,
Is stamped indelibly on every breast;
And where the Muse's wail appears too weak,
The Poor, the Fatherless, the Widows speak.

1772 William Gore, D.D., Bishop of Elphin, was translated to Limerick by patent dated March 5th, and was enthroned on March 19th. He bore the character of a man of great learning and benevolence. He died at Bray, in the county of Wicklow, on 25th of February, 1784, and was buried in the vault of his family, in St. Mary's Church, at Dublin.

1784 William Cecil Pery, M.A. (afterwards created Lord Glentworth), was a native of Limerick, where he was ordained deacon on 9th June, 1740. He became Chaplain to the House of Commons, and was made successively Dean of Killaloe, Dean of Derry, and Bishop of Killala. He was translated to Limerick, by patent dated May 13th, and was enthroned on May 22nd. He died at Limerick on 4th July, 1794, and was buried in his Cathedral.

1794 Thomas Bernard, D.D. (son of the Bishop of Derry), became successively Archdeacon of Derry, Dean of the same, and Bishop of Killaloe: he was translated to Limerick by patent dated September 12th. See further particulars of his character among the Bishops of *Killaloe*. He died at a very advanced age, at Wimbledon, in Surrey, on 7th June, 1806.

1806 Charles Mongan Warburton, D.D., Dean of Clonmacnoise,[2] succeeded by patent dated July 7th. He was consecrated at St. Patrick's, Dublin, on July 13th, by the Archbishop of Cashel, assisted by the Bishops of Meath and Cloyne, and was enthroned in the following month of August. In 1820 he was translated to Cloyne, where he died in the year 1826.[2]

1820 Thomas Elrington, D.D., was a Fellow, and afterwards (by patent dated 15th December, 1811) Provost of Trinity College, Dublin. He was advanced to this bishopric by patent bearing date September 25th, and was consecrated in the College Chapel on October 8th, by the Archbishop of Dublin,

[1] Averill was a native of the County of Antrim.

[2] Dr. Warburton's proper name was Mongan; he was a native of Derry; his parents were Catholics, and he himself had been a Catholic.

assisted by the Bishops of Kildare and Ossory. In 1822 he was translated to the sees of Ferns and Leighlin.

Bishop Elrington was a man of great strength of mind, integrity, diligence, and learning; a strenuous defender of the Protestant Church, as is evidenced by his numerous publications.

1822 John Jebb, D.D., a native of Drogheda, Archdeacon of Emly, succeeded, by patent dated December 23rd, and was consecrated in the Cathedral of Cashel, on January 12th, 1823, by Richard Archbishop of Cashel, assisted by the Bishops of Waterford and Killaloe.

Bishop Jebb from early youth was a person of retiring and studious habits, and latterly devoted himself almost entirely to professional studies. The powers of his mind and the extent of his reading are seen in the quantity of works which he has left behind him. He was a benefactor to his cathedral, to which, besides other helps, he presented a new altar-cloth and a new pulpit. For some years previous to his death the Bishop was prevented from discharging his official duties by a paralytic stroke. He died in England, at Easthill, near Wandsworth, Surrey, on 9th December, 1833, aged 59, and was buried in the churchyard of the parish of Clapham, near London. A life of him, with a selection from his letters, was published by his chaplain, Rev. Charles Forster, n 2 vols. 8vo, *London*, 1836.

1830 Honorable Edmund Knox, D.D. (son of Thomas, first Viscount Northland), Bishop of Killaloe, was translated to Limerick on the death of Bishop Jebb.[1] He died at Birmingham, on his way from London to Limerick, on the 3rd of May, 1849, aged 76.

1849 H. Higgins, Dean of Limerick, removed to Derry, and succeeded by

1854 Henry Griffin, D.D., the present bishop, Ex-F.T.C.D., who was consecrated on the 1st of January in that year.

The Protestant episcopal seal of Limerick bears, sapphire, on the dexter side a crozier crested; on the sinister, a mitre with labels in base; two keys n saltier, bows downwards, all topaz.

The see is valued in the king's books by an extent returned anno 5 Car. I., at £40 sterling, and Ardfert, a see united to it, is valued by an extent taken anno 26 Eliz., at £12 13s. 4d. sterling.

The chapter of Limerick is constituted of the following members, viz., Dean, Chantor, Chancellor, Treasurer, Archdeacon, and eleven Prebendaries, i.e. St. Munchin's, Donoughmore, Ballycahan, Kilpeacon, Tullybracky, Killeedy, Disert, Ardcanny, Croagh, Effin, and Athnett, which ast is the mensal of the bishop. The diocese is divided into five rural deaneries, viz., Kilmallock, Adare, Garth, alias Ballingarry, Ardagh, and Rathkeale.

We have now given in detail the results of much careful inquiry respecting the venerable cathedral of Limerick, whose fortunes have been so diversified from the time of its foundation by one of the royal O'Briens, to he date of its reëdification under Protestant hands, and with the assistance and direction of a descendant of that kingly house. For two hundred and thirty years, with very short intervals, it has been alienated from the professors of the ancient creed of its founders; and under the various additions which have been made to assimilate it more closely to Anglican churches, many, if not most, of its ancient characteristics have been lost.

[1] It was Bishop Knox who first discovered the powers of the famous vocalist, Miss Catherine Hayes, who owed to him her musical education.

CHAPTER LIX.

THE CATHOLIC BISHOPS IN SUCCESSION—DOWLEY—O'MOLONEY—O'KEEFFE—LACY—O'KEARNEY—NOMINATION, ETC., OF THE HON. AND REV. JOHN BUTLER, S.J.—CONWAY—YOUNG—TUOHY—RYAN—BUTLER.

We will now give the lives of the Catholic Bishops of the See of Limerick, from the time of Bishop O'Dwyer down to our own day. The catalogue proves that, though driven from their possessions, from the Cathedral of St. Mary's, in which it was designed by its founder that the Mass of the Blessed Virgin Mary should be perpetually celebrated, and from the temporalities which their predecessors augmented and husbanded with pious solicitude for the use of the poor and of the Church, though banned by iniquitous laws, and forced to fly from the terrors of unheard of persecutions, the succession of the bishops and the faith have been faithfully preserved, and the old religion flourishes even more healthfully than if it had been fostered by the state, and supported by the most munificent state endowments.

James Dowley succeeded to the mitre of Limerick in 1670–1. He had been appointed Vicar-Apostolic about the month of July or August, 1669. On the 23rd of August in that year he was in Paris, where he wrote a congratulatory letter to the Archbishop of Caesarea, on the appointment of the Most Rev. Dr. Oliver Plunkett, (who suffered martyrdom on the scaffold at Tyburn not long afterwards) to the primatial chair of Armagh:—

"Most Illustrious and Reverend Lord,

"I return exceeding thanks to your Excellency for my election in the last congregation (through your solicitude and care) as Vicar-Apostolic of Limerick, whilst I also find it is your intention to exalt me, though unworthy, to a still higher dignity.

"Most pleasing to all was the appointment of Dr. Plunkett, and I doubt not but it will be agreeable to the government, to the secular clergy, and to the nobility; and all this we owe to your Excellency. We shall soon return to our country, when I shall give an account of the flock committed to my charge. . .

"James Dowley.

"Paris, 23rd August, 1669.

"To the Archbishop of Cæsarea".

A national council or synod was held in Dublin on the 17th June, 1670, which was presided over by the primate, and at this council or synod a petition was drawn up and despatched to the Holy See, soliciting the appointment of some new bishops to the vacant dioceses, and presenting the names of clergymen who were deemed most deserving of the episcopal dignity. For Limerick they named,

"R. D. Jacobus Dulaeus, Vic. Aplicus. Limericen. cujus etiam doctrina et vitæ integritas Illmae. Dni. Vrae. probe nota est, pro Dioecesi Limericen".

The recommendation was successful. James Dowley was appointed, and he was consecrated by the Most Rev. Dr. Burgatt, Archbishop of Cashel. Dr. Dowley lived in troubled and anxious times. Persecution

raged within and without the city, but he did not quail before it; he had able and learned priests who gave him efficient assistance, and he zealously exerted himself to preserve the traditions and history of the diocese, as we find in the MSS. memoranda of the Rev. Dr. Jasper White. A letter of the primate, dated 20th September, 1671, thus refers to the persecution which then raged:

"I sent another parcel", he writes, "to Dr. Dowley, Bishop of Limerick. This poor man is still in trouble, the Earl of Orrery having published a few days ago an edict commanding all Catholic ecclesiastics or laymen to depart from, and live no longer in, that city. Some desired that he, instead of Berkeley, should be our viceroy; a good bargain we would have made".[1] . . .

It would appear, however, that owing to the advanced age and infirmities of the Right Rev. Prelate, he was not banished, for we find the Most Rev. Dr. Brennan, Archbishop of Cashel, writing to Rome on the 21st of September, 1680, relative to the then state of the Church and the persecution of the bishops:—

"The Bishop of Limerick has permission (he says) from the government to remain in any part of his diocese, on account of his great age and infirmities".

And writing again to the Secretary of the Propaganda, 14th August, 1681, he says:—

"Two bishops are already in prison, viz., those of Cork and Kildare; but as yet, it is not known what will be done with them. Of all our prelates, the Bishop of Limerick is the only one who is tolerated on account of his old age. Nothing is known about the metropolitan of this province, and should he be taken, woe to him".

Dr. Brennan, for the purpose of concealing the fact that he was the writer, in case of the interception of the letter, here speaks of himself in the third person.[2]

Immediately after the accession of King James to the throne of England, his majesty, on the 22nd day of March 1685–6, wrote a letter to the Most Rev. Dr. Dominick Maguire, Archbishop of Armagh, in which he granted pensions to the Irish Catholic bishops. The name of Dr. Dowley does not appear on the list, from which we conjecture that he must have died before that time. We have no record of the time or the locality of his death. We do know, however, that he was regarded with the utmost reverence by his clergy and people.

The Right Rev. Dr. O'Moloney succeeded in 1687. He was second son of John O'Moloney, Esq., of Kiltannon, county Clare. James O'Moloney, Esq., son of the elder brother of the bishop, served first in King James's army and afterwards in that of King William.[3] A James Moloney, most probably the officer in question, appears as lieutenant in the infantry regiment of Colonel Charles O'Bryan, a distinguished regiment, which was principally formed of the gentry of Clare, while in the same regiment Daniel Moloney appears as captain, whose property was sold in 1703 by the Commissioners of Forfeitures to Thomas St. John, of

[1] Dr. Moran's *Life of Oliver Plunkett.*
[2] *Ibid.*
[3] Burke's *Landed Gentry of Ireland.*

Ballymullen Castle, in that county.[1] Dr. O'Moloney was educated in the Seminary of St. Sulpice, in Paris, where he became a distinguished student and an ornament to that celebrated seat of ecclesiastical learning.[2] He was yet in Paris in 1669, when Oliver Plunkett was raised to the primacy; and for that appointment, he wrote from Paris to the Sacred Congregation, thanking the Propaganda in the warmest terms for giving so illustrious an archbishop to the Irish Church. At a council convened in Dublin in June 1670 by Dr. Plunkett, a petition was forwarded to the Holy See, recommending certain ecclesiastics to Irish sees. The see of Killaloe was solicited for Dr. O'Moloney, "a learned and prudent man", and for Dr. O'Gripha. The choice fell on Dr. O'Moloney, who, in May, 1671, was elected by the Propaganda, and consecrated in Paris shortly afterwards. Killaloe had been without a bishop since the death in 1650

[1] The circumstances here narrated make us revert to p. 283, and the history of events of which that page forms a portion, in order to make clear a circumstance in reference to one of those distinguished regiments which followed the fortunes of King James to France—we mean the 4th regiment of Dismounted Dragoons, which was subsequently known in the continental wars as the regiment of Clare. The seventh, an infantry regiment of marines (p. 283), of which Colonel Nicholas Fitzgerald was lieutenant-colonel, when he succeeded the Lord Grand Prior Fitzjames as full colonel, was always afterwards known as the regiment of Fitzgerald. Colonel Nicholas Fitzgerald was wounded at the battle of Oudenard, and died at Ghent in two days afterwards. He was younger brother of Gerald Fitzgerald, Esq., of Ballinruan, in the parish of Inchicronan, county Clare, and was grand-uncle of the Right Hon. James Fitzgerald, father of Lord Fitzgerald and Vesci. O'Callaghan's *Green Book* gives a full account of his highly distinguished military life. The Right Hon. James Fitzgerald was descended through his mother, eldest daughter and heiress of Pierce Lynch, Esq., in the fifth degree from Cornelius O'Brien, second Viscount Clare, through his eldest daughter Ellen, the Knight of Kerry being descended from a younger daughter. The Right Hon. James Fitzgerald was thus lineally descended in the seventh degree from Gerald Fitzgerald, the sixteenth Earl of Desmond, through his eldest daughter and heiress, Lady Catherine Fitzgerald, who married Daniel O'Brien, first Viscount Clare. No descendant of the third Viscount Clare remains in Ireland, his male line having terminated in Charles O'Brien, sixth Viscount Clare, generally known in his after life as Marshal Count Thomond, he being heir to his cousin, the Earl of Thomond, who died in 1741 (see *Historical Memoir of the O'Briens*). He commanded the Irish cavalry at Fontenoy, and was mainly instrumental in gaining that battle. The colonelcy of the regiment of Clare had been presented to him by the personal interposition of the French king, who, at the death of his father the fifth viscount, expressed his repugnance to the idea that a family who, in supporting the cause they espoused, viz., that of James II. and the Catholic faith, had sacrificed all except their sword and their honour, should lose the command of their proprietary regiment; the colonelcy was therefore kept for the Right Hon. James Fitzgerald, now represented by his grandson G. F. Vesey Fitzgerald, Esq., of Crossbeg, county Clare, and Moyvane, county Kerry; Crossbeg having been purchased by Mr. James Fitzgerald, after having been ninety years out of the family descent, having been forfeited in 1694 by Daniel O'Brien, third Viscount Clare. The Right Hon. James Fitzgerald and his son, Mr. Vesey Fitzgerald, were intimately connected with every measure for relaxing the penal laws against Catholics, from the first relief act passed in 1783, which was brought in by Mr. James Fitzgerald, to the passing of the relief act in 1829, which was so closely interwoven with the Clare election, in which public opinion was brought to a crisis on the question by the rejection of Mr. Vesey Fitzgerald in favour of Mr. O'Connell. Mr. Vesey Fitzgerald, notwithstanding the loss of his position as member for Clare, had the satisfaction of supporting the bill in his place in the Duke of Wellington's cabinet, against the influences which were exerted against it by the king (Geo. IV.) Mr. Vesey Fitzgerald assumed the names and arms of Vesey and Fitzgerald, by royal license in A.D. 1860, in compliance with the wish of his uncle, William Lord Fitzgerald and Vesci. A very large portion of the forfeited estates of Daniel Viscount Clare, and which were purchased jointly with Francis Burton and Nicholas Wesby, Esqrs., in 1703, by James Mac Donnell, Esq., of Kilkee, a captain in Lord Clare's Dragoons in 1689, and a scion of the House of Dunluce, who married Penelope (sister of Honora, second Viscountess Clare), is now held by his descendant William Edward Armstrong Mac Donnell, Esq., of New Hall and Kilkee, J.P., D.L., High Sheriff of Clare in 1853, Major in the Clare Militia, etc., etc., who married in 1858 the Honourable Juliana Cecilia O'Brien, eldest daughter of Lucius, thirteenth Baron of Inchiquin, who has a son and heir, Charles Randal, born on the 29th of March, 1862, and two daughters, Mary Gertrude, born on the 9th November, 1859, and Honora Grace, born 29th November, 1860.

[2] Dr. Moran's *Life of Oliver Plunkett.*

of his namesake, John O'Moloney. In October, 1671, the Congregation de Propaganda Fide entertained the project of uniting the small diocese of Kilfenora to either of the adjoining sees of Killaloe or Kilmacduagh, and transferring the then Bishop of Kilfenora, Dr. Andrew Lynch, to Cork. It appears by a letter of the internuncio at Brussels, that this project was approved of by Dr. O'Moloney; but Dr. Lynch declined the mitre of Cork, preferring to remain as suffragan to the Archbishop of Rouen; the proposed union, therefore, was for the present postponed. Dr. O'Moloney remained in Paris for some time, afraid of the Duke of Ormonde and his satellites;[1] but the matter having been brought by Dr. Plunkett under the attention of the viceroy, in January, 1672, his excellency replied that as he had no royal order against Dr. O'Moloney, he would not, on account of the enmity of an individual, exclude the subjects of his majesty from the kingdom. During his stay in Paris he made energetic and successful exertions to establish in that city a college specially destined for the education of Irish ecclesiastical students. Owing, however, to the earnest entreaties of the Propaganda to hasten to his diocese, and ultimately to the positive orders to that effect, which were issued on the 2nd of August, 1672, he at length left Paris, and arrived in Dublin early in November of that year; Dr. Plunkett and Dr. Brennan, Bishop of Waterford, requesting him not to return so soon. He remained in Dublin for some time, where he effected a reconciliation between Colonel Patrick Talbot and Colonel Richard Talbot, Duke of Tyrconnell, who were, at the time, two of the most influential Catholics in Ireland; as also between the Primate, Oliver Plunkett, and Dr. Talbot, Archbishop of Dublin, between whom, for some time previously, a serious misunderstanding had existed respecting the primacy, its precedence, right of appeal, and other privileges. He communicated the result to Rome, in a letter dated from Dublin, 17th November, 1672. In the year after, he returned to Paris, resolved to forward his favourite project of the Irish college, and supported on this occasion by the entire hierarchy of Ireland.

In carrying out this noble design the zealous bishop was materially assisted by Father Patrick Maguin, a Dominican friar, chaplain to Catherine of Braganza, queen of Charles II., and whose brother Ronan Maguin, D.D., was appointed V.A. of Dromore in 1671; as also by Father Lochlan O'Kelly, who, out of their private resources, repaired the old College des Lombardes, and endowed it with several burses for the maintenance and education of Irish priests, merely requiring to be superiors during their own lives, and to have the power of appointing successors. Dr. O'Moloney again returned home; but from the year 1678 to 1681, a violent persecution raging against Catholic bishops and priests throughout Ireland, we find by a letter of Archbishop Brennan of Cashel, dated 12th September, 1680, that he was not in his own district, being compelled to live in concealment, "as the enemies of the faith bear him great ill will and speak violently against him". In 1685 he was one of the bishops to whom, King James granted pensions, his pension being £150 per annum. If, however, he really was in Ireland in that year, he was not present at a council held in Limerick by the Archbishop of Cashel, neither was Dr.

[1] Dr. Moran's *Life of Oliver Plunkett.*

Dowley, in consequence very likely of his infirmities. He was represented, however, at the council in question, by Thomas Kennedy and James M'Enery, Vicar-Generals of Killaloe, while Dr. Dowley was represented by John Stretch, Vicar-General of Limerick.[1]

On the death of Dr. Dowley, Dr. O'Moloney was appointed administrator of the diocese of Limerick, and one of his first acts was the consecration of the Franciscan chapel of the city, on the 1st of October, 1687. In the same year, on the nomination of King James, he was translated to the bishopric of Limerick, with the administration of his former see of Killaloe When his majesty embarked for Ireland from France, in February, 1689, Dr. O'Moloney remained in France, and never returned to his native country. From Paris he wrote on the 8th of March to Dr. Patrick Tyrrell, Bishop of Clogher and Kilmore, then about to be translated to Meath, and who became principal secretary of state to the king, a letter, the original of which was found among Dr. Tyrrell's papers at the battle of the Boyne. While in Paris he was constantly engaged in negociations respecting the affairs of Ireland, and it appears quite clear that he, as well as almost all the Irish hierarchy, was opposed not only to the policy of King James, but to that of Tyrconnell, as altogether English, for the Irish hierarchy were gifted with penetration sufficient to discern, what the Earl of Melfort in one of his state papers admitted, that the king went to Ireland only in order to go to England as soon the latter was in a condition to receive him with any probability of success. It is certain that the Irish were determined to have the act of settlement fully repealed, as far as the Cromwellian settlers at least were concerned: a measure which the king never had at heart, as is plain from his declaration to the people of England, dated April 17th, 1693. It is equally certain that at this period the Irish leaders, in case the king died without issue by Queen Catherine, and a Protestant king continued on the throne of England, were in favour of the severance of Ireland from England, and its annexation to some great Catholic power. In other respects also King James fell in the esteem of the Irish hierarchy, and more particularly of Dr. O'Moloney, who in one very important matter also seriously differed with his majesty's ministers, and that was on the question of the regality so far as it related to the appointment of bishops. No one took a more active part in the discussion of this question than did the Bishop of Limerick; and we shall briefly refer to the grounds on which his opposition was founded. An "indult" had been conceded by the Holy See to King James, by which his majesty had the nomination to vacant bishoprics in Ireland and vicars apostolic in England, which, after the king's death, was likewise acceded to his son and grandson. That the Catholic Church in Ireland looked with a jealous eye on the exercise of this power, is not to be wondered at. The Irish Catholics remembered with horror that it was the crown-appointed bishops of English birth who were the first among the hierarchy to abandon and abjure the faith of that Church from which they derived their mission and jurisdiction, and became recreants to duty and principle for the sake of mere temporal interest. They remembered that King

[1] He was son of Thomas Stretch, Mayor of Limerick in 1650, whose life and estates were forfeited by Cromwell. Dr. James Stretch was nominated to the see of Emly by King James, on the 31st of January, 1693, but it is believed he never was consecrated, for we find him parish priest of Rathkeale in 1703, and Vicar-General and Administrator of Limerick.

James's brother, father, and grandfather had basely deceived them, and bitterly persecuted their bishops and clergy, secular and regular; they believed that, if the king were restored to his crown, he would be principally advised by Protestant counsellors, whose object it would be to promote improper nominees, partizans of the court, and enemies of the people; they conceived that by these means the Church would be deprived of its freedom and become the slave of a state party, and that the old project would be revived of appointing Englishmen to the vacant mitres, which had been intrigued for in the reign of the first Charles. It was in reality a veto discussion of the time, and to his honour it must be said, that no one took a more lively part in it, and in the interest of the Church, than Dr. O'Moloney and his friend Dr. Pierce Creagh, Bishop of Cork, and afterwards Archbishop of Dublin. The circumstances which gave rise to this state of affairs we shall shortly refer to. They appear in the unpublished report of Father John Young, of the Society of Jesus, addressed to the General Piccolomini, on the incorporation of the Irish with the English province, and dated at Rome in 1661, where he was then president of the Irish College. After giving some reasons at great length against such incorporation, he goes on to say:

"But they who are intimately acquainted with the genius of either country, and the ineradicable hatred which exists between them, cannot on this point entertain the slightest doubt. The cause of this alienation I would much rather express orally than in writing.

"2nd, The bishops and prelates of Ireland, who heretofore valued most highly the Society, will, for the future, consider as *suspected*, and the opinion will again revive which arose twelve years since, when the queen of England was treating with the Pope by her procurator, regarding the propriety of having English bishops consecrated for Ireland, to which proposition our Irish fathers were said to be favourable, and a great storm was raised against our order that the leading men of the kingdom connected with the Supreme Council, and who, up to this, entertained the deepest respect for us, resolved that, were the matter to go further, the Society should be expelled the kingdom".

That Dr. O'Moloney was right in believing that Queen Henrietta Maria's design was entertained by King James, is fully proved by the king's advice to his son, the Chevalier St. George, supposed to have been slain in 1690.[1]

Referring to Ireland he says:—

"As to the Catholic clergy, great care should be taken to fill the dignities with able, learned, and men of exemplary lives, and to break off that evil which we have too much practised, of giving orders to young men, and then sending them abroad to study; and 't would not be amiss to make some few English clergy bishops there, and set up colleges, that the youth might not be obliged to be sent to study beyond the sea".

In virtue of this indult numerous appointments of Irish bishops were made.[2] Capara, the agent of Mary of Modena, was the principal negociator of these appointments. None of the earlier ones appear to have been excepted to by Dr. O'Moloney, who, in fact owed his own appointment to

[1] Clarke's *Life of James II.*, vol. ii. p. 636.

[2] Sir David Nairne's *Stuart State Papers* in the Bodleian Library. Sir David Nairne was private secretary of King James for many years.

the mitre of Limerick to the king's influence. But in 1694, when he forwarded to Rome, in reply to the memorial of Capara, objections to Edward Comerford's nomination by the king to the see of Cashel (15th August, 1693), and also against Dr. Richard Pierce's nomination to the see of Waterford, 23rd July, 1694, objections partly political, partly personal;[1] he exhibited a very determined spirit against the proceedings of James. In this, however, he was not successful. The king replied to his remonstrances, showing that Dr. Comerford was a doctor of the Sorbonne, that he had been many years on the English mission, and many years a parish priest in Ireland, and his majesty insinuated that Dr. O'Moloney's opposition arose because he had declined to appoint him to Dublin or to Cashel, or to appoint his nephew the Rev. — Moloney, Vicar of Limerick, to the see of Killaloe. The bishop's representations, though they retarded these appointments, did not succeed with the Propaganda in preventing the archbishop's bull being forwarded; he was consecrated by John Baptist Hayne, Bishop of Cork, assisted by Dr. Robert Pierce, Bishop of Waterford. We have no further incidents relative to Dr. O'Moloney, except those that prove how influential he was at the court of Louis, negociating assistance for Ireland when it was most needed in a perilous crisis of her fortunes. He died in Paris on the 3rd of September, 1702, in the 78th year of his age, and a mural tablet marks the spot where his remains are interred (see p. 220).

The see of Limerick, which was governed for many years by a vicar-general, in the person of the Very Rev. Dr. James Stretch, or Stritch, P.P. of Rathkeale, remained without a Catholic bishop from the period of the death of the Right Rev. Dr. Moloney in 1702, to the year 1720, wholly owing to the ceaseless persecutions which continued to rage after the success of King William, and the passionate vehemence of the dominant faction, which could only satiate its vengeance by depriving the Catholics of every shred of political power and social position, in violation of solemn treaties, and against the dictates of reason and of justice. At length the Court of Rome judged it proper to confer the dignity of the see on Cornelius O'Keeffe, a native of the county Cork, of the ancient family of the O'Keeffes of Clounna-Phricane. He had studied with distinction at Toulouse, where he became a doctor of divinity, and he enjoyed the rectorship of the parish of St. Chronicleu, in the diocese of Nantz, when the Holy See selected him to supply the position which had been occupied by a long line of illustrious men who preserved the faith in the midst of every danger. Denis O'Keeffe, the father of the bishop, was expelled from his old family estate of "Dun", on the river Bride, by the ruthless Cromwell".[2] After many hardships he settled at Drumkeene, in the county of Limerick, where he left six sons, viz., Daniel, Dermott, Philip, Donatus, Luke, and Cornelius, the bishop. In the year above mentioned, Cornelius O'Keeffe took possession of his see of Limerick, which he carefully governed for the space of seventeen years, his death having taken place in 1737. He founded three burses in the Irish College of Paris for boys of the name of O'Keeffe, of the family he was himself; he prescribed rules for the government of the burses, and

[1] Sir David Nairne's *Stuart State Papers* in the Bodleian Library. Sir David Nairne was private secretary of King James for many years.

[2] D'Alton's *King James's Army List.*

gave money on his visit in 1731 to Paris for their support.[1] The wording of the will occasioned litigation between Dr. O'Keeffe's successor in the see of Limerick, viz., Dr. Robert Lacy, and Dr. Walsh, Bishop of Cork. The latter persisted on the literal interpretation of the will as being in favour of the subjects of the Cork diocese. The suit was carried before the courts of Paris, where it was left *re infecta*. Dr. O'Keeffe endured severe persecution. He with other prelates was denounced to the government by one Rev. John Hennessey, whom he had suspended, and who in the old way, for the purpose of revenge, and to ingratiate himself with the no-popery faction of the day, fabricated a conspiracy, of which, however, nothing resulted save some violent resolutions of the House of Commons. In the *Commons Journal* of 1741, we find the following entry of the informations of the Rev. John Hennessey:—

"The informations of Father John Hennessey state that in August or September, 1729, he was in company with Conor O'Keeffe, popish Bishop of Limerick, Francis Loyd, popish Bishop of Killaloe, and D. Stones, a Franciscan Friar of the city of Dublin, at the House of Teigue M'Carthy, alias Rabah, the then popish Bishop of Cork and Cloyne, when the said Keeffe and Loyd delivered a letter to the said M'Carthy from Christopher Butler, the popish Archbishop of Cashel, acquainting him that he had received a letter from the Pope's internunzio at Brussels, that the Pope had complied with the request of the archbishops of Ireland, that his Holiness had sent him an indulgence for ten years, in order to raise a sum of money to be specially applied to restore King James III. to his right, and put his then majesty and the royal family to the sword".

On the strength of these informations Mr. Law, Collector of Mallow, seized Dr. M'Carthy's papers, and enclosed them to the speaker of the House of Commons as documents of an actual conspiracy. A committee of the house was at once appointed to inspect them; their report, filled with insolence and invective, contained but one fact, viz., that a sum of about £5 had been collected.[2] On that fact they resolved that under cover of opposing heads of bills against the Papists, great sums of money had been collected and raised, and a fund established by the Popish inhabitants of the kingdom, through the influence of their clergy, highly detrimental to the Protestant interest, and of immense danger to the present happy constitution of church and state, and that a humble address be presented to his Grace the Lord Lieutenant to issue his proclamation to all magistrates to put the laws against papacy into execution. As an instance of the truculence of the times, we may here repeat what has already appeared in a previous chapter, that the Rev. Timothy Ryan was arrested by Lieutenant-General Pierce, Governor of Limerick, tried, convicted, and hanged at Gallows Green, for no other crime than that of marrying a Catholic and Protestant. Dr. O'Keeffe, however, was not daunted in the midst of perils. He not only revived the canons and chapter of the cathedral, but he made rules and constitutions for the chapter, which, with some additions and modifications by his successors, continue in force in the diocese of Limerick to this day. The high esteem in which he was held by the Propaganda, for his prudence, sound judgment, and varied abili-

[1] *White's MSS.* [2] Matthew O'Connor's *History of the Irish Catholics.*

ties, is demonstrated by the fact of his being entrusted in 1732 to act in the difficult and delicate commission of reporting to the Holy See on the differences which had arisen between Dr. Bernard O'Gara, Archbishop of Tuam, and the Rev. Patrick Bermingham, Warden of Galway, and the collegiate clergy, respecting the jurisdiction of the bishop over them. As such delegate, he proceeded to Galway and investigated the matter in dispute, when a compromise was entered into by which the right of visitation and of hearing appeals was conceded by the warden, etc., to the archbishop. He also investigated the complicated dispute which arose in Limerick between the Dominicans and Franciscans on the one part, and the Augustinian hermits on the other—a dispute which ended in favour of the latter on an appeal to the court of Rome. Dr. O'Keeffe died on the 4th of May, 1737, and was interred in St. John's churchyard, but there is no trace of his tomb.

On the death of the Right Rev. Doctor Cornelius O'Keeffe, Dr. Pierce Creagh, Dean of Limerick, convened the chapter, and they elected Dr. John Lehy, Pastor of St. John's, and Dr. John Begley, Pastor of Newcastle, to be capitular vicars during the vacancy of the see. This election was afterwards confirmed by Dr. Christopher Butler, Archbishop of Cashel.[1] The same chapter, at the same time, entered on a scrutiny for the electing and postulating a worthy successor to their deceased bishop, Dr. Cornelius O'Keeffe, to the see of Limerick, when, after a mature deliberation in the parish chapel of St. John's, they thought proper to elect and postulate these three, viz., Dr. John Lehy, then capitular vicar and pastor of St. John's, Dr. Pierce Creagh, then dean and pastor of St. Mary's, and Dr. Robert Lacy, a child of the diocese, and then superior of the Irish seminary of Bourdeaux. This postulation was immediately despatched off to the see of Rome for its determination. On the evening of the same day the greatest part of the members of the chapter, together with most of the parish priests of the diocese, had a private meeting, where they elected and postulated solely the Rev. Robert Lacy, superior of the Irish seminary of Bourdeaux, to be Bishop of Limerick, which postulation was also sent to the court of Rome, and was attended with success. Dr. Lacy was afterwards named by the court of Rome as Bishop of Limerick. On the 23rd of February, in the year 1738, he was consecrated Bishop of Limerick by his Grace the Right Rev. Francis Mariban, Archbishop of Bourdeaux, and he landed in Limerick in the month of September, 1738.

The following is an account of the parish priests in the diocese of Limerick when the Right Rev. Dr. Cornelius O'Keeffe, Bishop of Limerick, died, the 4th of May, 1737, and when the Right Rev. Dr. Robert Lacy became Bishop of Limerick,[2] consisting then of four decanates:—

No. 1. The decanate of Limerick, in Limerick city.

Dr. Pierce Creagh, pastor of St. Mary's, and pastor of St. Nicholas.

Dr. John Lehy, vicar capitular, pastor of St. John's and pastor of St. Laurence's.

Rev. Walter Burke, pastor of St. Michael's.

Rev. Patrick Scanlan, pastor of St. Munchin's, and of part of Keillely, and of part of St. Nicholas.

Rev. Michael MacMahon, vicar of St Mary's.

Rev. Owen Sullivan, vicar of St. John's.

[1] *White's MSS.* [2] *Ibid.*

In the County Clare.

Rev. Barth. M'Namara, who died during the vacancy of the see, and succeeded by the Rev. Christopher Bermingham, pastor of Keilcuan, being part of St. Patrick's, and of part of St. Munchin's, and of part of Keillely.

Rev. John Herbert, pastor of Keilfintanan, and of Cratloe, being part of Keillely.

In the County of Limerick.

Rev. William Murphy, pastor of St. Patrick's, and of Keilmurry, and of Derrighalavin.

Rev. James White, pastor of Donoughmore, and of Cahirivahala, and of Cahirnarry.

No. 2 The decanate of Kilmallock.

Rev. Francis Nolan, pastor of Fedemore.

Rev. Robert Hayes, pastor of Tullybracky, of Glanogry, of Bruff, of Kyrane, of Camas, of Grange, of Kishemedeady.

Rev. John O'Brien, pastor of Kilmallock.

Rev. David Burke, pastor of Effin.

Rev. Patrick Stanton, pastor of Brury.

Rev. Thomas Fitzgerald, pastor of Drommin, of Athlacky.

Rev. John Hayes, pastor of Kilbridymajor, of Ballinaneasy.

Rev. Timothy Hayes, pastor of Keilfinny.

Rev. John Shinnick, pastor of Darragh.

No. 3. The decanate of Adare.

Rev. John Hynes, pastor of Mungrett.

Rev. Daniel King, pastor of Adare, of Keilchidy.

Rev. Ambrose Connors, pastor of Croagh.

Rev. Edmund Higgins, pastor of Croome.

Rev. William Cronine, pastor of Castletown, of Neantenan.

Rev. Nicholas Moloney, pastor of Keildimy.

Rev. Patrick Moore, pastor of Rathkeale.

Rev. Patrick Myir, pastor of Keilscannell.

No. 4. The decanate of Ballingarry or Ardagh.

Rev. John Begley, capitular vicar, pastor of Newcastle and Monaghea.

Rev. Darby Connors, pastor of Ballingarry.

Rev. James O'Brien, pastor of Glin, of Loghill.

Rev. William Hourgan, pastor of Mahunagh.

Rev. Daniel Hurley, pastor of Knockadery.

Rev. Philip Nolan, pastor of Shanagolden.

Rev. Maurice Deeneen, pastor of Rathgonane.

Rev. Daniel Rourke, pastor of Ardagh.

Rev. James Barry, pastor of Keilidy.

Rev. Luke Collins, pastor of Abbeyfeale.

Rev. James Scanlan, pastor of Drumcollaher.

Rev. Edmund Dillane, pastor of Askeaton.

Our readers are now aware that there were two bishops Lacy in the diocese of Limerick, one in the sixteenth century, who suffered much persecution from Queen Elizabeth, and of whom a tradition prevails in his family that he was executed. The other bishop, Robert Lacy, succeeding to the religious changes of the revolution, and compelled to hide the religious services of the Catholic Church "under a bushel" in highways and

bye-ways". Bishop Robert Lacy was one of the sons of Pierre or Pierce Lacy and Arabella Goold, daughter of Robert Goold, of Knockrawn, by Eda, daughter of Mathew O'Connor.[1]

Dr. Lacy, while enjoying the bishopric of Limerick, was appointed administrator of the diocese of Kilfenora, by Dr. Daly, bishop of that see, who remained at Tournay in France. He conferred holy orders, and subsequently, on the 23rd December, 1738, priesthood, on the Rev. James White, compiler of White's MSS. He supplied his diocese with clergy by sending young students to foreign countries to study, where they received sacred orders, and then came home to the mission, which they generally discharged with distinguished fidelity. During his episcopacy the gentry of the country ruled with an iron rod, irrespective of law or order. On one occasion, Thomas O'Dell, Esq., the principal man in the parish of Ballingarry, caused the Rev. Christopher Bermingham to fly to France because he was obnoxious to him, for no other reason than that he, O'Dell, preferred the parish should be given to another clergyman.[2] Owing to the terrible famine which prevailed in 1744, Dr. O'Keeffe, and the other bishops of Ireland, granted a relaxation to the people of the Lenten fast. He saw religion, however, revive in some respects. He made a surrender of the old parish chapel outside Thomond Gate, which was tumbling to decay, and when a little more freedom was granted, the clergy were enabled to take a small waste malt house in the Little Island, of which they made a parish chapel, until they were tolerated to build a better, which was the case in 1749, when the

[1] The Bishop, according to the information imparted to us by Messrs. De Lacy Pearce and Nephews of London, had several brothers and sisters, one David Lacy, in the Spanish service, who died 1785. A sister Catherine married to David Mahony, the great grand-parents of the late celebrated Dublin solicitors, Pierce Mahony and David Mahony, Esqrs., of Dublin and county Kerry (1860). Another brother was Patrick of Rathiogill, who was a colonel in the Spanish service, and died in 1723 in Spain. Another brother, George Lacy, of Leitrim, by marriage with his second cousin, Fanny Lacy, (daughter of Patrick Lacy and Lady Lucy Ankettle, the ancestors of the Rathcahill and Templeglantan branch, from which came General Maurice of Grodno,) united the two branches of the family, the Spanish and the Austrian exiles. Another of the branch was François Antoine Lacy, afterwards count and general in the Spanish service, and a diplomatist. He is described in the French biographies as "of an ancient and illustrious Irish family, which resided in Spain under Marshal de Berwick, born in 1731, and commenced his military career, at the age of sixteen as ensign in the Irish regiment of Ultonia infantry. He served in campaigns in Italy in 1747, was made colonel of his regiment in 1762—in war against Portugal nominated commander of artilery in 1780, and employed at the famous siege of Gibraltar. After the peace of 1783 he was minister and plenipotentiary in Russia and Sweden, made commandant-general of la Côte of Grenada, and died at Barcelona, Dec. 31, 1792, full of honours. Louis de Lacy, his descendant, was born on the 11th January, 1775, at St. Roch, near Gibraltar. "Ayant perdu de son enfance son pere Patrick de Lacy, qui était major du regiment d'Ultoniae, et sa mère étant allée rejoindre ses frères officers" in the regiment of Brussels infantry, Lacy at nine years entered as cadet in the regiment Ultonia. In 1794 he became captain, and was employed against the French in Catalonia until the peace of Bale in 1795. In 1798 was exiled to the Isle of For, condemned to imprisonment, sent to Cadiz, and he "solicited the honour to serve as a simple grenadier in the campaign of 1801 against Portugal. He left for France, and in 1803 arrived at Boulogne. He entered the 6th regiment of infantry as a common soldier. General Clarke (Duc de Feltre) having narrated the adventures of his parent to Bonaparte, obtained for him the brevet of captain in the Irish regiment of O'Connor, organized at Morlaix. In 1807 he was nominated chef du batal. Irlande in the army of Murat in Spain, but Lacy determined not to war against his country. Disguised as a female he reached Madrid, 2nd May, 1808, was made lieutenant-colonel, and after a long series of services to Spain, and promotion and honour in the wars until the peace of 1815, he in 1817 joined the constitutionalists, and on the 5th April proclaimed it in Valencia. He was abandoned, arrested, and condemned to death, and on 20th June, 1817, shot by soldiers of a Neapolitan regiment. In 1820 his body was transported to Barcelona. The Cortes, for honour of his memory, nominated his son "premier guardian of the Spanish army", who distinguished himself.
White's MSS.

citizens liberally subscribed for what was then designated "a sumptuous parish chapel", on a plot of ground in the Little Island, which was taken on the 20th of March, 1748, from Alderman Ingram, at the yearly rent of £10, and on which they built the present St. Mary's chapel. It was ruled that each parishioner should take his place in the chapel in proportion to the magnitude of his subscription. The shell of the new house of worship was finished in the beginning of December, 1749, and first Masses were said in it within the octave of the Immaculate Conception, on the 10th of that month, by the Very Rev. Dean Creagh, P.P. of St. Mary's, the Rev. M. M'Mahon, pastor of St. Nicholas' and vicar of St. Mary's, and by the Rev. James White, pastor of the Abbey of St. Francis.[1] Dr. O'Keeffe proclaimed the great Papal jubilee throughout his diocese in 1750, being the fiftieth year of the century, and granted for the whole year by Pope Benedict XIV. It is stated that it produced the very best effects on the people. In the same year, on the death of the Right Rev. Dr. Daly, the diocese of Kilfenora and Kilmacduagh were united by Pope Benedict, who granted his bull to that effect to the Right Rev. Dr. Killikelly, Bishop of Kilmacduagh. Dr. O'Keeffe had frequent interviews during his episcopacy with the Most Rev. Dr. Christopher Butler, Archbishop of Cashel,[2] and his coadjutor bishop, the Most Rev. Dr. James Butler, who succeeded him in the archiepiscopacy, particularly in reference to certain scandals which were caused in the city of Limerick, in consequence of the resistance of the Rev. Patrick Scanlan, P.P. of St. Munchin's, to his lordship's authority. On three occasions the Rev. P. Scanlan appealed to the archbishop and his grace's coadjutor, and from them to the Papal Nuncio at Brussels, each and all giving an unqualified decision in favour of Dr. O'Keeffe, who manifested prudence, firmness, and zeal, in the exercise of his high office. In the midst of political feuds he was firm, and resisted, with his episcopal brethren of Munster, including the Archbishop of Cashel, a certain pastoral letter which the Most Rev. Michael O'Reilly, Archbishop of Armagh, had forwarded to be signed by "the chiefs of the Roman Catholic clergy in Ireland, and all the parish priests serving in parishes throughout the kingdom"—a pastoral slavish in its tone to a persecuting government, and unworthy of men who were galled by the infliction of the penal laws. After a life of laborious exertion and unwearied zeal, Dr. Lacy gave up his pure spirit to the Creator, on the 4th August, 1759, at the hour of a quarter to four o'clock, a.m., having goverend his diocese for the space of twenty-one and a-half years, "with the greatest moderation, prudence, and applause".[3] He had been ill for a few years, and his death was like his life, calm, serene, and hopeful. He was slow in punishing, as he used all other means to reclaim, but resolute and determined when duty called for the exercise of authority. Entreaties could not move, nor threats deter him, whenever his resolution was taken. By Protestants and Catholics he was held in merited respect and regard. No man could be at the same time more loved and feared by his clergy. His body was removed from

[1] *White's MSS.*

[2] His Grace died at Westcourt on the 4th September, 1757. He was born at Kilcash, in 1673, and resigned his paternal estate and the right of succession to the Duke of Ormonde's estate and the Earldom of Arran, to his younger brother, in order to embrace the ecclesiastical estate. He was 45 years Archbishop of Cashel, with the greatest applause, and was 84 years of age when died. He was buried in the family vault of the Butlers at Westcourt.

[3] *White's MSS.*

Limerick to Ardagh, his native place, on the 5th of August, where, by his own orders, he was interred with the rest of his family, and where an humble tomb stone, which was erected by the Right Rev. Dr. Young, very many years afterwards, marks the grave of the apostolic prelate:—

> Beneath this stone are deposited
> the mortal remains of the Rt.
> Rev. Dr. Robert Lacy, who was
> R. C. B. of Limerick 21½ years.
> He departed this life Augt. 4th, 1759.
> R. I. P.

Immediately after the death of the Right Rev. Dr. Lacy, the Very Rev. Dean Creagh cited all the members of the chapter, and all the parish priests of the diocese, to assemble at St. John's chapel, "near the gates of Limerick",[1] at eleven o'clock a.m., on the 8th of August, 1759, for the purpose of electing a vicar capitular to govern the see until a successor to the deceased bishop should be appointed by the court of Rome. With exception of three, who were absent from illness, all the parish priests of the diocese obeyed the summons of the dean. The pastor of Kilfinane, the Rev. Timothy Hayes, who was also absent, appointed the Rev. John O'Brien, P.P. of Kilmallock, as his procurator. It was debated for some time whether the election lay solely with the canons, of whom seven were present, or with the canons and parish priests together. Without putting the question to a vote, the canons waived what they conceived to be their exclusive privilege, lest the Archbishop of Cashel should question their election or annul it. It was judged proper, accordingly, in reference to the tenor of the Papal letter of 1755,[2] that the canons and parish priests should give their suffrages; when the Very Rev. Dean Creagh appeared from the scrutiny to have been elected by a great majority of votes; on which an act to that effect was drawn up and signed by the following priests, and witnessed and sealed by the Rev. Edward O'Brien, Notary of the Apostolic See, and the Rev. James White, Notary Apostolic:—

David Bourke, Chancellor.
Walter Bourke, Prebend.
Luke Collins, Preb.
James Barry, Preb.
Robert O'Hea, Preb.
Edward O'Brien, Preb.
John Herbert.
Francis Nowlan.
John Chennigh.
James Dundon.
Maurice Walsh.
Matthew Corbett.
William Marshall.
John Hanrahan, S.F. Parisiensis, Doctor Theologus.
Daniel O'Kearney, S.F. Par. Doctor and Pastor St. Patrick's.
John De Lacy, S.T.D. and Rector of Ballingarry.
Rowland Kirby, Doctor of Theology, and P.P. of St. Munchin's, Limerick.
Daniel Guery.
John Lyne.
Thaddeus O'Hea.
John Walsh.
John Creagh.
Paul Slattery.
Joseph Egan.
William Hourigan.
David Hourigan.
Maurice Ley.
Maurice Shaughnessy.
James Lynch.
John O'Brien.
Daniel O'Brien.
James White.
Constantius O'Daniel.
Sylvester Mulcaire.
James Harnett.
Martin O'Connor.

On the following day, viz., the 9th of August, at the same place, the same canons and parish priests proceeded by scrutiny to postulate and elect

[1] *White's MSS.* [2] *Ibid.*

a proper person to fill the vacant bishopric, when they unanimously chose the Very Rev. John Creagh, Dean of the diocese, above mentioned, to be eligible primo loco; the Rev. David Bourke in secundo loco, and the Rev. Rowland Kirby in tertio loco, when an act to that effect was solemnly drawn up and duly signed by the canons and parish priests, and countersigned by the Rev. John De Lacy, Prothonotary Apostolic, and the Rev. James White, Notary Apostolic. Though, as we have stated, the postulation was unanimous, the court of Rome, nevertheless, in consequence of an attestation signed by four bishops in favour of Dr. Daniel O'Kearney, a native of the city of Limerick, a Doctor of the Sorbonne, and parish priest of St. Patrick's, chose Dr. O'Kearney, on the 21st of November, for the mitre of Limerick. At this period there were great troubles and apprehensions entertained by the government respecting a threatened French invasion of England and Ireland. The Duke of Bedford, lord lieutenant, signified, in consequence, to the Irish Catholics, the king's wish that they should manifest a perfect zeal and loyalty; and in obedience to the proclamation of the viceroy, ninety of the principal Catholics of Limerick signed a most loyal and dutiful address to the throne, but many others refused signing it.[1] In Cork, one hundred and thirty Catholics signed the address, and in Waterford a very large number did the same. It may be observed as a strange fact, that the entire trade and commerce of the city of Limerick were at this time in the hands of Catholic merchants and traders. By sea and by land the Catholics held uncontrolled the mercantile affairs of the city and port in their exclusive possession.[2] But apprehensions were indulged in, which were soon afterwards realized, that through the imprudence and avarice of some of the Catholic merchants, who, for the sake of getting large apprentice fees, took Protestant and Presbyterian apprentices, who began to settle in trade and business in the city, the Catholics would lose their preëminence.[3] This, however, is a digression.

In consequence of the Pope's bull, which bore date the 27th of November, 1759, the Right Rev. Dr. O'Kearney was consecrated, at Thurles, Bishop of Limerick, on Sunday, the 27th of January, 1760, by his Grace the Most Rev. Dr. James Butler, Archbishop of Cashel, two ecclesiastical dignitaries having assisted in the room of two bishops, by virtue of a Papal indulgence to that effect. On Tuesday, the 29th of the same month, Dr. O'Kearney informed some of his clergy who had assembled at St. Mary's chapel, Limerick, of his election and consecration, they having met his lordship for that purpose. The court of Rome at the same time granted him a bull for the parish of St. John's with all its annexes, which had been before possessed by the deceased prelate, Dr. Lacy. On the 10th of May, Dr. O'Kearney was inducted into the parish in question by the Very Rev. Michael Hoare, ex-Provincial of the Dominicans, by directions of his grace the Archbishop of Cashel. Though the penal laws existed in their

[1] *White's MSS.* [2] *Ibid.*

[3] Mr. Stephen Roche, Mr. John Browne, Mr. Patrick Plunkett, Mr. John Pery, Mr. Edmund Sexton, Mr. Michael Rochford, Mr. Patrick Arthur, Mr. Patrick Bluett, Mr. Paul Sullivan, Mr. Laurence Mahon, were among the Catholic merchants and traders who took Protestant and Presbyterian apprentices, much to the chagrin and mortification of the Catholic citizens generally, which was increased considerably when these apprentices afterwards set up in business for themselves.—*White's MSS.*

full vigour, the loyalty of the bishop, of the clergy, and of the citizens, was not less warm than it had been. The death of George II., on the 25th of October, gave occasion for the expression of that feeling, in an address from the chief Catholic inhabitants of the city and county of Limerick; in which the strongest feelings of devotion to the throne were declared, as well as the deepest regret for the loss of the late king, who had been mild and merciful in his relations to the Catholic subjects of the crown.[1]

The Rev. Denis Conway (afterwards Bishop of Limerick) was appointed by Papal bull, parish priest of St. Patrick's, on the promotion of Dr. O'Kearney, who was a zealous, learned, and active prelate, thoroughly versed in the canons and in Scripture, an accomplished theologian, of kindly and simple manners, but possessed of that strong masculine common sense which enabled him to surmount the difficulties at the critical time, of his appointment and during his episcopacy, of a dangerous position. Dr. O'Kearney held his first ordination of subjects for his diocese on the 15th May, 1761, being Friday of Whitsuntide, Quatuor Tense. On this occasion he exercised his sacred functions openly, notwithstanding the highly penal character of prohibitory laws, which were not as yet repealed, and conferred minor orders and subdeaconship on four young candidates for the ministry, who on the following day received deaconship, and on the Sunday next succeeding, priesthood. Dr. O'Kearney witnessed the demolition of the ancient walls of the city, and the commencement of the new town by Edmund Sexton Pery, and many other changes in the social and political aspect of his generation. He attended a meeting of the bishops of Munster, which was convened by the Most Rev. Dr. Butler, Archbishop of Cashel, near Cork, on the 15th of July, 1775, in consequence of the act 13 and 14 George III., which enabled subjects of all denominations to testify their allegiance upon oath.

Many Catholics firmly declined to take the oath prescribed by that Act of Parliament, not alone because it was insulting in its language, but, as they conceived, because it was in downright opposition to what they believed to be their conscientious principles. To counteract this view on their part, and to satisfy the scruples of the people and clergy, the Most Rev. Dr. Butler called together the Bishops of Munster, and at this meeting the following declaration was agreed to and subscribed by Dr. O'Kearney, as well as by the other bishops:—

"We, the chiefs of the Roman Catholic Clergy of the Province of Munster, having met together near Corke, have unanimously agreed that the oath of allegiance, prescribed by the act of parliament, anno regni decimo tertio et quarto Georgii Tertii Regis, contains nothing contrary to the Roman Catholic Religion"

Dr. O'Kearney also attended another provincial meeting of the Bishops, held in Thurles, on the 28th of the same month, in which the able and enlightened work, entitled *Hibernia Dominicana*, and its supplement, written by the Rt. Rev. Dr. Thomas de Burgo, Catholic Bishop of Ossory, were solemnly disapproved of (except by Dr. McMahon, Bishop of Killaloe), on the ground that they tended to weaken and subvert the allegiance, fidelity,

[1] *White's MSS.*

and submission which were due to the king, by raising unnecessary scruples in the minds of the people, and sowing the seeds of dissension on points on which, from their religion and gratitude, they ought to be firmly united. Than the great work of Dr. Thomas de Burgo, which is a wonderful combination of facts and documents connected with the ecclesiastical history of Ireland, exhibiting an unequalled amount of industry, patience, research, and learning, there has never been published a work of more inestimable value to the student of Irish Church history. That Dr. Butler and the other bishops condemned it, was a source of pain in many quarters; but the real cause of its condemnation by this provincial meeting was, as stated by His Grace the most Rev. Dr. Butler himself, in his *Justification of the Tenets of the Roman Catholic Religion*, that the *Hibernia Dominicana* violently reprobated a similar oath of allegiance to the above, required by an act of 1756–7. Indeed, Dr. O'Kearney sustained in his own person strong ideas on the conduct of the government of the day. He would not cause to be read a certain printed form, which was forwarded from the Castle of Dublin, and which ordered on the part of the Catholics of Ireland a general fast to be observed throughout the kingdom on the 12th of March, 1762, "to beseech the God of Hosts to bless his Majesty, his officers, and his troops, and to inspire and direct his councils to grant a glorious and a happy conclusion to this war, and that a solid, lasting, and advantageous peace may restrain the effusion of Christian blood". He did not admit that directions about observing a fast should come from the secular power, and he deemed it an infringement on the spiritual authority, permitting only so much of the printed form to be read as he thought proper, and omitting as much of it as contained an exhortation to the people to observe the fast "exactly according to the tenor of the proclamation for that purpose". Dr. O'Kearney stoutly and vehemently opposed the movements, the aggressions, and the violences at the same time of the Levellers and the Whiteboys, who to the number of some thousands, levelled what they said were encroachments on commons, wherever these encroachments existed, dug up the lay rich grounds of those who did not let out land to the poor for tillage, burned barns and haggards, and by degrees spread a reign of terrorism over Munster, doing great mischief in the counties of Waterford, Tipperary, and Cork, as also in the county of Limerick, where they dug up, in one night, in the parish of Kilfinane, twelve acres of land which belonged to a Mr. Maxwell.[1] The bishop issued directions to all the parish priests to exert themselves, and to speak boldly against these aggressions, in which, however, Protestants were the chief actors, and into the causes of which the government at once sped an inquiry, with a view to redress any real grievance; but to put down and to punish crime at the same time, a commission of Oyer and Terminer sat in Limerick on the 31st of May, when, on oath of one Joseph Prestage, a Protestant, who became king's evidence, several of those whom he admitted in his evidence he had compelled to perpetrate these outrages, and whom he had furnished with arms for that purpose, were found guilty, and two of them, viz., one Banniard, a Protestant, and one Carthy, were condemned to death for killing cattle. William Fant, a Protestant, who began the troubles, was condemned to two years' imprisonment and a fine of £50, while

[1] White's *MSS.*

many others were condemned also to various terms of imprisonment for the same cause. There was no Catholic of any weight, consequence, or position involved in these doings, though they were said to be the commencement of a Popish rebellion. They were, nearly altogether, confined to Protestants possessed of affluence, who had made the unsuspecting Catholic peasantry their mere instruments and victims in the business. The Rev. Father Kennedy, P.P. of Tulla, near the Silvermines, Co. Tipperary, was one of those who were arrested, and escorted by Sir James Caldwell's Light Horse into Limerick, on the 2d of May, charged with rebellious practices, which existed only in the fertile imaginations of his accusers. He was at once discharged when the facts were inquired into. As in other cases and circumstances, the Catholics were slandered and denounced for crimes and offences of which they had no cognizance; but no prelate could act with more vigour in resisting the disturbers of the public peace, than did Dr. Daniel O'Kearney, who continued to discharge his onerous duties with zeal. He ordained many priests for the diocese of Limerick, and afforded the utmost satisfaction to all by the faithful and perfect discharge of every duty. His Lordship died at Ballyshannon, near Limerick, in January, 1778,[1] full of years and virtues, a noble specimen of an Irish Catholic prelate. His acquirements were of a most varied character, and his mildness, playfulness, and simplicity, are even yet remembered in the traditions of the people. The good prelate was interred in St. John's churchyard, and over his remains was placed a tomb which was situated near the east wall, towards the S. E. end of the churchyard.[2]

On the death of Dr. O'Kearney, the Very Rev. Denis Conway, P.P. of Rathkeale, was appointed Vicar-Capitular until the election of a successor to the deceased bishop should be made. But, in the meantime, His Grace the Archbishop of Cashel, who desired that his kinsman, the Hon. and Rev John Butler, a brother of Lord Cahir, and a member of the illustrious Order of Jesus, should be appointed to the vacant see of Limerick. Accordingly, on the 9th of March, 1778, Dr. Butler, his rela-

[1] Walker's *Hibernian Magazine.*

[2] Dr. Young's Note in White's MSS. In this church-yard were also interred the Rev. Dr. John Lehy, P.P. St. John's, who died 14th December, 1754; the Rev. Denis O'Connor, the Rev. Owen O'Sullivan, who was curate to Dr. Lehy, and who died in 1750, aged 50 years, etc. The names of the Rev. Messrs. Lehy, O'Sullivan, and O'Connor, are inscribed on the same tombstone, which now (1856) forms the south side of the tomb of the Right Rev. Dr. Conway, whilst an older tombstone, with the date of 1728, forms the north side of the same tomb. Dr. O'Kearney's tomb is said to have been more northward, near where the tomb of the Right Rev. Dr. Michael Peter M'Mahon now is. Dr. M'Mahon's tomb has the following inscription, and in the same vault are buried his relative, William Hartney, Esq., and the Rev. John Thayer, the eminent convert and controversialist:—

I. H. S.
Here lieth the body of the late Right
Rev. Doctor M'Mahon, Roman
Catholic Bishop of Killaloe, who
departed this life on the second
day of March, 1807, in the 98th year of
his age, and 40th of his
episcopal dignity. May God be
merciful to his soul. Amen.

tive, the Hon. and Rev. Father John Butler, S.J., signified to him that all the prelates of Munster except one,[1] viz.: Dr. Carpenter,[2] who desired that Dr. Nihell should be promoted to the mitre,[3] and many other prelates had cast their eyes upon him as the most worthy person to fill the vacant see of Limerick under the circumstances; that he hoped his humility *would not* be alarmed, and that, bearing in mind the joint postulation of the prelates, the will of Almighty God, he would submit to the order of Providence, and resign himself to a burthen which the Divine grace would render light to him and advantageous to the diocese he was invited to govern. To this communication Father John Butler returned an answer dated Hereford, March 23rd, 1778, in which he announces his determination to resist the proffered dignity by every means in his power, whilst he expresses his sincerest thanks to all who have been pleased to entertain so favourable an opinion of him. The good archbishop, in his reply to this refusal, states that the postulation had been forwarded to Rome backed by the signatures of three archbishops and twelve bishops of Ireland; by the Roman Catholic peers of Ireland; by the united letters of the Nuncios of Paris and Brussels; of the first president of the parliament of Paris; and of Monsieur de Vergennes, Ministre des Affaires Etrangers, to Monsieur de Bernis; and, to crown all, by the letters of the most worthy prelate, Dr. Walmsley,[4] in his favour. It would appear that a strong opposition, however, had been raised in other quarters to the appointment of Father Butler,[5] and that the Propaganda had rejected him as an ex-Jesuit; but the Pope, in attention to the earnest application which the prelates of the province of Munster in particular, as well as others, thought it for the interest of religion to make in his favour, overruled the determination of the Propaganda, and named him for the vacant mitre. The Right Rev. Dr. William Egan, Bishop of Waterford and Lismore, resident in Clonmel, wrote a long letter to Father John Butler,[6] in which the right reverend prelate urged him in the strongest possible manner to accept the dignity, to which Father Butler at length submitted on this express stipulation, "that whenever the Society of Jesus be restored, I shall be at full and perfect liberty to reënter the same and retire again to my college, the seat of real virtue and happiness".[7] In May the archbishop writes to him to Cahir Castle, where he had arrived on a visit to his brother Lord Cahir, congratulating him, and announcing the receipt of a letter from the Very Rev. Dr. Conway, Vicar-Capitular of Limerick, assuring him that he would meet with the most pleasing reception there both from clergy and laity, and that all ranks of people were most impatient for his arrival amongst them. On the 10th of July, same year (1778), the archbishop announced that the bulls had arrived for Father Butler, and had been forwarded to him (the archbishop) from Paris the preceding week, but that an indispensable journey on his part had prevented him attending to them before. The Archbishop adds:

"I need not tell you the pleasure it gave me to receive them, and how I wish and hope that the use which is to be made of them may tend to advance the glory of God and the good of the diocese of Limerick".

[1] Oliver's *Collections*.
[2] Dr. Carpenter was Archbishop of Dublin.
[3] Renehan's *Collections*.
[4] The author of *Pastorini's Prophecies*.
[5] Oliver's *Collections*.
[6] See Dr. Oliver's *Collections* for Dr. Egan's letter.
[7] Dr. Oliver's *Collections*.

Father Butler, however, almost immediately after, completely withdrew from the honour which he had in his hands. In a meek, courteous, and respectful letter to the Archbishop, in which he cordially thanked his Grace for the zeal and interest he had taken in his promotion, he says:

"I decline the proffered honour, because I really think myself incapable of fulfilling the duties of such a station in the Church".

The father of this noble-minded priest was the ninth Lord Cahir, who was the eldest son of the eighth Lord Cahir and of Frances Butler, daughter of Sir Theobald Butler, Solicitor-General of James II.[1]

Whether there were other reasons than those advanced by Father Butler in his letter to the archbishop, which actuated him in his determination not to accept the mitre of Limerick, we are not aware. It is true, indeed, that the majority of the chapter of the diocese of Limerick, including twenty-two beneficed clergymen, had forwarded to the Holy See a protest,[2] and that there was much inconvenience felt during the time that had intervened between the death of Dr. O'Kearney and the ultimate settlement of the grave question as to who was to succeed him and govern the diocese, the administration of the affairs of which continued in the hands of Dr. Conway, Vicar Capitular, who resided in Rathkeale, and who often consulted his intimate friend, the Rev. John Young, then curate of St. John's parish, who was destined to succeed to the see of Limerick, and whose learning and piety pointed him out as an able and a safe counsellor in difficulties. Dr. Conway was a learned, ready, gifted, and pious man. He visited Father Butler at Cahir Castle, when that excellent priest was regarded, what he had been for some months, virtually the Bishop of Limerick, but does not appear ever to have visited the diocese. He speaks of Lord Cahir, whom he met during one of these visits, as "a fine, sober, good man also, who lives like a prince"; he states that he met the Archbishop of Cashel at Cahir Castle, who received him with cordiality and affability, and that there was a perfect reconciliation in reference to any misunderstanding that might have arisen between his Grace and the chapter of Limerick.

Whilst matters were in this state, the Right Rev. Dr. MacMahon, Bishop of Killaloe, who had resided generally in Limerick, blessed the oils in Holy Week, and performed other episcopal duties. The chapter, meanwhile, continued to apply themselves to the court of Rome in the emergency, and the Rev. Dr. Kelly, then agent of the Irish bishops at the Holy See, was frequently written to by Dr. Conway, who was himself postulated for, and who, after some months, and after many rumours that the choice had fallen upon another, viz., the Rev. John Mullog,[3] received his bulls of consecration from the Archbishop of Cashel on the 14th of May, 1779;[4] and on the 20th of June in that year, Dr. Conway was consecrated by His Grace, who decided that Thurles was the fittest place for the ceremonial. Dr. Butler, Bishop of Cork, and Dr. M'Kenna, Bishop of Cloyne, assisted, whilst the Rev. John Young, on the invitation of his dear friend

[1] Augustine Butler, Esq., D.L., Ballyline, County Clare, is the great-great-grandson of the celebrated Sir Toby Butler, whose son married a daughter of Lord Cahir's, and Lord Cahir's son (afterwards Lord Cahir) married Sir Toby's daughter. These marriages took place about the year 1711.

[2] MS. Correspondence of Dr. Conway.

[3] This clergyman resided in Kilkenny.

[4] Conway Correspondence.

the new prelate, accompanied him to Thurles. The Rev. J. Young continued to be the constant friend and companion, and ultimately the coadjutor in the episcopacy of Limerick, of Dr. Conway, who was a distinguished student of Louvain. Versed in canon law and in Scripture, a pleasing and correct writer, as we likewise gather from the few letters which he has bequeathed, and in which his wit and sprightliness of disposition flash frequently and agreeably, he was received at all times in the warmest manner by clergy and laity. During the episcopacy of Dr. Conway, St. Michael's Chapel was built, and his lordship presided at the opening of it on the 29th of September, 1781.

Of the public acts of Dr. Conway we have not many records. He attended a meeting of the Bishops of Munster, which was held in Limerick on the 1st of May, 1784, and which was presided over by the Archbishop of Cashel, at which a declaration of loyalty to the king and country was drawn up, agreed to and signed by the bishops, who, at the same time, enjoined their clergy to exhort the people to industry, sobriety, and a peaceable demeanour in all things, as a sure means of fulfilling their duty towards God and the state. He opposed the Rightboys and the Whiteboys in the most determined manner, and he was one of the Bishops of Munster who attended a provincial meeting held at Cork on the 26th of June, 1786, and which was presided over by the Archbishop, at which decrees were adopted condemnatory of the riotous and illegal proceedings of the Rightboys. At this meeting regulations were made in reference to the dues of the parochial clergy, and the restraining of certain parochial expenses on the part of the parishioners.[1] Dr. Conway was a benefactor to the religious and charitable institutions of his native city of Limerick, and a friend of education, as he proved by his having bequeathed a sum of £415 7s. 8d. towards building a college for the education of Roman Catholic youth, should any such be established in this kingdom, or towards support of students thereof"—(*extract from will*, 1794). This money was invested afterwards in building the Catholic seminary at Park. He also bequeathed a sum of £92 6s. 2d. upon trust, for educating, clothing, and maintaining poor children of the charity school of St. John's parish, a bequest of which there is no account at present.[2]

He lived to the age of 75 years, and died on the 19th day of June, 1796. His remains were interred, as were those of his predecessors, Drs. O'Keeffe and O'Kearney, in St. John's Churchyard, near the south-east wall, under a plain limestone tomb, which bears the following inscription:—

I. H. S.
In this Sepulchre are deposited
The remains of the Right Revd.
Dennis Conway, Roman
Catholic Bishop of Limerick, and
Parish Priest of St. John's Parish in sd.
City, who departed this life on the
19th of June, 1796, in the 75th year of his age.

[1] Vide appendix to Archbishop Butler's *Justification of the Tenets of the Roman Catholic Religion.*

[2] Vide Report of Commissioners of Endowed Schools, etc.

Previously to the death of Dr. Conway, and owing to his increasing infirmities, the Holy See appointed the Right Rev. John Young, bishop of Maxula, *in partibus infidelium*, and Coadjutor-Bishop of Limerick, and he was consecrated on Whit-Monday, the 20th of May, 1793, at St. Mary's chapel, Limerick, by the Most Rev. Dr. Bray, Archbishop of Cashel, assisted by the Right Rev. Dr. Conway, Bishop of Limerick, Right Rev. Dr. MacMahon, the venerable Bishop of Killaloe, the Right Rev. Dr. Egan, Bishop of Waterford, the Right Rev. Dr. Moylan, Bishop of Cork, the Right Rev. Dr. Teahan, Bishop of Kerry, and the Right Rev. Dr. Coppinger, Bishop of Cloyne. Dr. Young was a native of the city of Limerick, and one of its most distinguished and illustrious citizens, whether we regard his great learning, his extraordinary zeal and piety, or the deep interest he took in every measure calculated to advance the best interests of religion and of his country. He was one of the sons of William Young and of Mary Cahill, respectable citizens of Limerick; he was born in St. John's parish on the 9th of April, 1746; was baptized on the 10th of that month; was sent, after his preparatory studies, to Louvain, where he matriculated in 1765; he defended his thesis, and took the degree of A.M. in that university on the 11th October in 1770; was ordained subdeacon in December, 1768; on the 23rd of September, 1769, deacon; September 23rd, 1770, priest; deputed missionary to Ireland, 1771; was curate of St. John's, and Dean and Parish Priest of St. Mary's. His first appointment as parish priest was to that of Bruff, and he was consecrated bishop, as we have just noticed, on the 20th of May, 1793.[1] Called to the active and onerous duties of the episcopacy in troubled and anxious times—in times of great peril likewise, Dr. Young at all times acted with prudence, firmness, and independence, which formed the most prominent features of his exalted character. He showed a bold front to the oppressors of his country on the one hand, whilst on the other he resolutely set his face against the wild and delusive schemes which just at this critical juncture were set afloat by the unhappy policy which resulted a few years afterwards in the horrors and atrocities of '98. He subscribed to the defence fund which was raised in Limerick when the French again menaced an invasion of Ireland. He became an active member of the defence committee which was formed for that purpose; and he thus showed that true and ardent patriotism, the deepest attachment to his religion, the purest piety, and the widest charity, were not inconsistent with loyalty to the throne and a deference to laws which, even yet, scarcely recognized the legal existence of Catholics, and which then proscribed and outraged the Catholic priesthood and hierarchy.

One of his earliest acts was to establish a school in Newgate Lane for female poor children, which was presided over with sedulous care by Miss Mary Anne Young, one of his gifted sisters, who not only taught the poor children of St. Mary's parish, but clothed them, and even to this day her name is held in deserved honour in the memories of the poor. The bishop published a catechism for the use of the children of the diocese, which went through several editions, and this catechism was printed in Irish and in English.[2] Dr. Young also published two or three editions of the *Statuta*

[1] Memoranda in pencil in a fly-leaf of the Conway Correspondence.

[2] Dr. Young had these catechisms, etc., printed by Messrs. John and Thomas McAuliff, of Quay Lane, who printed and published, besides, many Catholic books which had the seal of his lordship's approval.

Dioecesis Limericensis, to which he affixed a brief memoir of the life of the Right Rev. Dr. O'Keeffe, who, as we have seen, was the first to enact these statutes on the revival of religion after the violation of the treaty of Limerick. In the government of the diocese, Dr. Young was strict and particular, whilst in his demeanour to all classes, he was kindly, cheerful, and affable. He won the affections by a charming manner, and preserved that dignity which became the scholar and the prelate, without effort or affectation. Devoted to books, he read copiously and profitably; his reading embraced every variety of subject connected with theology, the Scriptures, canon law, the classics, history, ancient and modern, antiquities, etc.; and his annotations on the books in his own as well as in the diocesan library, are, in some instances, extant, and show the extent and versatility of his information on almost every subject connected with sacred and profane literature. He, as well as the other bishops of Munster, condemned in no measured terms the Rebellion of '98, which the Irish episcopacy and clergy in general resisted with all their combined strength and power. We do not find that he issued a pastoral address to his flock on the subject, at least we have no record of such as was addressed by Dr. Moylan, of Cork, Dr. Hussey, of Waterford, and Dr. Michael Peter MacMahon, of Killaloe,[1] who, at the time continued to reside in Limerick. In all likelihood, Dr. Young did address a pastoral: and that he exerted himself with zeal, skill, vigour, and success, in warning his flock of the danger they incurred, there is no doubt whatever. As we have already seen, he was one of the first in Limerick to insert his name as a subscriber to the large fund that was raised for the defence of the country from the threatened French invasion. Whilst he was loyal to the throne, however, he thought that to afford the government a control over the privileges of the hierarchy in the nomination of bishops, or in any other shape or form, was to be resisted by all honourable means and appliances. He opposed the insidious advances of Mr. Pitt and Lord Castlereagh as well for the subjugation of the Catholic Church as for the destruction of Irish freedom. In January, 1799, a meeting of certain Irish prelates was held in Dublin, at which resolutions were adopted in favour of a state provision for the clergy, and of giving the government a veto on the appointment of the bishops. The name of the Right Rev. John Young does not appear among the names of the prelates who met and resolved on that occasion; but we find him in 1808, at another meeting of the Irish hierarchy held in Dublin in the month of September that year, denouncing the proposed change, and stating in language not to be mistaken or misunderstood, that it was inexpedient to introduce any alteration in the canonical mode hitherto observed in the nomination of Irish Catholic Bishops. On the 24th of February, in the year 1810, another meeting of the Irish hierarchy was held in Dublin, and resolutions to the same effect were adopted. The resolutions of 1808 were not only then confirmed, but their lordships resolved that they neither sought nor desired any other earthly consideration for their spiritual ministry to their flocks, save what the flocks from a sense of religion and duty might voluntarily afford them. We find his name sub-

[1] The episcopal seal of the Right Rev. Dr. MacMahon is in the possession of the Right Rev. Dr. Power, Coadjutor bishop of Killaloe, who was consecrated by the Most Rev. Dr. Leahy, Lord Archbishop of Cashel and Emly, attended by all the bishops of Munster, in Nenagh Catholic church, on Sunday, June 25th, 1865.

scribed also to an address of the prelates which was issued in the same month to the clergy and laity of Ireland, reiterating their former resolutions, and further declaring, that during the captivity of the Pope, who then lay a prisoner in the hands of Napoleon Buonaparte, they would refuse and reprobate all briefs or pretended briefs, rules and rescripts, bearing title as from his Holiness, and purporting to be declaratory of his "free", or of any abdication of the papal office, until His Holiness should enjoy the full exercise of his liberty.

As a friend of education, and one of a family that had afforded so many brilliant members to the Church, Dr. Young, about the year 1805, conceived the design of erecting a college in which students destined for the sacred ministry shouldbe educated.[1] There had been, at Peter's Cell, a small college some time before, but it was too contracted for the increasing requirements of the diocese, and Park College, near Park House, the bishop's residence, was at length erected, to the building of which the Catholic citizens of Limerick contributed cheerfully and liberally. The first president of Park College was Dr. Young, and his lordship was succeeded in the presidency by the Very Rev. Dean Hanrahan, a learned and accomplished dignitary. The Right Rev. Dr. Milner, the vicar-apostolic of the midland district of England, in the course of his tour through Ireland, visited Limerick in 1808, and was hospitably received by Dr. Young, who, to gratify the antiquarian zeal of the learned and gifted historian of Winchester Cathedral, and the indefatigable and chivalrous defender of the faith in various important publications, obtained a clever artist[2] to make a drawing of the mitre and crozier of Cornelius O'Dea, which Dr. Young presented to Dr. Milner, and which Dr. Milner got engraved afterwards for the Archæological Society of London, with a letter-press description, as already stated. It is impossible to estimate the amount of good which the apostolic Dr. Young performed in his time. His name to this day is held in veneration by the people. He was particularly fond also of encouraging local genius, especially painters, and to that encouragement may be attributed the number of excellent paintings which adorned the Catholic churches of Limerick, and some of which are yet in existence.[3] Succumbing at length to illness,

[1] The efforts made by the Irish hierarchy and priesthood were constant and successful for education in ancient, as well as in more modern times.

Two colleges were erected for the native Irish, before Trinity College, Dublin, and founded at Salamanca in 1582.

At the instance of Thomas White, native of Clonmel, one of these was instituted in 1582.

At Alcala in 1590, by do.

At Lisbon and Genoa, in 1595, by do.

At Douai, in 1596.

At Antwerp, in 1600.

At Tournay, 1607.

At Lille, 1610.

At Louvain, 1616.

At Rome, 1625, by *Luke Wadding.*

[2] Mr. John Gubbins.

[3] In Dr. Young's time, viz., in 1808, Mr. Owen Madden, a respectable parishioner of Thomondgate, presented Thomondgate chapel with a painting of the Ascension, by Henry Singleton, A.R.A., for which Mr. Madden gave fifty guineas. It was a beautiful picture, but it has been greatly injured by injudicious cleaning; and about the same time Frederick Prussia Plowman, a clever portrait painter, and student of the R. A. in Sir Joshua Reynolds' time, visited Limerick, and painted, among other subjects, the Virgin and Child, surrounded by Angels, for Father Denis Hogan, O.S.F., and a Crucifixion for him also. These pictures are in the Franciscan church, Henry Street. Plowman painted a first-class portrait of Father Denis Hogan

caused in a great degree by the austerities which he practised, Dr. Young, after a life of intense labour in the episcopacy, died on Wednesday, the 22nd of September, 1813, in the 68th year of his age. His funeral obsequies were attended by all the clergy of the diocese, whose loss was incalculable. The remains of the learned and zealous prelate were carried to the cemetery of St. Patrick's on Saturday, the 25th of that month, where they lay for six or seven years near the site of the ancient church of St. Patrick's, until the vault was built to which they were afterwards consigned, where an humble memorial marks the spot where they rest. An inscription cut on a limestone slab, raised on stone of the same description, on one of the panels of which the episcopal arms of the see of Limerick are brought out in high relief, and all being enclosed by an iron railing, tells who lies beneath:

This Monument was erected at the expense
Of the Parish Clergymen of the Diocese,
To the memory of the Right Rev. John Young,
R.C. Bishop of Limerick, who departed this life
On the 22nd day of September, 1813, in the
68th year of his age, and twentieth year
Of his episcopal dignity. His life
was truly exemplary and apostolical,
He was remarkable for his Piety,
Charity and profound learning.
Humble and mortified in his manner
Of life, he sought only the honour
And glory of God, not the things
Of this life. He died regretted by all his
Clergymen, to whom he was a
Faithful instructor, and lamented
by the poor, to whom he was
a parent and protector.
May his soul rest in peace.

The Right Rev. Dr. Charles Tuohy, a native of the city of Limerick, was the successor of the Right Reverend John Young, immediately on whose universally lamented demise he was elected Vicar-Capitular by the

also. Mr. John Gubbins painted a small picture of the Annunciation, intended for the sacristy, on the order of Mr. James O'Connor, brother of the Right Rev. Daniel O'Connor, O.S.A., Bishop of Saldes—a native of Limerick. Mr. Gubbins copied also for the Dominican convent, where it is at present, from the celebrated picture by Rubens, The Woman accused of Adultery, the original of which is in Sir John Leicester's gallery.

chapter of the diocese of Limerick, and on the 26th of October, 1813, received the greatest number of votes on the election for bishop. He was appointed in Rome in 1814, was consecrated in Cork on 24th of April, 1815, and throughout his episcopal career was held in sincere esteem by the clergy and laity of the diocese over which he presided. The question of the veto continued to be warmly discussed both before and during the episcopacy of Dr Tuohy; and in these discussions, his lordship took a prominent part, always in opposition to the favourers of the government design on the independence of the Church and its pastors. We find him, as Vicar Capitular, in November, 1813, signing the protest of the bishops against the rescript of Quarantotti.

On the 16th of February, in that year, the celebrated rescript of J. B. Quarantotti, Vice-President of the Propaganda, which had been addressed to the Right Rev. Wm. Poynter, Vicar Apostolic of the London district, recommended the amplest submission to the British Minister. It was stated in it that "nothing can be more agreeable to the Apostolic chair than that full concord and mutual confidence should prevail between your government and its Catholic subjects". It went on, "Wherefore we advise all in the Lord, and especially the Catholic bishops, to lay aside all contention, and for the edification of others to set an example of unanimity of sentiment . . . . and if the law be carried which frees the Catholics from the penalties to which they are subjected that they should receive it with satisfaction; . . . but also return the warmest thanks to his Majesty and his most magnificent council for so great a benefit, and show themselves worthy of it". Copies of the rescript were sent to the Irish bishops, who indignantly, and with nearly unanimous accord, rejected it. The bishops met, the clergy throughout the land met, the resolutions against the Quarantotti manifesto were couched in terms of earnest repudiation. A meeting of the parish priests of the diocese of Limerick was held in St. Michael's chapel on Saturday, the 28th of May, 1814, the Very Rev. Charles Tuohy, Vicar Capitular of the diocese, in the chair. Thirty-eight parish priests were present. They resolved "that the rescript of Quarantotti should not be obeyed by the Catholic Church of Ireland, because they considered its principles dangerous to our holy religion, and contrary not only to the decision of the Irish bishops, but to the express sentiments of the Sacred College itself, promulgated in the year 1805". This was unmistakeable. What was called a Catholic aggregate meeting was held on the 7th of September in the same year (1814), William Roche, Esq., in the chair.[1] A series of ambiguous resolutions were passed, and William Roche, John Howley, junr. (the present excellent Sir John Howley, Knight, Sergeant, Q.C., Ex Chairman of Tipperary, etc.), Henry Lyons, and Michael Arthur, Esqrs., were requested to prepare petitions to the legislature in accordance with these ambiguous resolutions, one of which was unmistakably vetoistical, which gave anything but confidence to the people generally, and which are thus spoken of in a periodical of the time:[2]—

"We have noticed these two years past that Limerick is on the decline, its Catholic spirit is evaporating fast, and the *incubus* which lay on Cork seems to have been thrown upon it. We regret this much, and we regret still more that,

[1] Mr. Roche opposed the veto afterwards.

[2] *The Cork Catholic Repertory.*

the people of Limerick seem not to be aware of it. Is a proof wanting? It is furnished by the last meeting—first, by having been miserably attended—secondly, by the very men who are continually framing ambiguous and dangerous resolutions, and who have been hitherto suspected of an inclination to vetoism, being the leaders, nay, the sole managers, and four of the very leaders of those leaders voted to be a standing committee, contrary to the usage of the rest of Ireland. *Close meetings are generally corrupt—they are always suspected—four men can more easily combine than forty.* Open meetings, and every man watching his neighbour, has kept Ireland honest, and saved us from the Veto. Thirdly, the Catholic spirit of Limerick must have evaporated, or they would never have adopted a Veto Resolution. I shall be told they have a Committee of Independence in Limerick, which is a proof of their spirit. They have for the purpose of getting into the Corporation; but if they abandon their religion in this way, they had better spare themselves time and expense, for by taking the present Corporation oaths, or by having the Veto granted, there will be no obstacle to their admission. O Limerick! how art thou fallen? Not one voice raised within thy walls to oppose or to complain of a Veto Resolution!!!—Not one solitary paragraph of a newspaper to remonstrate with thy recreant children!!! —O Limerick!!!—O Limerick!!!—O Limerick!!!—There is but one way off thy disgrace. FLING OFF THOSE WHO HAVE DISGRACED THEE!!!"[1]

The agitation against the *veto* became now fiercer than ever. The Right Rev. Dr. Milner threatened to resign his office into the hands of His Holiness if the veto were persevered in. Cardinal Gonsalvi at length arrived in London on a message of congratulation to the Prince Regent, and avowed that he never had heard of the rescript until he came to London. His Holiness denounced the entire scheme, of which Quarantotti was the instrument, to serve the interests of certain of those Catholics in England and Ireland, who did not care how much the Church was enslaved, so that their own ends were gained and their interests promoted. The name of Dr. Tuohy is found in all the protests against the measure.

But it was not in his public acts as protesting against the conduct of the government and its partizans, that Dr. Tuohy signalized himself. One of the greatest boons that ever had been conferred on the Catholics of Limerick was mainly attributable to his exertions. He conceived the design of calling to the aid of the education of the poor the invaluable services of the Christian Brothers. The order had been for some few years established in Waterford by its eminent founder, Mr. Edmond Rice; and the great benefit it had conferred on that city was sufficient to induce the bishop to invite Mr. Rice to Limerick, in order that he might establish his order in the city. Accordingly, in June, 1816, the Schools in Sexton Street[2] and in Clare Street, Limerick, were established by Mr. Rice, who sent Mr. Grace and other Christian Brothers to take charge. The year previous, namely on the 1st of January, 1815, a bell was for the first time erected in the parochial church of St. Michael's, which, though built thirty-six years before, had not been furnished with a bell, though six or seven years before a bell was hung over the dwelling of the Franciscan Fathers in Newgate Lane.

Dr. Tuohy lived to witness many great changes in the position and prospects of the people of Ireland, and it must be said that he aided the

[1] The number of these gentlemen in all was thirty-nine, and they went by the comical name of the thirty-nine articles afterwards.

[2] The locality of these extensive schools, etc., is now called St. Michael's Place.

struggles of clergy and people with an undivided heart and a resolute spirit. He was gifted with much wisdom. Besides his numerous other accomplishments, he possessed a taste for music. While parish priest of Rathkeale, the people there entered into certain resolutions against the payment of more than a very trivial and insufficient sum to the pastor as dues at weddings, baptisms, etc. At a large wedding in Rathkeale, when the collection for the priest was being made, each person handed in a shilling, with a dogged determination to give no more. The good pastor took the money in the best humour, and asking the instrument from a performer who was at the feast, he played many airs with a sweetness and truth which were felt by every heart. At length, having concluded, he took the plate, saying, "As you have not paid the priest, I am sure you will not forget the musician". This was enough. Every one present experienced a sense of the injustice that had been done, and the utter folly and impropriety of the resolutions. Those who had come to refuse, and who did refuse, were the first to contribute liberally—a considerable sum of money was cheerfully given to the wise and zealous pastor, and from that time forward there was an end to the combination against paying the priest, not only in Rathkeale, but everywhere else throughout the diocese where the bad spirit had prevailed. Dr. Tuohy lived on the best terms with the Protestant bishop, Dr. Jebb;[1] and the latter spoke in the most earnest and cordial terms of Dr. Tuohy on several occasions, particulary in reference to his exertions against the Whiteboys. Dr. Tuohy died on the 13th of March, 1828, and was interred like his predecessor, in the ancient cemetery of St. Patrick's, where his remains were placed in the same vault with those of Dr. Young, and where no inscription marks the place of his sepulture.

A few years previous to the death of Dr. Tuohy, his lordship had called on the Court of Rome to issue a mandate for the election of a coadjutor to assist him in the weighty cares which had pressed so severely and anxiously on him. Dr. Tuohy desired that the Very Rev. W. A. O'Meara, Provincial of the Franciscan order, a native of Limerick, but then resident in Cork, should be his coadjutor, and forwarded his name to Rome. Finally, however, after some demurring on the part of a portion of the secular clergy, the Holy See thought fit, after due deliberation, to refer the question to the Most Rev. Dr. Laffan, Archbishop of Cashel, who selected for the high dignity the Rev. John Ryan, a priest of the archdiocese of Cashel, and a native of the parish of Thurles, county of Tipperary, and who had been parish priest of Doon. Dr. Ryan received the rudiments of his education in Thurles, and at an early age was sent by the Most Rev. Doctor Bray, Archbishop of Cashel, to Maynooth College, where he became a distinguished contemporary of many of those admirable ecclesiastics who were destined in after years to fill exalted places in the church. Called to the episcopacy as coadjutor bishop to the Right Rev. Dr. Tuohy, the consecration of the Right Rev. Dr. Ryan took place in the old parish Church of St. John's on the 11th of December, 1825. Though his predecessors had done much for the advancement of religion, it remained for Dr. Ryan not only to perfect the glorious work in which

[1] In 1821, Bishop Jebb, who might often be seen arm-in-arm with some Catholic priest or other, addressed the people after Mass from the altar of the Roman Catholic church of Murroe, with a view to dissuade them from secret societies. The congregation were affected to tears.—Forster's *Life of Jebb.*

they had indefatigably laboured, but to extend to every part of his extensive diocese the most enduring monuments of that ardent love for the faith with which every action of his lordship's episcopal career proved that his soul was inspired. A native of the archdiocese of Cashel, it was not to be wondered at that his appointment by the Holy See to the mitre of Limerick was not regarded in the commencement with favour by a portion of the clergy. But no sooner had he undertaken the great and important duties inseparable from his office, than every symptom of coolness and prejudice gave way. He was blessed with a clear judgment, with admirable tact and impartiality. His conscientious sense of justice was universally admitted, so that those who might not at first have looked upon his elevation with favour became the most ardent among his admirers, the most attached among his friends. All were unanimous in awarding him the most earnest and unequivocal praise. The chains by which the liberties of our countrymen were fettered, had not been broken for some few years after Dr. Ryan's accession to the episcopal throne of Limerick. Catholics were excluded from every office of trust and emolument in the state: the old religion was banned, whilst bishops, priests, and people were looked upon in no other light than as helots in the land of their birth. To obtain emancipation was the Herculean labour to which O'Connell had been devoting his unparalleled resources; and, though naturally adverse to agitation, the good cause had no more earnest friend than Dr. Ryan, who gave not only his sympathy, but his support to the efforts of his co-religionists to place themselves on an equality with their fellow-subjects throughout the empire. In the measure of emancipation, at length granted, no one more cordially rejoiced than Dr. Ryan.

Once freed from the odious trammels to which hostile legislation had for so protracted a period of gloom, despondency, and terror consigned them, he saw that Irish Catholics, placed at length on an equality with their Protestant fellow-countrymen, were prepared to vie with them for the supremacy in every field, and often to win the palm of precedence from those who had so long with impunity trampled upon them, with contumely and scorn. The progress of religion went hand-in-hand with political freedom. A desire to show forth the results of the independence they had achieved, soon took possesssion of the Catholic heart and intellect; and giving a right direction to the impulse, the Right Rev. Dr. Ryan soon found means not only to extend the blessings of religion and education throughout every parish of his diocese, but to establish and endow convents, to build churches, to advance the position of his devoted clergy, and to obtain from all that unqualified respect and devotion which accompanied his footsteps wherever he went, and which must have been a solace to him in every one of his undertakings. He felt his task an easy one, whether it was to erect a church or build a cathedral, because it was a pleasure—a delight—to aid him in every way. He had only to ask and to obtain, because he was wise, right-hearted, and true; and thus it was that nothing impeded him—that when he spoke, a satisfactory answer was given. Thus, though in the year 1825 there was but one small conventual establishment for nuns in the city of Limerick, and we believe we are correct in stating not one elsewhere throughout the diocese, there are now five convents in the city, including the Presentation, the Order of Mercy, (2), the Good Shepherd, the Faithfu companions, (Laurel Hill), whilst elsewhere in the diocese there are several. In the life of Madame D'Houet, foundress of the

order of the Faithful Companions, a tribute of just praise is bestowed upon Dr. Ryan and the Very Rev. Dean Cussen for the wonderful services conferred on the great educational project in which that holy nun was engaged; and the first convent of the order in Ireland was established in Limerick, the splendid convent of Laurel hill, which has been recognised since its formation as a leading educational establishment of the first class for young ladies.[1] In Bruff, the convent of St. Mary's was founded in 1856, and in a few years afterwards, owing to the extraordinary sacrifices and exertions of the Very Rev. Dean Cussen, a new and beautiful convent was built, which has attained a first-class position as an educational establishment.[2] The open sincerity of Dr. Ryan's heart shone in those features which, even in death, had much grace and benignity impressed upon them. In 1825 there were but few schools in the city and diocese. The Christian Brothers had been but a short time before introduced by his excellent predecessor, Dr. Tuohy. Dr. Ryan not only gave them every encouragement, but he afforded them facilities by which they could extend their usefulness, increase the number of schools, and bring to the child of every poor person in the city all the advantages of an excellent education. As to higher schools, they were extremely few thirty or even twenty years ago in Limerick. By the earnest zeal of Dr. Ryan for the promotion of education among the better-to-do classes of Catholics, the Jesuit Fathers have been introduced there, and their college at this moment is one of the most flourishing in the south of Ireland. It was by Dr. Ryan that the unwearied and indefatigable Redemptorist Fathers, the sons of St. Alphonsus, have been introduced to bestow the inestimable blessings and benefits of their most pious labours on a people who know how to look upon them with deserved reverence and affection. As if by magic, too, he raised up the grand Cathedral of St. John's, having only sought assistance, and in a moment his most sanguine expectations being more than realised.

In addition to his other admirable traits of character, Dr. Ryan was an ardent friend of temperance, as he was of its apostle, the illustrious Father Mathew, who ever spoke of him in the kindest possible terms, as of a prelate who was among the very first to invite him to leave Cork and administer the pledge to the millions.

Thus Dr. Ryan went on, increasing in years, and not the less increasing in good works and in the veneration of his people; and though with the majority of that people in some of their struggles he did not accord, this fact did not lessen or weaken their love for him, who was ever tolerant and liberal himself, and never yet was known to quarrel with others for

[1] *Vie de Madame De Bonnault D'Houet*, Paris, 1863. Madame D'Houet also bestowed praise on the late Rev. William Bourke, the active and zealous administrator of St. John's, and afterwards parish priest of Bruree. His remains are interred in St. John's Cathedral, which he exerted himself with wonderful assiduity to build.

[2] The Very Rev. Robert Cussen, P.P., V.G., Dean of Limerick, died in London on the 13th of May, 1865, after a short illness. He was a most learned, exemplary, zealous, pious, and truly excellent ecclesiastic in every particular. He had reached only his 65th year, and hopes were entertained that he would live for many years, an ornament to the ecclesiastical state, and a source of support and strength to the educational institutions in which he took so deep an interest. Dean Cussen's remains were conveyed for interment to his parish of Bruff, where, amid the lamentations of his sincerely attached parishioners and the deep regrets of the religious and pupils of St. Mary's Convent, they were consigned to their last resting-place within the church of Bruff, in which he had so long, so faithfully, and so well ministered. Dean Cussen was a native of the city of Limerick, and he may be ranked amongst the truly learned and estimable of her sons. The Very Rev. Archdeacon O'Brien, P.P., V.G., Newcastle West, succeeded Dr. Cussen as dean, by Papal rescript, dated July 27th, 1865. The Very Rev. James O'Rourke, P.P., Patrick's Well, was appointed archdeacon at the same time by Papal rescript.

entertaining opinions different from his, but gave the fullest credit to those who entertained views opposite to his own on public affairs. As we have said, though constitutionally adverse to agitation, there was no prelate in the land who gave larger toleration to the views of others; and it cannot, in this brief and hasty sketch of his career, be omitted to state that the great O'Connell, on the very last occasion he ever visited Limerick, took occasion not only to make the most particular inquiries after the health of the Right Rev. Dr. Ryan, but to request the Right Rev. Dr. Whelan, who accompanied him, to make a special visit to Park House in his (the Liberator's) name to pay Dr. Ryan his compliments, the Liberator being unable to go himself.

He breathed his last on the 6th of June, 1864. After his death, the body, robed in episcopal costume, with purple rochet and cross, etc., was laid out in the lower reception room of his residence, Park House, where, in the course of the afternoon, very many of the citizens proceeded to pay the sad tribute of their respect to all that was mortal of one who for so long a spaceof time was amongst them, a model of everything that was calculated to make man estimable.

The remains of the lamented prelate were borne to the Cathedral of St. John's, in solemn procession, from his residence. The Bishop, the Right Rev. Dr. Butler, the clergy, the members of the various public bodies of the city, corporation, chamber of commerce, religious societies, the children of the Christian Brothers' and Presentation Convent and Sisters of Mercy Schools, etc., were in the procession in mourning.

The body of the deceased Bishop lay in state in the Cathedral of St. John's, where, after the procession on Tuesday evening, it was received by the Right Rev. Dr. Butler, and where thousands thronged to pay their last sad tribute of respect to the remains of a bishop who, for the greatest part of half a century, had lived amongst them. Four of the clergy of the cathedral, including the Very Rev. the Administrator, were present throughout the night. The solemn appearance of the cathedral, clothed in black drapery, and lighted with gas pendants, gasaliers, and wax candles, was in perfect keeping with the solemnity of the occasion.

The arms of the diocese—the mitre, the pastoral staff and crozier, were placed in front of the great organ gallery, which, with the noble organ, were all draped in black. The pillars of the church were in alternate black and yellow drapery of cloth, and had a very good effect. Between the arches of each pillar festooned curtains of black cloth were arranged. On the following (Wednesday) morning, from the very earliest hour, clergymen from all parts of the diocese poured into the city, and proceeded to the cathedral, where they celebrated mass. The lid of the coffin was closed down on the remains of the good bishop, on which was the following inscription on a brass plate:

RIGHT REV. JOHN RYAN,
LORD BISHOP OF LIMERICK,
Died
ON THE 6TH OF JUNE, 1864,
IN THE 81ST YEAR OF HIS AGE,
and 39th of his bishopric.

At eleven o'clock A.M. the cathedral was crowded, and the solemn tones of the organ were awakened in the dirge notes, and immediately after that hour began the procession of the clergy, etc., headed by the Lord Archbishop of Cashel and Emly, who had come to pay his respects to the memory of his old and sincere friend, Dr. Ryan, the Lord Bishop of Limerick, the Lord Bishop of Bombay, entered the choir, preceded by acolytes and cross-bearers. After the usual solemn services, the coffin was lowered into the vault prepared for it, opposite the great altar in the cathedral of St. John's. Thus were laid in the grave the mortal remains of the venerable bishop who for nearly forty years had governed the see of Limerick with prudence, justice, and liberality, and who was one of the most munificent benefactors to the many convents and religious institutions which are now established throughout the diocese.

In the year 1860, then grown old, and well nigh unable to undergo the cares of duty, the Right Rev. Dr. Ryan had called upon the Holy See to issue its rescript for the election of a Coadjutor Bishop. Accordingly on the 2nd of May in that year, the parish priests met in the old church of St. John's, and forwarded to the court of Rome the names of the Very Rev. Dr. George Butler, Dean of the Diocese of Limerick, and P.P. of St. Mary's; the Very Rev. Dr. Robert Cussen, V.G. and P.P. of Bruff; the Very Rev. John Brahan, V.G., P.P., Newcastle West; the Very Rev. Dr. O'Reilly, S.J., and the Very Rev. Dr. Kirby, President of the Irish College in Rome. The Holy See at length thought fit to select the Right Rev. Dr. George Butler, the present Bishop of Limerick, to whom all his acquaintances wish a long life of happiness unalloyed and continued usefulness in the ancient See of St. Munchin, which has been filled by men of most distinguished lives and services to religion and country. Dr. Butler was born in the city of Limerick in the year 1815. At the age of fourteen years he entered the Diocesan Academy, which was kept by the Rev. Dr. Carey, under the patronage of the Right Rev. Dr. Ryan, where he continued for two years. At the early age of sixteen, the young student was sent to Maynooth College, and went through the whole collegiate course, on the completion of which, in the year 1838, he was placed on the Dunboyne Establishment. Towards the end of that year, the Bishop of Trinidad in the West Indies went to Maynooth for missionaries for his far distant diocese, the climate of which has been proverbially fatal to Europeans. The zealous and ardent youthful ecclesiastic, George Butler, did not hesitate: he, with a few others, including his brother, the Rev. John Butler, then, also on the Dunboyne Establishment, volunteered their services. The brothers were both ordained in Maynooth College in November in that year by the Bishop of Trinidad, the Right Rev. Dr. Smith, and soon afterwards they set sail for that island, in which one of them was destined in a very short time to find an early and glorious grave. The Rev. John Butler lived but nine months after their arrival. The Rev. George Butler resided for two years in Trinidad: during the greater part of the time he was curè or Parish Priest of San Fernando, one of the chief districts of the island. After the premature and lamented death of his brother, the health of the survivor became affected, and within less than a year he had three severe attacks of fever.

Having heard of these circumstances, the Right Rev. Dr. Ryan signified his wish that the Rev. George Butler should return to Limerick. In obedience to that wish—for Dr. Ryan was still his bishop—the young

missionary left the West Indies, and arrived in Limerick towards the end of 1840, when he was appointed to the curacy of St. Patrick's, of which the late lamented Rev. Mathew O'Connor was parish priest. In Saint Patrick's the Rev. George Butler continued curate for four years. He was then appointed to St. John's, where he remained for one year, at the expiration of which he was sent to St. Michael's, where he was curate for twelve years, during the last years of which he was administrator. In 1857 he was appointed parish priest of Saint Mary's and dean of the diocese; and in 1861, on the 25th of July, he was consecrated Bishop of Cidonia *in partibus*, and Coadjutor Bishop of Limerick; the consecrating prelate was the Most Rev. Dr. Leahy, Archbishop of Cashel, assisted by the Bishops of Killaloe and Cloyne. The Lord Archbishop of Dublin, and many of the prelates of Munster and Connaught were present, as was also the Bishop of Bombay, as well as the Archimandrite of Lebanon, all attended by their respective chaplains.

The consecration sermon was preached by the Right Rev. Dr. Moriarty, Bishop of Kerry. On the 6th of June, 1864, on the demise of the Right Rev. Dr. Ryan, the Right Rev. Dr. Butler succeeded to the see of Limerick, of the mitre of which his lordship has in every possible way proved himself preëminently worthy, and which it is universally hoped he may live for very many years to wear.

CHAPTER LX.

THE RELIGIOUS ORDERS.—CATHOLIC CHURCHES.—INSTITUTIONS, ETC.

We shall devote this chapter to an account of those illustrious religious orders, which for so many years have made Limerick famous, and contributed so materially to keep the faith alive in the city.

THE AUGUSTINIANS.

First then in order of time, as in extent of their privileges, come the regular canons of St. Augustine,[1] a distinct order from that of his hermits, and originated in the regular community founded by St. Augustine in his own house. The order of the Hermits of St. Augustine, according to the learned Alban Butler and the ancient writers, dates its foundation from so early an epoch as A.D. 388, when it was established by the great saint himself. The convent of the order of the Hermits of St. Augustine was founded at Limerick in the thirteenth century by O'Brien of the royal race of Limerick and Thomond.[2] Its site is said to have been where the city court-house once stood in Quay Lane. Both Canons and Hermits were branches of the same illustrious order, with which, in Ireland at least, no other could stand in competition, being as great in this country as the Benedictines were in England. There were also ancient foundations of Augustinian nuns in Ireland, and all these foundations for men and women were represented in the city of Limerick, where the Augustinian nuns were called the Canonesses of St. Augustine.

According to Sir James Ware, a priory for regular Canons of St. Augus-

[1] According to many learned writers, the old Irish Culdee monks were the same as the regular canons of St. Augustine, into whose order the ancient monks may have merged. Both the Culdees and secular canons officiated in cathedrals. Dr. Lanigan refers the canons to the *eleventh* century, but is not generally followed.

[2] Bruodin in *Hib. Dom.* p. 749.

tine was founded in the reign of King John, anno 1227, by Simon Minor, a citizen of Limerick, under the invocation of the Blessed Virgin and St. Edward the King and Martyr; and according to this author it was the prior of this house who had the first voice in the election of the Mayor of Limerick, a privilege,[1] according to Archdall, which belonged to the Augustinian Hermits or Austin Friars.

The site of the monastery of the Regular Canons was at the end of the Fish Lane, and near the site of Sir Harry's Mall. It had been rented for some time before its demolition as a fish house by the corporation, the proprietors of the Lax Weir, but not a vestige of it remains at present. It totally disappeared nearly a century since. An inquisition was held into the possessions of this monastery in the 19th Henry VIII;[2] and the grant to Edmond Sexton is set out in the 29th year of that reign.[3] The priors having, as stated, had the principal voice in the city election, occupied a seat in the court house next the mayor. The last prior before the suppression was Patrick Harrold.

In the year 1472, a command was given by the Most Rev. Father Aquila, the General of the Order, that "regular discipline" should be observed in the convent of the Augustinian Hermits; and though in the days of persecution there could hardly have been a regular Augustinian community in Limerick, there can be no question as to the uninterrupted existence of the order in the city. The Augustinian Hermits certainly lived in community in Limerick, even in the reign of George II. The friars occasionally fled, but they invariably returned. The succession, so to speak, was never broken. The possessions of the convent of the Holy Cross, consisting of lands and houses through town and country, were valued at its suppression at £8 6s. 1d., equal to £166 1s. 8d. at present. They are now the property of the Earl of Limerick, to whose

[1] Archdall refers to an inquisition, 37th Elizabeth (A.D. 1595), to prove that the Eremites, not the Canons Regular, had the privilege. Stephen Sexton, while he lived, certainly claimed that privilege in right of that house, but, as appears from the next note, the prior of the Regulars claimed the same right. See next page, text and note. Perhaps the Sextons claimed in right of both houses.

[2] *Inquisitio taken at Lymeric before Nic. Comyn, Mayor, 19th year of King Henry VIII.*

It is found, "That Symon Mynor some time citezen of the cittie of Lymeryk was fondowr of Sayntt Mary hows in the worsippe off the Blessytt Virgin, Saynt Mary, and Sayntt Edward, Kynge and Martyr. The Prior Sir John Fox lefthe in the sayd hows a challs, that stands in Stywyn Creaghe is handes, to pledge of the sayd Prior for the som of 30s. The jury say thei found on the hey aulter of the forsayd Saynt Mary hows a table of alabaster, 4 candelstykes, a senc. toy payr cruetts, 21 bouks grett and small, holy water stok, a payr organys, * * * 18 tapers wex, try cowpyr crossyr, 3 westymettes, a grett bell, 2 small bells, 3 doss bowls, 2 old coffyrs, * * * beds, a standynge bed, 3 old surplices, a lydge table, 3 small tablys, 6 tastelles, 2 chayres, 2 candelstykes, 2 broches, a hangynge candylstick, a plateyr, 2 pattengs, a brass poth, 2 * * * 3 lowys of glas, a lydge trestell, and 5 fowrmys or beuss, whiche were found both in the chirche and hall of the sayd Sayntt Mary hows. That the Prior had the firste w ys eleccyon of Mayor, Ballyffes, * * * er, the Kynges Officerys in the sayd citie and sath nexth the Mayor, wt. in the tolse the days off eleccon in chossyng suche officeres . . . hawing no room nexth the Mayr nether among the Consayll nor statt but only the sayd days . . . wt. in the tolse, and was not of the Consayll of the citie ne wyr theles he had chyfthe and Mayr as a Mayr ys pyr beryng there for as any other Mayr is pyr and nown other.

September 28th 1537.

[3] A grant to Edmond Sexten by Privy Seal, to the King's well beloved servant Edmond Sexten Sewer of his Chamber of the Monastery, Priory or Cell of St. Mary-house, the cite ambit or ground thereof, and all Lordships, Manors, Lands, Advowsons of Churches, Tythes, Chapels, Chantries, etc., spiritual and temporal thereto belonging, within the precinct of the city or in the county of Limerick, in as large and ample manner as Sir Patrick Harrold late Prior had the same together with the goods and utensils thereof, To hold to the heirs male of his body by the service of one Knight's fee, with directions for a Commission to issue for dissolution of said Monastery.—*Inrolled, Rolls Office, Dublin, 29th year of Henry VIII.*

ancestor, Edmond Sexton, they were granted. White's MSS. assert that, from the ruins of the monastery of the Canons Regular, the Irish fired upon the soldiers of King William, as they approached the city from the heights of Park.

In 1691, we find there were a community and convent in Limerick, De Burgo alludes to a lawsuit between the Prior of the convent of St. Augustine, in Limerick, and one William Lysaght, as to the possession of their convent. In that year, the Prior was the celebrated Bernard O'Kennedy, subsequently Provincial of the Order in Ireland. He afterwards fled to Spain from the horrors of the persecution of William III., where he died in 1704. In a letter which he wrote a little before his death to the province of Ireland, for he was then the Provincial, he states that he left in trust with a friend in Ireland, a chalice and suit of vestments for the convent of Limerick, which is a proof that a convent had been there before his departure from Ireland. We find that almost all the regular clergy, notwithstanding the numbers banished in 1698, continued in their native land. It was not, however, until the end of the reign of George I., that regular clergy began to live in community and to erect chapels in the principal towns in Ireland. In the next reign, as before mentioned, and for the last century, we find the Augustinians living in community in Limerick.

In 1736 the Dominicans and Franciscans of Limerick applied to Dr. O'Keeffe, the bishop, for redress against the Hermits of St. Augustine, who, as they alleged, had settled themselves in the city without having any title for so doing, asserting they never had a convent of their order in the city. The bishop, attended by his secular clergy, often examined both parties on the merits of this affair, and ultimately passed sentence against the Augustinians. The Augustinians appealed to Cashel, and from thence to the Primate of Armagh. The Dominicans and Franciscans would not acknowledge the Primate's jurisdiction in Limerick, and therefore they appealed to the Sacred Congregation *de Propaganda;* but notwithstanding their appeal, the Primate's commissary in absence of the contending parties, pronounced a sentence of absolution in favour of the Augustinians, who, by virtue thereof, opened their chapel, and ever since continued to officiate in the city. In some time after, the Augustinians produced a decree of the Holy Congregation, declaring their censures suspended *usque ad exitum causae;* they required this decree in their favour to be published in all the chapels, which Dr. John Lehy, the Vicar-General, refused doing, as the Congregation did not send the decree to him. However, the Augustinians still continued to have their chapel open and officiated in town equally with the rest of the friars in 1755.[1]

In 1778 the Hermits of St. Augustine erected a neat chapel and chapel-house in Creagh Lane, which they occupied until 1823. Their community were never less than three, and were sometimes four. Their chapel was the first in the city in which an organ was erected.

The removal of the community from Creagh Lane to George's Street, which occurred in 1823, was occasioned by the pressing demands for increased accommodation, and by an opportunity which now occurred of purchasing the new theatre, which had been recently built, in consequence

[1] White's MSS. The MSS. particulars of the controversy are extant. Fitzgerald states that the question in dispute was "set at rest for ever in 1739 or 1740, by the Canons Regular of St. Augustine ceding to the said Hermits all their rights, privileges, and immunities".

of the burning of the old one, and which was now brought to the hammer for the liquidation of arrears of debt. The theatre had been built by subscription in 1810, at the expense of £4,000,. but the Very Rev. Father Cronin, the prior, aided by public liberality, purchased it for £400, and having insured the premises, employed an architect to make such alterations as would fit it for the service of religion. In negociating this purchase the prior was assisted by the Rev. D. O'Connor, now Bishop of Saldes, a distinguished member of the order, and in a few weeks, the work having been complete, the church was opened with great solemnity, and consecrated by the bishop of the diocese, the Right Rev. Dr. Tuohy, the sermon being preached by the celebrated Dr. Doyle, Bishop of Kildare and Leighlin, who was himself an Augustinian, and whose successful appeal on this occasion considerably assisted to liquidate the building debt. The alterations and improvements cost about £600 in addition to the purchase money. The interior is about ninety feet in length and sixty in breadth. The gallery is supported by metal columns and is in the form of a horseshoe. The new and costly altar of marble, etc., is ornamented by the fine painting of the Ascension by the celebrated artist, Timothy Collopy, a native of the city, of whom we have already written fully (see p. 344). This excellent church is principally lighted from the roof.

Of the fathers of the convent who have always been held in deserved respect by the citizens of Limerick, it is only necessary to mention the names of the Very Rev. Thos. Walsh, the Very Rev. Augustine Aylmer, the. Rev. Patrick Green, the Rev. Thos. Connolly, the Very Rev. Father Stephen Egan, and the truly estimable Father Augustine Cronin, who were all distinguished for piety, learning, and amiability. Father Walsh, who built the old convent about one hundred years ago, was Provincial of his Order, lived to the age of ninety years, and said Mass every day almost to his death. Father Cronin, who was the principal means of removing the convent from the old to the new town, did great service to religion by the establishment of confraternities. He died regretted by all who knew him in 1835.[1]

The following is an accurate list of the priors from 1760 to 1865:

1760—	Very	Rev.	Thomas Walsh.
1770	„	„	James Byrne.
1778	„	„	Thomas Walsh.
1786	„	„	Augustine Aylmer.
1811	„	„	Stephen Egan.
1815	„	„	John Augustine Cronin.
1819	„	„	Stephen Egan.
1823	„	„	John Augustine Cronin.
1835	„	„	Robert Dore.
1839	„	„	James Dundon.
1843	„	„	Robert Dore.
1855	„	„	James Dundon.
1859	„	„	Robert Dore.
1863	„	„	James Dundon, the present prior, 1865.

[1] The Very Rev. Fathers Egan and Cronin are interred in the old vault on the north side of St. Patrick's churchyard. The former died on the 26th of June, 1832, aged 75 years; the latter on the 23rd February, 1835, aged 54 years.

The Canonesses of St. Augustine had a nunnery in Limerick, founded by King Donald O'Brien in 1171, and dedicated to St. Peter, whence its name of Peter's Cell. It stood near the town wall, at the lower end of Pump Lane or Peter Street. After the suppression, it became the property of Lord Milton. The dissenters of Limerick rented their chapel from him until 1798. A handsome house was afterwards built on its site, which, with its fine garden, became the residence of Madame O'Dell. This order had also three other establishments in the county, viz., at Cluan-Credhail, founded in the sixth century by St. Ita; at Kilsane, founded by MacSheehy, an Irish gentleman, and dedicated to St. Catherine; and at Monaster-na-Calliaghduff, in the parish of Roberstown, barony of Shanid, founded by the Clangibbons in the thirteenth century. The Knights Templars had a house in Quay Lane, and a Commandery at Newcastle, of which there are still some remains. The Knights of St. John of Jerusalem had a house at Adare, and a preceptory at Any, both founded in the thirteenth century, by Geoffry de Maurisco: they had also another establishment at Hospital.

THE DOMINICANS.

Next in order of time are the Dominicans, whose monastery was situated within and close by the walls of Limerick, on the north-east of the city, in a delightful situation, and not far from the waters of the Abbey River.

According to the Book of the Friars Preachers of Limerick,[1] the first founder of the monastery of Limerick of the Friars Preachers was Donough Carbraigh O'Brien, who is said to have obtained from St. Dominic some of his religious to preach amongst the Irish. It is asserted by certain of the Dominican writers that St. Dominic himself visited Ireland.[2] This Donough Carbraigh, as appears in the ancient calendar and necrology of the monastery aforesaid, died on the 8th day of March in the year of our Lord 1241. So that between the confirmation of the order of St. Dominic, which was confirmed by Honorius III., Sovereign Pontiff, in 1216, and the death of the aforesaid founder, there intervened twenty-five years. The monastery and church were dedicated to St. Saviour. Of the founder there occur in the margin of the calendar, after the last day of the month, the following words:—

Here lies Lord Donough Carbraigh O'Brien, a valiant leader in arms, Prince of Thomond, made a knight by the King of England, who caused to be built the Church of the Friars of the Order of Preachers, who died on the 8th day of the month of March, A.D. 1241: on whose soul may the Lord have mercy. Amen. Let each devoutly say a Pater and Ave.

This is confirmed by O'Heyne[3] and De Burgo.[4]

Sir James Ware states that in his time the statue and the church existed, but after the two sieges of Limerick in 1650 and 1691, nothing remained of the tomb or the statue, and of the church and monastery there are only a few walls standing, which, by lancet windows of great altitude, and the *debris* of stone-work and tracery which now lie scattered in confusion about the convent of the Sisters of Mercy, tell what the monastery and

[1] Sloane MSS. in British Museum, 4793.
[2] *Tenda, Malvenda, etc.*
[3] *Chronological Epilogue.*
[4] *Hib. Dom.*

church had been in their days of splendour. It is said that the soldiers of King William broke in pieces the statue of Donough Carbraigh, who was a very religious and devout prince, having built 80 churches, abbeys, and chapels (according to MacBrody's *Chronicles*). The Abbey of Ennis for Franciscans was one of the first he built. He also erected an academy or seminary for learning at Clonroad, near Ennis, where, according to many authentic writers, six hundred scholars and a great many monks were frequently supported at the proper expense of the O'Brien family, until the reign of Henry VIII. of England, when the dissolution of abbeys, seminaries, etc., etc., commenced.[1]

It was he who also built the noble Cistertian Monastery of Holy Cross in the County of Tipperary. Ware states that he was interred in Killaloe; but it is positively asserted by O'Heyne and others that he was buried in the Dominican Convent which he founded in Limerick. In the church of the same monastery was buried Hubert de Burgo, Bishop of Limerick, who died on the 15th of September, 1250. Hubert's ancestor was called *pugnator*, the "expugnator", because after his arrival in Ireland with Henry II., he subjected Connaught to the power of its new masters. He married, in the first instance, a daughter of the King of England, and afterwards a daughter of the great Donald O'Brien, who was the last king of Cashel.[2] There were, besides, three bishops of Killaloe buried in this monastery, namely, Donald O'Kennedy, in the year 1252, Mathew O'Hoghain in the month of August, 1281, and Mathew MacCrath on the 1st of September, 1391. There were also interred in the same monastery the following bishops of Kilfenora: Christianus, in the year 1254, Simon O'Currin in the year 1303, and Maurice O'Brien, in the year 1321. The fact of Hubert's burial in the Dominican Friary is stated in the ancient calendar of the order, and in the *Black Book*, whilst in confirmation of the fact as to the interment of the six bishops, we have it on the authority of an ancient sepulchral inscription which existed formerly in the archives of the monastery, and which was preserved in Latin, and which is in the Book of the Friars Preachers above quoted, the translation of which is thus given in Ware's *Bishops*:

Six prelates here do lie, and in their favour
I beg your friendly prayers to Christ our Saviour;
Who in their lifetime for this house did work,
The first of whom I name was HUBERT BURKE,
Who graced the see of Limerick, and MATTHEW,
With DONALD, Bishops both of KILLALOE;
CHRISTIAN and MAURICE I should name before,
And SIMON, Bishops late of FENABORE.
Therefore, kind Father, let not any soul
Of these good men be lodged in the black hole.
You who read this, kneel down in humble posture,
Below three AVES say one PATER NOSTER.
Whoever for the soul sincerely prays,
Merits indulgence for a hundred days;
And you, who read the verses on this stone,
Bethink yourself, and make the case your own;

[1] John Loyd's *History of Clare*.

[2] De Burgo, *Hib. Domin.*

Then seriously reflect on what you see,
And think on what you are now, and what you'll be;
Whether you 're greater, equal, less, you must,
As well as these, be crumbled into dust.

In 1279, according to King, a general chapter of the order was held there. On the 13th of January, 1330, a "liberate" was issued for the sum of thirty-five marcs, for the payment of one year's pension to the Dominicans of Limerick, Dublin, Drogheda, Cork, and Waterford.[1] Nine liberates had been issued. In 1340 Gerald Rochfort, a renowned knight, and head of his sept, died on the 29th of March, and according to Ware was interred here.

About this time, according to the Arthur MSS., Martin Arthur built a magnificent peristyle of marble to the church of St. Saviour in Limerick.

1345, John O'Grady, Treasurer of Cashel, and for a time Rector of O'Griffin, in the diocese of Killaloe, succeeded by the election of Dean and Chapter to the Archbishopric of Cashel, and having procured recommendatory letters from the King to the Pope (dated 10th October, 1331) was by his provision placed in that see (Cashel) in 1332. "A mark", says Hogan, the author of the Annals of Nenagh "of great wisdom and industry". He died in Limerick on the 8th day of July, 1345, in the *Dominican habit*, and was buried there in a monastery of that order. He made many donations to his church, and in that particular gave it a large pastoral staff.[2]

Indeed, according to the book of the Friars Preachers already referred to,[3] the Dominican monastery of Limerick was famous, among many other circumstances, for being the place of interment of illustrious Irishmen in olden days. It was there, it adds, that its founder Domcad Cuirbrioc Obrian, as we have already stated, was buried. It was the place of sepulture, according to the same calendar, of De Burgo, alias Burcad "Dux et Capitaneus",[4] as well as of many other distinguished leaders of the Irish nation, who chose it as their last resting place. Many of the Geraldines were buried there, as we learn on the same authority, and their anniversaries were commemorated with due solemnity, as is set forth in the authority in question. The second founder of this convent, viz., James Fitz John Earl of Desmond, was buried there in 1462, and it is recorded that the Friars Preachers were obliged to celebrate a yearly mass for his own soul, and for the souls of his parents and of his wife, and of his successors and their wives. There also, furthermore, was interred the "Dux et Capitaneus" MacNamara, alias Foilbeama,[5] who died in 1503. The sept of the O'Ryans had a tomb there also, and the Dux et Capitaneus of the sept, viz., Thaddeus Fitz Dermot O'Ryan, who is named in the ancient calendar Tuos Mc Riann Meall,[6] was interred there, as were also many Roches, otherwise Roirdé, whose Dux et Capitaneus was Gerald de Rupe Forti, a famous soldier, and able and strong in arms, who was buried there on the 4th Kalend of April, 1349. Many others of the old race and faith were interred there, as we find by the Arthur MSS., which mention several citizens of Limerick who directed that their bodies should rest there. In the year 1504[7] this convent, with others in Ireland, was reformed by the Most Rev. Master of the Order, Vincent Bandello, of Castro Novo in

[1] Archdale's *Monasticon*. [2] Ware. [3] Sloane MSS. in British Museum, 4793.
[4] The chief of his family is meant by this expression. [5] The warlike
[6] Thaddeus O'Ryan the gentle. [7] De Burgo, *Hib. Dom.*

Lombardy, by his own proper authority, as well as by that of Pope Julius II., and, with four others, it was erected into a university or general study, by the Chapter Generalissimo of the order in 1644. The other places thus favoured were Dublin, Cashel, Athenry, and Coleraine—one for each of the provinces.[1] Thomas Curchaeus was prior, but in what year is not certain. Considerable endowments were formerly bestowed upon this monastery by James Fitzgerald, Earl of Desmond.[2]

Among the remarkable members of the Dominican order of Limerick convent were:—

John Quin, or O'Quin, Bishop of the Diocese of Limerick (see Bishops), Terence Albert O'Brien, the martyr and illustrious Bishop of Emly, of whose martyrdom we have given an account in the history of Ireton's siege; and James O'Hurly, the predecessor of Terence Albert O'Brien in Emly.

There were many others also who suffered martyrdom, or who became distinguished for their sanctified lives.

There was another house of the order at Six Mile Bridge, in the County of Clare, subject to the Limerick convent, of which de Burgo (*Hib. Dom.*, p. 213) states, he can add nothing to the fact that it existed, except that it is asserted on the authority of O'Heyne, that it was called in Irish Abbhuin O'Gearna,[3] from the name of the river (O'Gearna) which flows into the Shannon, and that it was demolished in the wars of 1641. De Burgo further states that he visited the site in the year 1754, on the 5th of May, and that he could find no vestige whatever of the convent of Six Mile Bridge.

Father John O'Heyne, who is frequently quoted by de Burgo, gives the history of the celebrated Convent of the Dominicans of Limerick, and de Burgo supplements, up to his own time, the annals which O'Heyne began, but died before he could have finished. O'Heyne also wrote the history of the convent of the same illustrious order at Kilmallock. The work is written in Latin, and is called "O'Heyne's Chronological Epilogue"; it is of extreme rarity, and for the extracts from it, in reference to the Dominican Convents of Limerick and Kilmallock, we are indebted to the Very Rev. Dr. Carbery, Prior of St. Saviour's, Limerick, who obtained them from the only copy of the book known to be in Ireland, namely, that in the convent at Esker, County Galway. O'Heyne is said to have been a native of Kilmallock. Having given a succinct account of the foundation of the convent, O'Heyne proceeds to enumerate and give a short history of the many distinguished men who belonged to it from time to time, and among whom, in the first and most distinguished place, stands the Martyr-Bishop of Emly, the great Terence Albert O'Brien of Arragh. Father James Wolfe, the resolute and determined opponent of Cromwell, who was taken while he was celebrating mass, and who was executed in the same year, viz., 1651, in which the sainted Bishop of Emly met his death, was also a member of the same convent. He then tells us of Father Cornelius O'Heyne, who studied in the College of Minerva at Rome, and taught theology for several years in the College of the Dominicans at Lisbon, and was rector of this convent, came to Ireland for subjects for the convent in Lisbon and died there; of another O'Heyne; of Father John de Búrgo, or Burke, who was prior in 1667; of

[1] De Burgo, *Hib. Dom.*, p. 221. [2] Ware, vol. ii. p. 727. [3] River O'Gearna.

Father Philip Wolfe, "a delightful poet, and a wonderful propagator of the devotion of the Rosary"; of Father James Comin, and of Father James Arthur, both of whom, like all the preceding, studied abroad; of Father Cornelius O'Heyne; of Fathers Nicholas Roche, Peter Lacy, Denis O'Gallaher, John Halpin, Francis O'Grady, Patrick Sarsfield, Donatus O'Hehir, John M'Convin, John Magee, Dominick Roche, James Convill, and Thomas O'Hurley, all of whom studied in Spain, in Louvain, in Rome, or in France. Some of these fathers were distinguished abroad; Lacy had a pension from Louis the Great for preaching the faith to heretics, which he did with much fruit. Some were professors of theology or philosophy in colleges abroad. De Burgo visited Limerick in 1754, or in 1756, and states that the following fathers of the convent were then in the city:—

A. R. P. ex-Provincial Fr. Michael Hoare, prior, aged 51 years, of his profession 33 years; A. R. P. Magister Fr. Nicholas Quin, ætat. 41, proff. 18 (sent to Cork, where he was Vicar Provincial of Munster, A.D. 1758); R. P. Præsentatus Fr. Peter MacMahon, ætat. 45 years, proff. 23; P. Fr. Michael O'Loughlen, ætat. 54, proff. 27; and P. Fr. Denis Cahill, ætat. 49, proff. 23 (died in Limerick in the year 1757).

De Burgo, and after him Archdall and Ferrar, state that a portion of the ground had been converted into a tan yard, and a barrack was built on another portion of it. The barrack was built on a part of the site which had been taken by Government in 1679, on a lease for one hundred years. It was capable of containing eight hundred men; it extended two hundred feet in length, and two hundred and ninety feet in breadth, and was strengthened on the east side by a broad deep ditch, etc.[1] This sumptuous monastery had great possessions in and about the City of Limerick, prior to the suppression in the reign of Henry VIII. It had the fishery of the salmon weir at St. Thomas's Island, which, in earlier times, Edward Bishop of Limerick challenged the right of King John to alienate, and for which King John, by way of compromise, granted him ten pounds of silver in free and perpetual alms annually for ever. Monabraher, or the Friar's Bog, near Parteen, belonged to it, as well as several other possessions.

David Brown, Doctor of Divinity in this monastery, having been sent by King Henry VIII. as his envoy to Italy on affairs concerning the state, continued there till the suppression of religious houses, when he returned to this kingdom, where this truly good and exemplary man peacefully ended his days.

Edmond was prior at the time of the general suppression, when he was seized of the site, church, steeple, dormitory, three chambers, a cemetery, sundry closes, containing an acre and a half within the precincts, a garden of four acres without the walls of the monastery, and thirty acres of arable and pasture land called Courttrocke, within the liberties of the city. The site, etc., were valued at 2s., and the garden and land at £5 2s. 0d. sterling yearly.

January 7th, and 35th Henry VIII., this monastery, with the appurtenances thereunto belonging, tithes excepted, and thirty acres of land, were granted to James Earl of Desmond, *in capite*, at the yearly rent of 5s. 2d. sterling.

And an inquisition taken 23rd August, 1623, finds that James Gould,

[1] St. Dominick's Well is near where the ditch ran.

who died 6th September, 1600, was seized of this priory, and of twenty-four acres of arable land adjacent thereto; also of the castle, town, and lands of Corbally, and one caracute of land, in free and common soccage.

The Dominican Fathers continued to reside in the city in the very worst times of persecution. We have seen by De Burgo, that in the last century they had a regular convent in the city.

The following is the list of the Priors of the Dominican Convent, Limerick, from 1730 to the present time, 1864[1]:—

About the year 1730, the fathers finally settled down in Fish Lane, and began to erect a chapel, over which they made a dwelling or small convent. The chapel was a parallelogram, about sixty feet long and thirty broad. It was decorated in rather good taste. The galleries were supported by accurately elaborated Corinthian columns. The altar consisted of an entablature supported on pillars of same style. The painting over the altar was a crucifixion. The only article belonging to the old church of St. Saviour that was to be found in this chapel, was the oak statue of the Virgin and Child which was made in Flanders in the early part of the seventeenth century, and which, after the final destruction of the original church, was buried in the ground for nearly a century. As soon as the fathers had their new place of worship completed, they brought in their dear old statue of our Lady, and placed it in a shrine prepared at the epistle side of the altar, where it continued an object of tender devotion to the faithful, who were ever alive to the pious traditions of the Fathers of the Rosary, as the Dominicans were then frequently called. It is said that many and great graces were obtained from God by the pious clients of Mary, who made their devotions before this shrine. We find at this time, that Father Albert O'Brien was Prior of Limerick, 1736; Father Michael Hoare, 1740; Father John Fitzmaurice, 1745; Father Peter M'Mahon, 1749. At the chapter held this year, 17 , Father Hoare was elected Provincial. Father Nicholas O'Quin was Prior in 1761; Father Denis O'Connor, 1765; Father John O'Brien, 1769; Father Thomas Ryan, 1775; Father Dionysius M'Grath, 1789; Father Stephen Roche, 1796; Father Richard Roche, 1803; Father Thomas Ryan, 1806; Father Peter Toole, 1810; Father Joseph Harrigan, 1814. Father Harrigan, finding the old chapel in Fish Lane insufficient for the wants of the increasing congregation, and at the same time showing great signs of decay, got from Edmond Henry, Earl of Limerick, on a lease of lives renewable for ever, at the yearly rent of £54 17s. 8d., the plot of ground on which the present church stands, and which in those days was called South Prior's Lands. Here Father Harrigan began the work of building the present church, which in its time was a marvel of architectural splendour. This church was solemnly consecrated by the Right Rev. Dr. Tuohy on the 6th of July, 1816, with the unctions and blessings of the Pontifical. He was assisted in the solemn rite by the bishops of the province, and a vast number of the clergy. The consecration sermon was preached by the Rev. Father J. Ryan, O.P., Prior of Cork. He was a native of Limerick. Father Harrigan and his community brought their venerable old statue of our Lady to the new church, where it still remains, to the great delight of the faithful. In order to pay the pressing demands and debts on the new church, the fathers applied for permission to raise

[1] Extracted from *The Acts of the Chapters of the Irish Dominican Province.*

the sum of £500 on mortgage. Accordingly that sum was given by Mr. John Connell,[1] getting as security a mortgage on the church and premises. No interest was required by Mr. John Connell. A deed of release was executed in 1819, on the payment of the above sum by Father Harrigan.

Father John O'Ryan was Prior in 1821; Father William M'Donnell, in 1828; Father Thomas M'Donnell, in 1834; Father William M'Donnell, in 1836. Father William M'Donnell was elected Provincial in 1836; Father Luke Conway, from 1840 to 1846; Father Thomas M'Donnell, to 1849; Father Luke Conway, 1854; Father William O'Carroll, 1856; and Father Carbery, 1859. Soon after the installation of Father Carbery, he began the work of improvement in the church. In 1860, he completed the execution of the fee-farm grant of the premises sought for and procured by his predecessor, Father O'Carroll. In 1860, Father Carbery added the northern porch to the church. In the month of May, 1861, he called a meeting of the citizens in the church, in order to devise a means of defraying the expenses incurred. The chair was taken by the Mayor, John Thomas M'Sheehy, Esq. Resolutions were proposed and enthusiastically seconded by the principal citizens, and the result of the meeting was, that over £200 were subscribed on the spot. Encouraged by the proverbial generosity of the people of Limerick, the prior undertook the addition of a chancel to the church, the shell of which cost £450. A benevolent member of the congregation gave an order for a new marble altar for the chancel, and another for the northern side chapel. These altars were erected in 1862. Many and important improvements were made in the church during this year. The people, grateful for the ministry of the fathers, vie with each other in assisting in the good work of the decoration of God's house. A lady of her own accord made a collection for the exquisite new communion rail and marble pavement of the sanctuary. In the year 1863, a gentleman of the congregation gave an order to the Prior to procure a marble altar for the chapel of our Lady, as a tribute of devotion and thanksgiving for blessings received for himself and family. Far from growing languid, the devotion of the people increases for the time-honoured and venerable statue of our Lady. A silver gilt crown is offered by an humble woman to the shrine of Mary. During the May devotions of 1864, the Prior blessed the crown, and after a solemn procession round the church with our Lady's statue, in which thousands joined, there was a ceremony of the crowning of the statue. During the procession, the crown was borne on an embroidered cushion by a young lad clothed in the white robe of the order, and followed by over four hundred persons bearing wax candles lighted, and singing the Litany of Loretto. It was a truly soul-stirring devotion; the crowd was so great, that to keep order it was found necessary to lock the iron gate in front of the church. At the close of the May devotions that year, the congregation offered to God in honour of His holy Mother a magnificent vestment of cloth of pure gold, and a pair of branches of four lights each, and a pair of candlesticks in polished brass.

The sacristry was added in the year 1863, and during the year 1864 there was added the handsome stained glass window in the church, which is the gift of four benefactors, as can be seen from the inscriptions at

[1] The celebrated Johnny Connell.

the bottom of each light. The centre triplet of the window represents the Transfiguration of Our Lord, with Moses and Elias, and under them, Peter, James, and John. The light on the Gospel side represents our Lady, that on the Epistle side, St. Dominick. In the tracery at the top, we find the Agony in the Garden, the Scourging, the Crowning with Thorns, and Crucifixion. It was executed by Mr. Wailes, of Newcastle-on-Tyne.

The following are the actual members of the community in 1865:—A. R. P. J. J. Carbery, P.G., Prior; A. R. P. Luke Conway, S.T.M., Sub-prior; R. P. Michael Costello, P.G.; R. P. Hyacinth Condon; with two lay brothers. We understand the average number of communions each week in the church is over one thousand. A good test of the untiring zeal of the fathers.

A figure in stone of St. Dominick is placed in front of the church under the cross, and on a square stone, over the principal entrance, is the following inscription:

A Domino factum est istud et est mirabile
In occulis Nostris *Psalm* 118. v. 23.
Deo Auspice conciviumque suorum auxilio.
Nixus, hanc ædem erexit F. J. S. HARRIGAN,
Prior ordinis sanctæ predicatorum.
Anno 1815. Episcopo Revd. D. D. C. TUOHY.

Donough Carbrac O'Brien in 1240 founded a second monastery at Gabally, in the county of Limerick; and a third at Kilmallock, in 1291, by Gibbon Fitzgerald, ancestor of the White Knights, which was granted at the suppression to the Sovereign and Burgesses of Kilmallock. Maurice Fitzgerald, second Baron of Offaly and Viceroy of Ireland, was the first who invited the Dominican and Franciscan Fathers to Ireland, in 1230.

THE FRANCISCANS.

Next in point of antiquity and order, after the Dominicans, comes the Order of St. Francis of Assisium, which has been established in Limerick for many ages.

Luke Wadding, quoted in the *Hibernia Dominicana*, states the Franciscans had a monastery dedicated to St. Dominic in Limerick, that it was founded in the thirteenth century by William (Fion, *i.e.* handsome) de Burgo, whose wife was Ania, daughter of Donald O'Brien, king of Limerick, and that said William (Fion) de Burgo was buried there in the year 1287. Thomas de Clare, of the noble family of the Earls of Gloucester, who died on the 2nd of September, A.D. 1287, was interred in the abbey also, as was his son Richard in the year 1318, who was slain, together with several others, on the Feast of St. Gordian, the 1st of May, by O'Brien and M'Carthy. Richard, we are told, was inhumanly torn to pieces. In the year 1293, King Edward I. granted to the Franciscan Friars of Limerick, Dublin, Waterford, Cork, and Drogheda, an annual pension of 35 marks.

In 1356, liberates were granted to the Franciscans.

Thady M'Houne, lecturer of this Friary, died in the year 1349.

As we have already seen, Peter Curragh *alias* Creagh, Bishop of Limerick, in the year 1376, treated the Franciscan Friars with much

indignity, and excommunicated every person who should repair to their church for divine service, or desire burial within their abbey (Ware's *Bishops*). He is said to have laid violent hands on Philip Torrington, Archbishop of Cashel, who came to Limerick to redress the grievances of the Franciscan Fathers, and when cited, refused to appear, and tore the citation with such force from the archbishop, that he drew his blood. We must treat these statements with some reserve, as there is no doubt the abbey was used in the bishop's time as a place of interment, and many bequests were made by pious citizens to the fathers.

This monastery was reformed by the Observantines, A.D. 1534, and Donough was the last guardian.

On the surrender of this friary, it was found to contain, within the precincts, a church, dormitory, cloister, hall, kitchen, three chambers, and a garden of one acre of the small measure, with ten messuages, and ten gardens in and near the site and precincts, which, with their appurtenances, were then of the annual value of 43s. 2d., besides reprises; it was also found that Donough, the guardian, and the friars of the house had voluntarily quitted their premises.

August 25th, in the 35th year of Henry VIII., this friary, with all its possessions—the tithes excepted, which were granted to the Lord Baron of Castleconnell—was granted to Edmond Sexten for ever, *in capite*, at the annual rent of 2s. 2d. sterling.

The friary stood without the walls, where the old county court-house was afterwards erected, now or lately a corn store in the locality called the "Abbey": the old church had been converted into the county hospital.

In chapter xiii. of this history, we have given details respecting the inquisition that was taken in reference to this abbey, 33rd Henry VIII.

The Franciscans, it is certain, continued always in the city of Limerick in the regular succession of the fathers as missionaries, etc., and gave aid to the people in their religious and political struggles in the most perilous times. Father Moroney, in his MS. *History of the Irish Franciscans*, speaks of the Franciscan Abbey of Limerick as it was in 1615, when he visited it, and when its beautiful gardens, as he states, had been converted by Sexten into tanyards.[1] He was delighted with the beauty of its situation, in an island in the midst of the Shannon, and of the convenience and charms of which he had heard so many speak in the highest terms of praise before he had laid his eyes on them. He describes the monastery as placed under (outside) the walls of the city to the east, near the river, between the Monastery of Holy Cross to the south, and the Monastery of St. Dominick to the north. He states that the ancient Abbey of St. Francis had been destroyed as to the roof, but that the ample and well-proportioned walls were yet standing, and that they indicated the extent and nature of the building, but from bad materials of which it was constructed, threatened to fall. He tells us he had learned that a former Baron of Castleconnell and his spouse had been the founders of the abbey; that they had their tomb within its precints; that it was the resting place of many of the distinguished citizens; and that when he viewed it, in 1617,

[1] The words of Father Moroney, taken from his invaluable MS., and for which we are indebted to the kindness of the Rev. C. P. Meehan, M.R.I.A., SS. Michael and John's, Dublin, speak in the most laudatory terms of the abbey. The original MS. was compiled at Louvain in 1617, and is in the Burgundian Library, Brussels.

though its attractions had been lost, and its sacred places polluted by being converted into tan pits, yet its site was such as to command the admiration of every beholder. Another Theobold de Burgh, Baron of Castleconnell, however, "obtained a patent touching tithes and spirituall dutyes of St. Francis Abbey", and with Edmond Sexten he shared the spoils of this noble monastery, whose possessions were extensive, and whose gardens and orchards within the precincts covered some acres of ground.[1] The inquisition, already referred to, touching the crown's properties in Limerick (33rd Henry VIII.), showed the riches of the abbey's possessions in its silver and gold vessels, its reliquaries, its chalices, etc., which went into the desecrated hands of the spoiler, at a period when nothing that was good and useful was spared, and when the rapacity of the government was not satiated without the blood of clergy and people, or with the wealth and stability of their institutions. Even the Corporation of Limerick complained to the crown that Edmond Sexten had obtained the grant of St. Mary's House[2], or the Monastery of the Canons Regular, by false pretences, and petitioned that the grant should be annulled.[3] The Corporation obtained no redress by their motion; on the contrary, we are assured that Sexten exercised the power of imprisoning the Mayor and members of the Corporation on a certain occasion in the castle of Limerick;[4] and we find the grandson of this same Edmond Sexten, some few years afterwards, presenting a petition to the government which to the last degree was insolent and audacious:

"TO THE LO. LIEUT. GENERALL OF IRELAND.

"The humble petitio of Edmond Sexten of Limke.

States 'by Letters Patents of Henry VIII. of famous memory, to his granfather, Eddin. Sexten, part is carefully seyned to him and his heyres male, of the lat dissolvd monastery or religious houses of St. *Mary* and St. *Francis*, lying within the citty of Limke., with all libertyss, privilegs, jurisdictions, immunities, and other appurtenaces, etc., in as full or 'as same hav been or ought to be befor the suppress thereof in the hands or pocessio of the religious *psones* whoe pocesed the same, and by such pocessio of the said lat Kgs. Matei.', that they might be free from all *temporal* jurisdictions, charge, and taxation whatsoever. . . . . that Maior, bayliffe, Corpatio of Limke. do daily tax the same, etc. Prays and command to same".

To this petition the following reply was vouchsafed:—

"We are of oppinio that the peincts of the freeryes and religious houses ought to be free of all *temporal* charges and cesses, and so much of the lands or houses thereto belonging, as were free befor the *suppressio* of abbeys, 22 May, 1603.

"THOM. MEDENSIS,
"NICHOLAS WALSH,
"ANTHY. SENTLEGER."

Sexten went farther. He would not glaze at his own expense one of those houses which he had obtained by fraud and spoliation, and in order to compel the Corporation to do so, he, in 1615, went therein before Lo. Dep. Chichester and council, with a petition to this effect:—

"Petition of Edmond Sexten to the Lord Chichester,

Declaring that when the rectory of St. John's, in the suburbs of Limerike, is appropriated unto St. Mary's House, ther wch. your petr. houldeth fro. his

[1] Letters Patent to Theobald Burke, Lord Baron of Castleconnell. [2] The Augustinian Friary.
[3] Hamilton's Calendary of State Papers. [4] Sexten's Book in the British Museum.

Matie. by Letters Patents, the gable window in the frount whereof is to be glassed, that yr. Lr. may be pleased to give your opinion whether yr. petr. as *psone.* [parson?] ought to glass the same, or the perhioners. And wherein wh. your Petr. tenants dwellinge uppo. the *mances* of that church are to be contributary with your petr. in repatio. of the chancel or with peshoners for repatio. of the church".

The answer was as follows:

"The gable of the chancel is to be repld. and mayntayned be whole pish. The syd. windowes, if any there be, are to be repld. and mayned. by the psone. This is agreeable bothe to laws and custom. The tenants that do dwell uppo. the psones. glebe, are to contribut. with the psone. for repation. of the chancell, and are *not* to be charged with the *boddy* of the church.

"THOS. DUBLIN CANC.".

"I am of the same opinion with the Lo. Chancellor, and so it was ordered in the *Royall* Visitatio. of Cashell in my psence.

"MEYLER CASHELLENSIS".

Sexten wanted not only to enjoy his possessions free of cost, as parson, though he was not in holy orders, but to compel the people to discharge the expenses of repairs. Such was the unblushing effrontery to which the spoliations and oppressions of the time gave occasion.

Previous to this, the elder Sexten had presented a petition, in which he besought the government to compel the Mayor and Corporation to do services at the public expense to his property in the abbey:—

"Petition to the Lo. President and Connsell of Mounster, by Edmonde Sexten of Limerike, Gent.

"That when your suppl. as of his inheritance amgc. othere things of the disolvd monastery or abbey of St. Francis, in Limke., with all the lands, temets., and hdits. thereof, and all other apptences. thereunto belonginge by patent fro. her Matie, which abbey lyeth without the walls and within the river that compasseth the sd. city, in such wise, as there is no convenient way thereunto but by and thro. a gate uppo. the walls of the sd. *citty*, commonly called the Freer's *Gitte*, which gate upon the beginning of the last rebellion of Mounster, was damped and shut uppe by the Maior and bayliffes of the sd. citty wth. limbe and stone, ptending therebi the better to forteffy the sd. citty for feare of any suddwyne invatio., wherebe yor. suplt. these twoe yeares last, have lost the most pte of the pfitt. of his sd. lands" (states application to Mayor and damages, xx).

"And forasmuch as your supl. houldeth the sd. abbey of his Matie. imediately by a yearly rent and by tenure of knts. service *in capite*, he humbly prayeth that the nowe Maior and bailiffs may be complld. to open up the sd. gate that your suplt. and his tenants may have recourse as formerly to sd. lands. 18 Apriell, 1602".

The government ordered the Mayor to answer the complaint, but no answer was given, and then an order "to cause the same to be oppened and so kept at lawful and seasonable tymes, etc." . . . was issued. Sexten thus had everything his own way in the teeth of Mayor, Corporation, and bailiffs. He had determined to make the most he could of the abbey, and we find that an order soon afterwards came down to provide a sessions house for the county convenient to the city, in order that it should not fall into the hands of the Spaniards, who, no doubt, would be happy to have so commodious a place for a garrison; and it was resolved that:

"We conceive the church of the dissolvd monastery of St. Francis Abbey beinge repd., will make a very fayre and convayet. house, which monastery is by his Mjisti. excepted out of the county for that purpose . . . rents, repairs, etc.".[1]

The grants to Sexten were confirmed by patent of King James, dated July, 1609, when not only was St. Francis's Abbey confirmed a part of the county of Limerick, but was exempted from all jurisdiction of the city magistrate. It was in consequence of these grants that Sexten not only enjoyed two votes in the Corporation of Limerick, but that the Mayor, sheriff, with their sergeants at mace, etc., were obliged to wait on him with the first salmon taken in the great sea weir, nor could the Mayor carry his rod into St. Francis's Abbey. An inquiry was instituted by the Crown in October, 1614, into a complaint preferred by the Corporation against Edmond Sexten, but the result was favourable to Sexten, who obtained a confirmation of his privileges.

We need not go further into the doings of Sexten in this regard. Suffice it to state, that the abbey was lost to its ancient possessors; but it continued for many years afterwards to be the burial place of eminent men. The old families had their vaults within its hallowed boundaries; and it was from one of these vaults, as we have seen, that, numbed with cold, and reduced to death's door with hunger, Dominick Fanning, the patriotic Mayor of Limerick, sat to warm himself at the guard fire within the abbey, when he was betrayed to Cromwell's soldiers by a traitorous servant of his own.

Philopater Irenæus[2] speaks largely of the Franciscan Order as taking a decidedly active part in the cause of the country against those who had vacillated during the wars of the Confederation, a circumstance for which we are not surprised the writer of that remarkable book does not give them credit.

Father Moroney states that during his visit to Limerick in 1615, the Franciscan Fathers were residing in "domo conductitia" or a hired house in the city, and that he preached there, and made a visitation of the place with the Provincial.

On the 3rd of March, 1636, Edmond Sexten, son of the celebrated Edmond Sexten, died; his funeral was solemnized for two days and two nights, and he was buried in the ancestral tomb in St. Mary's church, on Sunday the 5th, with "all the solemnitie the cittie and the countie made and could afforde".[3] On the 23rd of June in the same year, being midsummer, St. John the Baptists', and all Sexten's tenements in St. Francis's Abbey, were wholly burned between the hours of two p.m., and day light, with the exception of "the house wherein Robert Coyne lyved".[4] The annalist adds that he "never heard before that any pt. of Limik. was ever burnt (to man's memorie) on the lyke night of St. John's". At the time of the confederation the Abbey church was in the possesion of the Franciscan Fathers, and again in the reign of James II. On the 3rd of October, 1687, the Franciscan Fathers once more took possession of their old church, which was consecrated by the Right Rev. Dr. Maloney, and which they rented on this occasion from Lieutenant Pery.

[1] These documents are extracted from Sexten's book in the British Museum.
[2] *Vindiciæ Catholicorum Hiberniæ.*
[3] Sexten's Book in the British Museum.
[4] Ibid.

There was an ancient oratory in the little island opposite the abbey, which is now a place for growing sallys.[1] This was a place of devotion, particularly on the festival of St. Anthony, 13th of June, and the people were wafted across in great crowds the abbey river in boats. The oratory was in connection with the great convent; there are no remains whatever of it, but of the abbey itself there are some few remains. Tradition states that the convent, or rather a portion of it, continued to be occupied by the Franciscan Fathers up to the period of the last siege of Limerick, when the community were dispersed, and when they had to hide where best they could from the fury of the Orange storm. Four of the fathers are said to have located themselves in a castle or fortress which was in Mary Street, and in that portion of the street through which Athlunkard Street was cut. The ruins of this castle may now be seen in Athlunkard Street, and a water tank and fountain, erected by Mr. Malcomson, occupies a portion of the walls. Four Franciscan Fathers are said to have always remained in the city, and were accustomed to take advantage of the nights to visit the sick and dying, and administer consolation to those who dared to remain within the walls after the siege and surrender. As soon as the storm had subsided, and that they could go abroad, the Franciscans opened a school, classical and mercantile, in Quay Lane, which was attended by many of the first Catholics of the city, including the Roches, the Whites, the Kellys, the Gavins, the Rochfords, the Creaghs, the M'Namaras, the Howleys, the Meades, the Ryans, Fitzgeralds, Connells, Arthurs, etc. There were some excellent preachers attached to the convent in Newgate Lane, including Father Burke, an eloquent pulpit orator. The names of the other fathers were, Guilfoyle, O'Regan, Hynes, Kelly, and Denis Hogan, the friend of O'Connell, a bold and courageous man, who not only put up the bell to his convent, but laughed at the garrison when they in consequence turned out, and showed the entire *posse comitatus* that he was able for them, setting their fears aside by stating that he had an old woman very deaf in his service, and was obliged to put up the bell to awake her.

On Christmas Day, 1782, they opened for the celebration of the sacred mysteries their chapel in Newgate Lane. The chapel in question was spacious, and it had a piece of ground attached to it, on which a house for the Franciscan Fathers was soon afterwards built. The liberal spirit of the times gave an impetus to the erection of the chapel, to which not only devoted and pious Catholics gave munificent aid, but to which Protestants, Dissenters, Quakers, Methodists, etc., largely contributed. That Limerick was always attached to the Franciscan Order may be proved, not only by the facts we have advanced, but by the additional one, that Father Harold, a native of the city, and a learned member of the order, wrote the life of the illustrious Luke Wadding, and gave an epitome of the voluminous and laborious works of that statesman, patriot, and historiographer. The date over the principal entrance to this chapel was 1802, though it was built many years before. The Franciscans discontinued their school, which was succeeded by Mr. M'Eligott's, Mr. Nolan's, etc., and about the year 1815, they established the nunnery for Poor Clares on the site of the present Convent of Mercy, and erected a school for female children, which cost £1,000, and where they had 1,000 children in daily attendance. They

[1] Ware mentions the foundation by Bourke, Baron of Castle Connell, of a Conventual Franciscan Abbey in the island near Limerick, A.D. 1291.

brought nuns from Galway and Dublin, Miss Lloyd, Miss Crumin, and the Misses Shannon, nieces of Father Walsh, of Thomond Gate, from the county Limerick. Miss Meade, a lady of large fortune, joined the order, which continued nineteen years in the city, but owing to a casualty—their funds being in the hands of parties who failed—they suffered. Their superioress was Mrs. Clancy, of Galway, at whose demise the convent broke up, and the nuns went to other convents. The convent fell into the hands of the Very Rev. Father Michael Malone, O.S.F., who called a meeting, and handed over the convent to Right Rev. Dr. Ryan, the Bishop of Limerick, for the benefit of the city.[1] A branch of the Presentation Order came to the convent in question for a short time, but was not successful. It was then that the Sisters of Mercy took possession of the convent, on Father Malone's handing it over to them, for which he deservedly obtained the best thanks of the citizens.[2] The Poor Clares not only educated the children in reading, writing, etc., but taught them spinning, knitting, etc. About the time of giving up the Franciscan Academy, Father Richard Hayes, O.S.F., the celebrated pulpit orator, arrived from Rome, where he was sent by the Catholic Board to expostulate against the veto. This was immediately after the restoration of Pius VII. Father Hayes got permission to preach before the Pope and cardinals, but his speech was so strong, that he had to leave Rome in consequence. He first came to Limerick, where he preached in the Franciscan Church in Newgate Lane, and such was the fire and force of his sermon, that the people became nearly frantic with excitement. He put an end to the vetoists in Limerick.

The Franciscans continued in Newgate Lane until the year 1822, early in which year they had to surrender the chapel and convent to Major Geo. P. Drew, the landlord, who "permitted" them to remove the fittings, etc., the lease having expired. The roof was soon removed, and the walls were speedily levelled with the ground. The convent in which the Franciscans had dwelt was not taken down. The Franciscans had a temporary chapel in Bank Place until 1825. In the commencement of September in the year 1824, the foundation of their new convent in Henry Street was laid with much ceremony and amid great rejoicing. By earnest and indefatigable labour it was brought to a speedy and most admirable completion in a comparatively short time. The church since it was opened has been a favourite one with the citizens, and over it are large apartments and halls for the Fathers, who reside there, but who have been making efforts to provide a more suitable residence, in which they are likely to succeed. Its situation is picturesque, and it is the first object after St. Mary's Cathedral that meets the eye of the mariner as he approaches the city from the river. The Prior in 1865 is the Very Rev. Father Hanrahan, O.S.F.

The Conventual Franciscans had convents also at Askeaton, Ballinabraher (Friarstown) fr. Clan-Gibbons, Alem. Cent. 13, granted to Robert Browne of Baltinglass.—*Ware*, vol. ii. p. 276. Ballinwillin, fr. granted to Robert Browne of Baltinglass.—*Ibid.* Island near Limerick, founded by Bourke, Baron of Castle Connell (Alem.)—*Ibid.* Franciscans of third order, Kilshane, fr. (quere if not mistaken for a Cistertian Convent at

[1] The Most Rev. Dr. M'Hale, Archbishop of Tuam, on one occasion preached a charity sermon for the Poor Clares of Limerick.

[2] The present beautiful schools in front of the street were built by the Poor Clares.

same place).—*Ibid.*, p. 282. Observantin Franciscans, Adare, fr. Thomas Fitzmaurice, Earl of Kildare, and Joan, his wife.—*Ibid.*, p. 281, A.D. 1460.

Any one who wishes to visit the sites and remains of the oldest religious foundations of Limerick in the shortest space of time, may proceed due north, from the Sand Mall opposite Sally Grove, the small willowed Island, in which there was formerly a Franciscan oratory. The site of the great Franciscan Abbey is now occupied by the late Mr. G. Sheehy's corn store, once a court house, and by the adjacent building, continued in a line towards the river, and formerly the county hospital. When altering the county court house, about fifty years ago, into a corn store, extensive vaults were found full of human bones, and one coffin of lead, in which the skeleton was perfect.

In Mary Street, within a short distance of Fish Lane, on the left, as you go towards Ball's Bridge, there is a fine remain of a chapel, traditionally said to have belonged to the adjacent Franciscan Abbey, in the back part of the houses No. 18 and 19, now occupied by Messrs. Dargan and Gennane, who have obligingly admitted us to examine the localities. Both yards or gardens are vaulted underneath, and in the part occupied by the former there are cloisterlike passages through the side walls, in one of which the remains of the holy water font are still quite perfect. The occupier, who has still a portion of the old stone baptisterium, gave the cut stone framework of one of the windows in the partition wall to the Hon. Robert O'Brien, of Old Church, who has got them fixed up in the old church—the ancient church oratory in his garden, where the old inscription which they bear, and which is quite clearly cut, though not of high antiquity, attracts much attention. The inscription, which occupies the right, left, and upper lintels, has been studied and copied by several persons, among the rest by the Ven. Dr. Todd, Dr. Petrie, etc., etc., but very few have ever attempted even to guess at the meaning. Some, however, say it is Danish; but this is a great mistake. It is about fifteen inches long on each side, and bears, according to our reading, the following letters:

"Thys wyndus is made by Fytterons of Quillinlion"[1].

Passing to the west, we come upon the site of the great house of the Canons Regular of St. Augustine, marked upon all the old maps, but now utterly demolished, not one stone being left upon another. The ruins were extant in the time of the last siege, and in the reign of Queen Elizabeth, and later, the establishment still flourished, but owing to the decision given at that time in favour of the Eremites of St. Augustine, the order must have been going down. These regulars were essentially different from the secular canons, who were attached to the cathedral.

Due north of the site of the monastery of the Canons Regular, and occupying part of Mary Street and Fish Lane, are the still perfect remains of the late Dominican chapel, now a store belonging to Mr. Hayes the baker. The pillars, floors, and staircases, are pretty much as they were before the building of the beautiful new Dominican chapel of St. Saviour. More northerly, and occupying the space adjacent to Mr. McCarthy's timber yard, between Little and Great Creagh Lane, are the vaulted

[1] The alleged antiquity and simple meaning of this inscription, which belongs apparently to the year 1500 or thereabouts, will remind our readers of the Stubbs inscription in the *Pickwick Papers*.

remains of another modern ruin, the old chapel of the Augustinian Eremites. The water fonts are still in good preservation. The roof and all the rest but the walls are gone. The ancient position of the house of the Eremites is not given by White. Ferrar says it was on the site of the old city court house, that is, where a school of the Christian Brothers stands at present, facing the south entrance of St. Mary's Cathedral in Quay Lane, now more generally called Bridge Street. Fitzgerald states that the civic privileges of the Canons were ceded to the Eremites about the year 1736, but there could have been no Canons then. Perhaps, however, he means that the claims of the Eremites as inheriting of these privileges were then admitted. Archdall distinctly states these civic privileges belonged to the Eremites; and says that it appears from an inquisition taken in the thirty-seventh year of Elizabeth, that this right of privileged voting for the Mayor, etc., belonged to the head of the Augustinians, meaning no doubt the Eremites. Battersby, in his history of the order, places the site of the monastery of the Eremites in the same locality where the canons lived. But this must be a mistake, for we have not any authority for believing that they succeeded the Canons in their monastery, though it appears they did in their civic privileges. Of the house of the Knights Templars, placed by White in Quay Lane, I have not been able to find any vestiges. Proceeding still in a northerly direction, and passing to the left of the present parish chapel of St. Mary's, we come to Peter's Cell, a partly enclosed space, once the site of the convent of the Canonesses of St. Augustine, and subsequently occupied by Dominican nuns, as would appear from the map in White's MSS. Here was Madame O'Dell's house and garden, and more recently the Catholic College of Peter's Cell. North of Peter's Cell, and separated from it by the old burial ground of the Society of Friends and the Convent National School, are the interesting ivy-covered remains of the great Dominican Convent, of which the north transept wall still remains almost entire, with its high lancet windows, and looking venerably ancient in comparison with the modern convent of the Sisters of Mercy, now standing within its precincts. The beautiful little cemetery of these admirable nuns, overshadowed by a magnificent drooping ash, now occupies the place of what was once the sanctuary. Still further north, in St. Thomas's Isle, are some traces of another Dominican house, but so few as will scarcely repay a visit. There were, however, large ruins, and many ancient monuments, some said to have belonged to the ancient bishops of Limerick; but they were all destroyed when the island was occupied by Mr. Tuthill.

We next proceed with

THE JESUIT FATHERS.

About three hundred Irishmen entered the Society of Jesus, from its foundation in 1540, to its suppression in 1773. They had twelve colleges at home, and six abroad for the education of Irish youth. Ten fathers died for the faith, forty endured the horrors of the prison or the bastinado, and forty have left to posterity about one hundred and thirty works, which are monuments of their genius, patriotism, and piety. Of these writers, half of whom were men of European reputation, only three, and those perhaps the least distinguished, were natives of Limerick; yet Limerick had more endearing relations with the society than any other city in Ireland can boast

of. Why? Because Limerick was the cradle of the Company of Jesus in Ireland: it was the birthplace of the first Irish Jesuit that entered Ireland, of the first nuncio whom the Pope sent to this country after the Reformation, of the Archbishop of Armagh who "first and most coveted this company for the Isle of Saints"; it was the birthplace of that father who was the companion and rival of the Venerable Anchieta, the Apostle of Brazils, and who afterwards was the first to preach the name of Jesus to the copper-coloured cannibals of the pampas of Paraguay. In fine, it was the birthplace of the first Jesuit Father that was hanged, drawn, and quartered for the faith in Great Britain and Ireland, viz., Father David Wolf, S.J., 1560, who was "one of the most remarkable men" (says Dr. Moran) "who laboured to gather together the stones of the sanctuary". He spent seven years in Rome, under the immediate guidance of St. Ignatius and St. Francis Borgia. He was attracted to the young society, probably, by the example of the first companions of St. Ignatius, Pasquier, Broet, and Alonzo Salmeron, who came to Ireland in 1542 as legate of the Holy See, invested with all the prerogatives attached to the Apostolic Nunciatura, and armed by St. Ignatius with written instructions that would do honour to the most consummate diplomatist. They went all over Ireland on foot, living on alms as the apostles of old, and at the end of five weeks they were ordered to Rome by his Holiness, as Henry VIII. had set a price on their heads, and had decreed confiscation and death against all who gave them hospitality. St. Ignatius, whose "first and dearest" mission Ireland was, declared the embassy of the fathers to be most successful, and Cox, the Protestant historian, says:

"The observing reader will easily perceive the dismal and horrible effects of this mission, which hath ever since embroiled Ireland, even to this day".

Thierry writes in his *Norman Conquest:*

"By their nuncios in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, and above all, by the Society of Jesus, which showed its usual cleverness in this business, the Popes succeeded in forming in Ireland a Catholic party, as hostile to the natives who turned Protestants as to the English themselves".

In August, 1560, Father Wolf arrived in his native city as nuncio "to the most illustrious princes and to the whole kingdom of Ireland", and he at once notified his arrival to the whole island. He visited the four chief princes of the kingdom, and other leading men; he visited the bishops and priests, and helped them in every way; he guarded the people against false ministers; he endeavoured to establish grammar schools, monasteries, and hospitals; he risked his life for religion, and took no reward, even as an alms. In May, 1561, Elizabeth refused to admit the Pope's ambassador into England, because—

"The Pope hath even at this instant in Ireland a legate who is publicly joined with certain traitors, and is occupied in stirring up rebellion, having already by his acts deprived the Queen of her right and title there".

She refuses to send representatives to the Council of Trent, because an Irishman had been sent to excite disaffection against her crown. Well, this Irishman, a few months afterwards, sent representatives to the Council of Trent. He wrote from Limerick to the Cardinal Protector, by Dr. Donald M'Connell, the companion of his journey through the island, giving details of his tour, and giving a list of priests fit to fill the vacant

sees. Two of these assisted as bishops six months afterwards at the Council of Trent—they were his friend M'Connell and Dr. O'Hart, and all those recommended by this father proved themselves worthy of their position. In this letter from Limerick, he says Christopher Bodkin, Archbishop of Tuam, was fit for that diocese, because he could defend it, and that the Dean of Raphoe was unfit for the mitre, because "he knew more about the sword than about the cross".

The following year he sent Dr. Creagh to Rome to be made Archbishop of Cashel or of Armagh. Dr. Creagh had refused the mitres of Limerick and Cashel before, and had preferred to remain teaching school at Adare, under the famous Dr. Leverous, the preserver of the Geraldines. He asked in Rome to be allowed to enter a religious order; he was refused, and was consecrated Archbishop of Armagh. In 1563 he came to Ireland with two Jesuit Fathers, and brought a brief empowering himself and Father Wolf to erect schools wherever they thought fit, and giving such schools all the privileges of a university. About this brief Father Fitzsimons, S.J., of Dublin, writes, in a work published in 1610:

"I shall afford certain parcels of a letter written by a most excellent late martyr of our country, the thrice glorious Primate Creagh. In this letter, which I preserve as a precious pledge and relic, he asked for men by whom the whole Christian world hath received principal information, and for whose maintenance he offered to apply certain vacant benefices. Did modesty permit me to impart such high commands as he presenteth, the whole might be inserted. He says: 'I asked his Holiness to empower the Fathers of the Society to open schools and a university as soon as possible in Ireland by Apostolic authority. I obtained my request, and indeed in my opinion, together with all well-wishers of our nation, the said Fathers are so necessary to our reformation, that they cannot only not well be spared, but no others are to us in these times so needful. Wherefore by me, in behalf of the whole country, before and above all others they were first and most coveted' ".

In the same year, 1563, Father Wolf wrote to Father Newman of Dublin:

"I regret that the dangers of the journey prevent me from going into Leinster in person, and that war and tyranny prevent the Leinster people from coming to me. I therefore give you full powers for that province".

Three years after St. Pius V. wrote to his nuncio in Madrid:

"We have been informed that the Primate of Ireland has been imprisoned in the Tower of London, and that our beloved son David Wolf, of the Society of Jesus, is closely confined in the Castle of Dublin, and that both are treated with the greatest severity. Their sufferings overwhelm us with affliction on account of their singular merits and zeal for the faith. You, therefore, will use every endeavour with his Catholic Majesty in our name, that he may send letters to his ambassadors, and to the Queen, to obtain the liberation of these prisoners. No favour could at this time be more acceptable to us".

Dr. Creagh has given a sketch of his cell in the Dublin Castle where he was Father Wolf's fellow prisoner:

"My cell might make a strong man wish for liberty, if for his life he could. It was a hole where, without candle, there was no light in the world; and with a candle, when I had it, there was such smoke, that, had there not been a little chink in the door to draw in breath with my mouth set on it, I had been, perhaps, shortly undone".

The Pope's letter was of no use to the prisoners. Dr. Creagh died poisoned in the Tower, and, as a state paper of the day says,

"Sir Davy Wolf, the priest who so foreswore himself, fled from Dublin Castle in 1572, and went to Spain, taking with him the son of James Fitzmaurice, and is accompanied by Sir Rice Corbally. Fitzmaurice hath sent his son with Wolf, who is an arrant traitor, into Spain, to practise his old devices".

In 1575 Fitzmaurice wrote to the general of the society that Father Wolf had gone to Ireland from St. Malo, where he had been living with the Desmond family. In 1577 he was in Munster, and the year after an Irish priest named David Wolf was living in Lisbon, supported by the generous contributions of the Holy See. Probably it was our Father Wolf. The author of *Cambrensis Eversus* says of this Father:

"I have seen a dispensation granted by Father Wolf of Limerick to Richard Lynch of Galway, in which he is styled nuncio. I have heard that he was a man of extraordinary piety, and a fearless and strenuous denouncer of crime. The whole land being a large field of battle, he retired for protection to the Castle of Clonoan, in Clare, but on hearing that the warders lived by plunder, he would not eat the meat offered him, and from poor living contracted a disease of which he died".

Clonoan was a castle of the Order of Preachers, in the barony of Inchiquin; it was taken by the English in 1569, and again in 1586.[1]

The next member of the illustrious order, a native of Limerick, was Father Edmond O'Donnell, S.J., who was sent to Ireland by Gregory XIII., and Father General Everard Mercarian. He was imprisoned in his native city, loaded with irons, insults, and blows. He was thence dragged and driven to Cork, with his hands bound behind his back, by brutal troopers, and there being found guilty of being a priest and a Jesuit, and of refusing to take the oath of supremacy, he was "torn, hanged, drawn, and quartered", on the eve of St. Patrick's Day, 1575.

He was calm in all his sufferings, and after his sentence he was overwhelmed with unbounded joy. Father O'Donnell was the first martyr of the Society of Jesus in the British Isles; he was the first of the ten Irish fathers who suffered death for the faith, and Father Wolf was the first of the forty who were imprisoned and tortured for the same faith.[2]

Father Field, another remarkable member of the order, was born in Limerick, fled from persecution to Rome, where he studied, and was received into the society by Father Edward Mercurian. Thence he went to Brazils, where for many years he was the witness and partly the rival of the wonderful works of the Venerable Anchieta, S.J., the apostle of Brazils. It is worthy of remark that the last provincial of Brazils was Father Lynch, a countryman of Father Field's, who, with his confreres, was expelled from Brazils in the year 1560. They were put in the hold of a ship and packed and treated as blacks on board a slaver. In the year 1586, Father Field and four other fathers were sent by the Venerable Father Anchieta to preach in Paraguay. English privateers boarded their vessel at the mouth of the Silver River, put Father Field in irons, carried him about these waters for a long time, beat him, tortured him with

[1] The above details have been taken from *Historia Soc. Jesu.*—Father Fitzsimon, Drs. Lynch, O'Renehan, Moran, and Kelly.

[2] See the *Historia S. J.*, *Imagines S.J.*, *Rothe*, *Bruodin*, etc., etc.

hunger and thirst and insults of every kind, condemned him to be hanged from the yard-arm, and then through pity exposed him to the mercy of the winds and waves in a leaky boat, without rudder, sail, or ropes. He drifted away, nor thought the rough wind more drear than the foe he left behind, and under the Protector of innocence, he was wafted into the port of good winds or Buenos Ayres.[1]

In 1593, Fathers Field and Ortega went to live among the olive-coloured cannibal Guaranses, and "for eight years could number their days by the flocks of infidels they brought to the fold"; their labours far exceeded the strength of the human frame, and their journeys alone would have damped any other zeal. In 1610, two hundred families, baptized by Fathers Field and Ortega, were formed into the Reduction of Loretto, the first of the famous Reductions which will ever be the miracle and glory of the Christian Religion.

The Lord President of Munster says, that, about the year 1600, all the Munster cities were bewitched by Jesuits, Popish Priests, and Seminarists; and a Captain Mostian writes to the General of the Society, that Father Archer, S.J., was more to the Irish in Munster, and in the whole kingdom, than a great reinforcement of troops, for at his nod alone the hearts of men adhere and are held together". This Father Archer was feared by the English, who thought he could fly through the air, and nicknamed him Archdevil; he converted Black Thomas, Earl of Ormonde, the destroyer of the Desmonds; he collected money for the support of the Irish colleges of Salamanca and Compostella, and "had many seminaries on hand"; he had been rector of Salamanca, the first Irish college founded abroad, succeeding in that position Father White, S.J., of Clonmel, its founder and first rector. He and his companion, the lay brother Dominick O'Calan, encouraged one hundred and forty Irish to defend Dunboy against thousands, as they hoped that help would come from Spain or the north of Ireland, and so obstinate a defence, said Lord Carew, "hath not been seen within this kingdom". O'Calan was of noble family, and distinguished himself in France as a cavalry officer, under the name of Captain Labranch. When the wars of the League were over, he went in search of glory in Spain, and signalized himself among the first captains of the Royal Fleet. Having spent thirteen years in France, and eight in Spain, he became a Jesuit lay brother, as he thought too humbly of himself to become a priest, though his learning and the will of the Father General marked him out for that position. After his capture at Dunboy he was offered great rewards and honours if he took the oath of allegiance. His relatives were brought to back up these promises by their tears and entreaties—he refused, and by Mountjoy's order was tied to the tails of two horses, and then hanged, drawn, and quartered for the faith, in his native town of Youghal in 1602. He was a man of extraordinary piety, and his life was written by Father D'Oultreman, and Patrignani.[2]

About the year 1602, and afterwards, Fathers Lynch, Morony, Wall, and O'Kearney, evangelized all Munster, giving missions and going wherever they were most wanted. Father O'Kearney was brother of the Archbishop of Cashel, and he and his nephew, Father Wall, were hunted up

[1] The historians Cordova and Charlevoix give a detailed account of his proceedings in the Brazils.

[2] See also O'Sullivan *Beare* and *Hibernia Pacata*.

by order of the very judges who, on circuit, declared that these fathers *had* prevented more robberies and crimes than all the severity of the law could hinder.

Father O'Kearney wrote four books, laboured forty years in Munster, and died at the age of seventy-five. Appreciating the missionary labours of these men, Dr. White, Bishop of Waterford, wrote to Cardinal Baronius in 1606:—

"I beseech your most illustrious lordship to ask Father-General Aquaviva to send more of his men hither, for as many of them as are here are singularly distinguished in the battle for the glory of God".

In 1624, Dr. Rothe, Bishop of Ossory, wrote to the Father General to ask that the fathers, "who had worked with so much fruit here and there in the different provinces, should have fixed residences". For, said he,

"We cannot do without the piety, industry, and erudition of your Society, which is most necessary here and in every part of the kingdom".

Five years later, Dr. Walsh, Archbishop of Cashel, wrote to the Father General:

"The affliction of the country is very great, and I see no remedy for it except the encouragement of your mission in this country".

He was a singular benefactor of the Order, and his life has been written by his friend, Father St. Leger, who attended him when dying in the Irish Jesuit college of Compostella.

According to the *Imago Primi Sæculi, S.J.*, there were eleven Jesuit Colleges in Ireland in 1640, and one of them was in Limerick. Besides, the Primate of Armagh resolved to found two colleges of the society; the Archbishop of Cashel, two; the Bishop of Meath, two; the Archbishop of Tuam, one; the Bishop of Killala, one; and Owen Roe marked out places for four soon after he came to Ireland, and the Supreme Council resolved to found a university and college under the name of Jesus and under the care of the fathers.

On the 13th of July official news of the victory of Benburb and thirty-three captured standards were brought to the Nuncio in Limerick by Father O'Hartegan, S.J., chaplain to the army, and after a great procession of the soldiers and civilians, were deposited in the Church of St. Francis. This Father O'Hartegan had been for some years the agent of the Confederation at the French Court, and his letters show him to have been a perfect man of business and a true Irishman. His confrère, Father Plunket, was sent to look after Irish interests in Belgium.

In 1649, Rinuccini wrote to the Father General praising Father O'Hurley, S.J., rector of the Limerick College, and Father Virdier, sent as visitor to Ireland, gives the following account of Limerick:—

"The rector is Father William O'Hurley, aged fifty, of noble and ancient stock, devout, charitable, humble, and learned".

It is most probable that he was of Lycodoon castle, and grand-nephew of Dr. Hurley, and a relative of Sir William. Rinuccini proceeds:

"The Father Minister is Father Thomas Burke, ex-professor of polemic divinity, a good classical scholar, of great family, and a great preacher. He has converted numbers to the Catholic Faith in Limerick".

It is of this Father, no doubt, that Father Peter Walsh speaks in his Remonstrance, when he says:

"The Archbishop of Tuam was removed from Dublin to Connaught in a litter accompanied by two Jesuits, one of whom was his nephew, and the other Father Guin, and he was ever after in the power of these two priests. What a pity!"

Dr. de Burgo, of a junior branch of Clanrickard, was born at Clontuskert, was educated six or seven years at the Irish Jesuit College of Lisbon, sustained theses at Evora and Salamanca against all comers, and was dubbed Doctor of Divinity and of Civil and Canon Law. He was an enthusiastic admirer of the Jesuits, and advanced them money to maintain a college in Galway. He returned from exile in 1663, "to sleep", as he said, "in his native soil". He died in Tuam, on Holy Thursday, 1667, and Father Guin, "in whose power he was", celebrated Mass every day in his Grace's chamber for some time before his death; he remained constantly by his bedside, the minister of his comforts, and the witness of his virtues and resignation.[1]

The Father Procurator of the Limerick College, S.J., was Father Nicholas Punch, a man of singular amiability and humility, forty-seven years of age, and nineteen in the society. The Professor of Rhetoric was Father James Forde, a very good and learned man. In 1656, he chose, in the middle of a vast bog, a spot harder than the rest, and built a hut on it. Thither a large number of youths soon flocked, erected little huts all round, learned literature and virtue from the good father, and imitated him in enduring, not merely with fortitude, but also with joy, all the inconveniences of their position.

To this staff of masters belonged Father Maurice Patrick and Father Piers Creagh. The latter father was born at Carrigeen Castle, which is three miles from Limerick on the Roxborough road. He was nephew of the Primate Martyr Creagh, and brother of the Mayor of Limerick, who distinguished himself during the siege, and of John, domestic prelate to Alexander VII., from whom the family got the title of duke and an addition to their arms. While teaching in the Irish Jesuit College of Poictiers, Father Creagh directed the education of his nephew and namesake, who became an accomplished scholar, spoke Latin, Italian, French, Irish, and English with great fluency, and was afterwards Bishop of Cork, and eventually Archbishop of Dublin. This father was related to the Netterville family, one member of which, Father Robert Netterville, S.J., was beaten to death by the Puritans, whereas Father Nicholas Netterville, a Jesuit, is said to have been a great friend of Cromwell's, at whose table he often dined, and from whom he had leave to say Mass every day in Dublin. Being accused of saying Mass by Captain Nathaniel Foulkes, Father Netterville said: "I am a priest, and my Lord General knows it, and tell all the town of it, and that I will say Mass here every day". He was a great scholar and musician, speaker and divine, took a leading part in the debates about the Remonstrance, and used to go about Dublin disguised as a cavalier, and was chaplain to the Lord Lieutenant, Duke of Tyrconnell. His brother, Father Christopher Netterville, S.J., was at one time very near falling a victim to Puritan fury, and had to remain hiding for twelve months in the vault of his father, Viscount Netterville. Apropos of Father Netterville's relation with Cromwell, we may say that the Rev. Sir

[1] See Drs. O'Renehan and Meehan.

Francis Slingsby, S.J., was a first cousin of the cruel Sir Charles Coote. Fathers Robert and Nicholas Nugent were near relatives of Elizabeth, Countess of Kildare, who was a second mother to the Jesuit mission, and they are called by Dr. Oliver, uncles of the infamous Earl of Inchiquin, who killed Father Boyton, S.J., in the rock of Cashel.

Father Christopher Holywood, S.J., of Ashwood, near Dublin, who was imprisoned in the tower of London for five years, was a near relative of the zealous Protestant Lord Dunsany; and Father Fitzsimon, S.J., of Dublin, tells a damaging story of "Adam Loftus, an apostate priest, and Lord Primate, who exalted his plentiful brood to knighthood, noble alliance, and lofty estates", and ends by saying: "Let me be believed on the word of a religious man, that not private hate nor any desire to gravel Adam's issue, part whereof is linked to me in kindred, but truth and the glory of God, have occasioned me to narrate the fact, of which I was a witness". Primate Usher's uncle and first cousin, were Jesuits. Father George Dillon, a distinguished theologian and writer, of the Society of Jesus, died a martyr of charity in Waterford in 1650, invoking the sweet name of Jesus; he was a holy, hard-working man, a cousin of Primates Plunket and Talbot, and a son of Robert, the second Earl of Roscommon. The same year, according to our Arthur MSS., J. Dillon, Earl of Roscommon, his brother, fell down twelve steps of stairs in Limerick, and died four days afterwards. In presence of death, he renounced Protestantism, and received the last sacraments, and most probably he owed this grace to the prayers of his brother.

To return to Father Creagh: he was afterwards professor and superior of Poictiers Irish College, which was founded by the exertions of Father Ignatius Browne, a Waterford Jesuit. This Father Browne, and Father Meade and Father Maurice O'Connell, a man of noble family, and probably of the same stock as the Liberator, formed, as Dr. Oliver says, a glorious triumvirate of the word in those days, and gave missions with wonderful success in the south of Ireland. Another Father Creagh, aged 87, a very holy man, made his simple vows on the 26th February, 1670, and entered heaven the day after he entered the Society.

Father O'Hartegan, who brought to Limerick the standards taken by Owen Roe, had been the agent of the Confederation at the court of France. His letters to the supreme council, in which he signs himself, "your lordships' faithful servant", let in a little light on the times.

Father Hartegan's letters fell into the hands of Ormonde, who wrote to Clanrickard, saying:

"Your lordship will perceive that I have the honour to wait on you in the reverend esteem of that father".

Digby consoled the great duke by writing to him, that—

"If O'Hartegan were not a madman, his presumptuous lies would anger him, for on my soul, no man living is more unblemished in the Queen's favour than Ormond".

According to Rinuccini, the most prudent and clever of the Irish were of his opinion, such as Father Hartegan.

We know nothing of Father Hartegan after that till the year 1650, when twenty-five thousand Irishmen, sold as slaves in Saint Kitt's and the adjoining islands, petitioned for a priest. Through the Admiral du Poenry the petition was placed in Father Hartegan's hands. He volunteered himself and disappeared from our view. As he spoke Irish, English, and

French, he was very fit for that mission, which was always supplied with Irish Jesuits from Limerick for more than a hundred years afterwards. It is thought that Father Hartegan assumed the name of De Stritch to avoid giving umbrage to the English, for in the year 1650, according to letters written five years after the petition, an Irish Father de Stritch was welcomed and blessed by the Irish of Saint Kitt's, heard the confessions of three thousand of them, then went disguised as a timber merchant to Mount Serrat, employed numbers of Irish as wood-cutters, revealed his real character to them, and spent the mornings administering the sacraments, and the day in hewing wood to throw dust in the eyes of the English. Meanwhile the heretics, jealous of the religious consolations of the Catholics of Saint Kitt's, treated them with great cruelty, transported one hundred and fifty of the most fervent and respectable to Crab Island, where they left them to die of starvation. This blow fell heavy on the heart of poor Father De Stritch. He got together as many of the Irish of Saint Kitt's as he could, and passed with them to the French island of Guadaloupe, where he lived a long time with them, now and then going in disguise to help the Irish of the neighbouring isles.

Not satisfied with instructing and consoling the Catholics, he converted in his excursions about eighty Protestants every year.[1] About the same time one Thomas Stretch by name, says the Earl of Orrery, a "Jesuit, lately turned schoolmaster, did in the county hall (of Limerick) with his scholars act a play, whither a great confluence of people repaired, notwithstanding that Mr. John Andrews, minister of the place, did expressly prohibit him, because the design of it was to stir up sedition and to show the people his own condition and hopes", etc.

Before we leave the Irish slaves we may say one word more of their missionaries. In 1699 Father Garganel, S.J., superior of the island of Martinique, asked for one or two Irish Fathers for that and the neighbouring isles, which were full of Irish; for, continues he, every year ship-loads of men, boys, and girls, partly crimped, partly carried off by main force for purposes of slave trade, are conveyed by the English from Ireland.

Father Kelly, the rector of Poictiers, writes to the superior of Ireland:

"With most intense delight Father J. Galwey embraces the mission of Martinique, offered by your. reverence: meanwhile do not give him up, but lend him; for should our affairs lift up their head again in Ireland, he will be very much wanted at home".

Another Father Galwey, whose mission was connected with Limerick, distinguished himself some years before his namesake. He died in Cork in 1650, after having lived forty-five years in the society. He distinguished himself in Ireland by his piety and zeal, and did a world of good in his own country. Not satisfied with that, he went three times on the Scotch mission. For this he was well qualified. He had been a merchant in early life, and he spoke Gaelic. He first entered Scotland disguised as a merchant, but failed to make much impression, as the people were afraid of the Duke of Argyle. On his way home the merchant was asked by the Scotch sailors why he brought no goods back with him, and why he went so far, and he answered that he was trying to buy souls for Christ. He converted the crew before they reached the Irish coast. In his second

[1] See a full account of his labours in a French work called *Mission de Cayenne.*

and third missions he was more successful, baptized entire villages, parents, and children, and he laboured so unceasingly in instructing the Highlanders, that for five months he never changed his garments, though often exposed to wind and rain when going about catechising, or even when taking his rest at night. The Protestants hated him so intensely that they sent his likeness about in order to secure his arrest, but he escaped through the manifest interposition of Providence, and sometimes by travelling as a merchant with samples of corn. In his day there were in Scotland two Franciscans, three Dominicans, six secular priests, and twelve Jesuits.[1]

This mission was patronized by Daniel Arthur, a merchant of Limerick, who helped it with his purse as well as with his prayers, and it was cultivated by the Irish Jesuit Fathers for a hundred years afterwards: a Father Kaly was there some years after Father Galwey's death; and Father O'Meara, a Drogheda Jesuit, reconciled two hundred Scots to the Church in the year 1712.

The Irish fathers suffered as much in their own isle as in the Caribbee or Scotch islands. Before the Puritan conquest they numbered eighty, had six colleges, eight residences, besides many oratories and schools; but in the universal desolation there were but seventeen fathers, and they were stripped of everything, even of their breviaries. They offered up Mass in a cave or granary, or corner before day. Some found a refuge in the towns and in the huts of the poor, others dragged out a miserable existence in the woods and mountains, consoling and confessing the Catholics; some as rustics or mendicants, or seanachies, went from town to town and from house to house, dwelt in ruined buildings, and slept in the porticoes of churches, lest they should compromise the Catholics. They often had to live in bogs and mountains to escape the heretic horsemen. One father was hunted to death, another had to lie hid in his father's sepulchre, one lived in a deep pit, from which at intervals he went forth on some mission of charity. The enemy having ascertained his whereabouts, threw big blocks of stone into the pit, but fortunately the good father was out.[2]

Just before this persecution broke over the country, the Jesuits of Limerick were appointed to preach in St. Mary's Cathedral on Quinquagesima Sunday, Whit Monday, and on the Feasts of St. Matthew, and of St. Stephen, first martyr.[3]

In 1663, Father Dominick Kirwan made his "third year's probation" in the presence of the Jesuit Fathers of Limerick, and then went to Galway to replace Father Maurice Ward. He was a distinguished, hardworking missioner, and he died in exile many years after he lived in Limerick. In the year 1687, he signed, with the secular and regular clergy in and near Galway, a document stating that the Augustinians could say Mass in the courthouse, and that the secular judges could administer justice in it at the assizes, without sacrilege, or censure of the canons of the Church specially in Ireland.[4]

[1] Dr. Oliver, Dr. Moran, and unpublished letters.

[2] Extracted by Dr. Moran from a MS. history of the Irish Jesuits, now in the Irish College, Rome. Dr. Oliver says of this period, that the fathers went disguised as millers, merchants, milkmen, mendicants, peddlers, peasants, thatchers, porters, gardeners, carpenters, tailors, with needles stuck in their sleeves; herdsmen, and physicians, and military men, etc. So what Macaulay says of the whole society can be applied with truth to the Irish part of it.

[3] White's M.S.

[4] Battersby's *Augustinian Order*.

Maurice Fitzgerald, one of the informers about the "Popish Plot", testified—

"That in the winter of 1676, Captain Thomas MacInerina having retured from France and Flanders, there was a meeting at Colonel Pierse Lacy's house, at Curra, whither came the Colonel, the Lord of Brittas, Dr. Molony of Killaloe, Dr. Brennan of Waterford, Dr. Dooly of Limerick, and two Jesuits, whose names the informant knows not".

In the year 1728, says the Rev. James White's M.S.,

"The Rev. Thomas O'Gorman, of the Society of Jesus, settled in Limerick, forwarded James White, the writer of these annals, in his inclination for the Church, and in 1730, sent him to the Irish seminary of St. Iago, in Spain. He was the first Jesuit who fixed himself in this residence since the reign of James II.".

Dr. Oliver says—

"That Father O'Gorman came to Ireland in 1724, and distinguished himself as a preacher in Limerick, Clonmel, and Cork".

Father James M'Mahon came to Limerick ten years after Father O'Gorman, and lived there thirteen years, till his death in 1751.

In 1746, Father Joseph Morony came from Bordeaux to join Father M'Mahon and others in Limerick. He was a native of Limerick, and had become a Jesuit twelve years previously, and six years afterwards, he made his profession of the four vows Limerick.[1]

About the year 1825, Joseph Morony, an architect, and owner of part of Mary Street, informed the Rev. Father O'Higgin, O.S.F., that his father had listened with pride and profit to the sermons of Father Morony, his kinsman, preached in the Jesuit's Chapel in Castle Lane, near Lahiff's Alley. He often visited the place with Father O'Higgin, and made him a present of the first edition of *Morony's Sermons*. The castle has been successively a chapel of the Society of Jesus, a school, a dance house, and a candle factory. In the castle is a stone, with a motto half effaced, very like the motto of the society. Near it is a stone, said to have been taken from it, with the motto, I.H.S., 1642, date of the opening of a Jesuit school in Limerick. In a wall behind a tanyard, near St. Mary's chapel is a stone, said to have belonged to the old castle, on which is the same motto, with the date 1609. Now, at this time, there were several Jesuits in Munster, and among them a Father Morony, who was probably a native of Limerick. Four very old inhabitants have stated that they heard from their fathers or grandfathers, that Mass was celebrated in that castle by venerable grayheaded friars. Now, we know that there were Franciscans, Dominicans, Augustinians, and Jesuits, living in Limerick about 1753; we know that the first three orders dwelt in Newgate Lane, Fish Lane, and Creagh Lane; it is probable then that the Jesuits lived in the castle. Every trace of the presence of the Society of Jesus in days of long ago has faded from the minds of the citizens of Limerick, but it has not faded from their lives, and, perhaps, the few records given in the present history, prove that

[1] The celebrated Dr. Gahan published Father Morony's sermons, in the title page of which we read: "Exhortations and Sermons for all the Sundays and Festivals of the Year, on the Most Sacred Mysteries and Most Important Truths of the Christian Religion", by the Rev. Joseph Morony, S.J., formerly a celebrated preacher in Limerick, Waterford, and other parts of the province of Munster.

we owe a little return of thanks to the old Jesuits of Limerick for that faith and piety which make the birthplace of Wolf and Creagh, O'Donnell and Field, one of the most Catholic cities of the world.

"Joseph Ignatius O'Halloran was born in the North Liberties of Limerick, and was educated at the Jesuit's College of Bordeaux. He intended to embrace the medical profession, but after having gone through his course of philosophy and letters with singular success, he entered the Society of Jesus, and passed through all the degrees with *eclat*. Appointed professor of philosophy, he was the first to open the eyes of the University of Bordeaux to the respective merits of the systems of Descartes and Newton. By his own experiments and by those of the most attentive observers of nature, he sustained the system of the English philosopher. He delivered his lectures in Latin, according to the rules of the university, and would have published them in English if duties of more importance in his eyes, and excessive diffidence had not prevented him. Some fugitive pieces of great merit were written by him while he professed Belles Lettres, and were much admired by the University. He was successively professor of Rhetoric, Philosophy, and Divinity, at Bordeaux. In the chair of Theology he shone till the suppression of his order, when he returned home and distinguished himself in the pulpit and in teaching catechism. His sermons alone, when published, will be no small gratification to the friends of religion and morality, and some of his religious tracts have already been published."[1]

I supplement this notice from Dr. Oliver and the *Memoirs of an Octogenarian*. When Father O'Halloran came home, he accompanied Dr. Butler (Lord Dunboyne) to Cork, and was attached to the north chapel for years, where he taught public catechism, preached with great success, was assiduous in the confessional and in preparing children for first communion. From Cork he went to Dublin, where he died in 1800, and was buried in the vault of the Society of Jesus in Dublin. Moore says of him in his *Travels of an Irish Gentleman:*

"I used to set off early in the morning to —— street chapel, trembling all over with awe at the task that was before me, but finally resolved to tell the worst. How vividly do I, even at this moment, remember kneeling down by the confessional, and feeling my heart beat quicker as the sliding panel in the side opened, and I saw the meek and venerable form of Father O'Halloran stooping to hear my whispered list of sins. The paternal look of the old man, the gentleness of his voice, even in rebuke, the encouraging hopes he gave of mercy as the sure reward of contrition and reformation—all these recollections come freshly over my mind. Shade of my revered pastor! couldst thou have looked down on me in the midst of my folios, how it would have grieved thy meek spirit to see the humble little visitor of thy confessional, him whom thou hast doomed for his sins to read the seven Penitential Psalms every day, to see him forgetting so soon the docility of those undoubting days, and setting himself up, God help him! as a controvertist and Protestant!"

Father O'Halloran was the brother of Silvester O'Halloran, M.D., M.R.I.A., an eminent writer on surgery, who is quoted by Haller, and also a good Irish scholar and historian. He was the granduncle of Major O'Halloran Gavin, one of the members for Limerick city.

"Laurence Nihill, of the Society of Jesus, was born in Limerick", says

[1] History of Limerick, by Ferrar, a Protestant writer.

Ferrar, " in the year 1727, and was made Bishop of Kilfenora in 1784 on account of his piety and learning. In 1770 he published a work in Limerick on *Rational Self-Love*, which was much admired in England, France, and Ireland for its logic, philosophy, and philanthropy. He is at present writing a work which may be considered an Introduction to his brother's *Life of Christ*. Both works will be published under the title of *History of the Redemption of Man*, as soon as Bishop Nihill's health allows him to put a last hand to the book".—*Ferrar*.

Dr. Nihill's family settled in the south after O'Neill, their chieftain, was defeated at Kinsale in 1601. They took a district near Killaloe, but being dispossessed several years after, they got considerable lands, and, formed alliances with respectable families in the west of Clare and Limerick.

Dr. Arthur attended Downe O'Nihill in the year 1620, and recorded it in his diary, which is in our possession.

Colonel Nihill of Dillon's regiment distinguished himself at Lansfelt and Fontenoy, and Brigadier-General Balthassar Nihill, colonel of the Limerick regiment in the Neapolitan army, was one of the gallant Irish officers who disengaged the king's person at Velletri, when he was surprised by the imperial general Count Browne, the conqueror of Frederick the Great. This Field Marshal Browne was a native of Camus, in the county Limerick, and was very near being surprised and put in prison in Limerick some time afterwards while examining the walls of that city in company with a Mr. Roche, who was a relative of Dr. Nihill's.

Laurence Nihill's brother was James Nihill, M.D., who studied medicine in Paris, Leyden, and Montpellier. He was invited to Spain by his uncle Sir John Higgins, first physician to Philip V. of Spain, with a view to succeed his uncle. He went, and found his uncle dead and the post filled up. He showed a medical manuscript to the famous Dr. Solano of Cadiz, who highly approved of it. He published it in London in 1742, and, on account of its singular merit, was elected Fellow of the Royal Society without his own knowledge. He was the author of other medical and scientific works, and he left a manuscript life of Christ in the hands of his brother.

Dr. Nihill had a nephew, Father David Magee, who entered the Society of Jesus in 1755, and was distinguished as a classical scholar. He was related to the families of Colonel Macnamara and of the late Macnamara Calcutt, M.P., and also to the Woulfes, and to the Butlers of Ballyline.[1]

Dr. Nihill's seal, which shows he belongs to the O'Neills of the north, is in the possession of Dr. M'Carthy, the accomplished editor of Dr. O'Renehan's manuscripts. Father Magee was also related to the Arthurs and Roches of Limerick. Mr. Roche, in his *Memoirs of an Octogenarian*, says: " Dr. Nihill was related to my father, at whose table I recollect him as always a welcome guest, distinguished as a priest, a scholar, and a gentleman. I saw his consecration in 1784". The Rev. Father Kirwan, O.S.F., afterwards a Protestant Dean, preached on apostacy, and the Bishop of Cork, afterwards Lord Dunboyne, was one of the assisting prelates.

Of the Rev. and Honourable John Butler we have already spoken in our lives of the Catholic Bishops. He was supported for the see of Limerick

[1] Several letters of his and of Dr. Nihill's were in the possession of Mrs. Macnamara of Moher, County Clare, who lent them to the late Dr. O Renehan.

by his kinsman, the Archbishop of Cashel, while Dr. Carpenter and his friends used their influence in favour of Dr. Nihill. The former declined the mitre. Dr. Troy wrote to Dr. Fallon, Bishop of Elphin in 1788 (a Mrs. Fallon was a sister of Father Magee and niece of Dr. Nihill). In this letter he says:

"The Archbishop of Cashel has been very successful in obtaining signatures in favour of his namesake, and I could not refuse mine without endangering my present peaceable position, specially as no reasonable objection could be made against the Honourable and Rev. Mr. Butler, who, like Mr. Nihill, is an ex-Jesuit. I was applied to in favour of the latter when it was too late, and I am perfectly indifferent as to the choice of either".[1]

From Dr. Oliver's *Collectanea, S.J.*, I extract the following notice of Dr. Butler: John Butler, ninth Lord Cahir, was the eldest son of the eighth Lord of Cahir, and of Frances Butler, daughter of Sir Toby Butler, Solicitor-general of James II. He became a Jesuit in 1745, and was ordained in 1753. He was recommended for the mitre of Limerick by three Archbishops, twelve Bishops, and all the Catholic Peers of Ireland, by the Nuncios at Paris and Brussels, by the Archbishop of Paris, and by the President of the Parliament of Paris, by the Ministre des Affaires Etrangères, and by Dr. Walmesley. He declined the honour most perseveringly: "while the Society of Jesus, his mother, was dead", he would not be consoled, and died at Hereford in 1786. His brother succeeded to the title, and died unmarried. He was objected to by the Propaganda on account of his connection with the suppressed society; but Pius VI. set aside that objection. Father Butler yielding to the wishes of the Pope, and to the earnest entreaties of Dr. Egan, was resigned to take the mitre on condition that he could enter the Society of Jesus whenever it would be restored.

It is worthy of remark that all the Irish Jesuits believed in the resuscitation of their Order; they sighed for that resurrection, and died with that hope in their hearts, leaving what money they could dispose of to the future society. Father Fulham, of Dublin, died in 1793. He corresponded for more than twenty years with an ex-Jesuit, Father Peter Plunket, of Leghorn, who, after the suppression, held a chair of controversy and moral theology in a college established by the Grand Duke of Tuscany. Father Fulham made his executors the ex-Jesuits Father Power of St. Patrick's, Waterford, and Father O'Callaghan, of Dublin.

In the year 1811, Father Betagh, the last of the Irish Jesuits, died in Dublin at the age of seventy-three, after having sent Fathers Kenny, Esmonde, and others, to the novitiate of their dear society.

The last of the old society in Ireland was Claude Jautard, a French father, who died at Clongowes Wood College, S.J., in the year 1821.

We have seen how the Society of Jesus was brought to Ireland by the Primates of Armagh; it was fostered by Primates Plunket and Talbot, the Archbishops O'Kearney and Walsh, the Bishops Dease, Rothe, Kirwan, etc., etc.: it was revered and loved by the many pious and learned priests who were educated at the Irish Jesuit colleges of Salamanca, Lisbon, Seville, Compostella, Rome, and Poictiers. The last will of Dr. Kirwan, Bishop of Killala, begins with the following words:—

[1] *Irish Archbishops; Memoirs of an Octogenarian;* Dr. Oliver's *Collectanea.*

"Jesus! Mary! I have been brought up from my boyhood by the most religious fathers of the Society of Jesus; in after years I have been helped by their salutary counsels. I have loved that society all my life, and I desire to die in it and to be buried in the same sepulchre with its children", etc.[1]

When the Primate of Armagh saw the society menaced in 1759, he wrote to Clement XIII:—

"Most Holy Father,—Gratitude towards the holy Society of Jesus, and sadness at its sufferings, prompt me to write to your Holiness. I have been brought up in virtue and learning by these fathers from my early years. I know well their skill in educating youth, and their singular piety and zeal. How then could I not feel at their misfortunes? If no one can be sufficiently thankful to God, his parents and masters, what must I feel and do, on whom the society has conferred so many benefits and favours for many years? I ought to shed my blood for the safety of that society, and indeed I would do so most willingly, if the occasion presented itself. Defend, Most Holy Father, those men, who are most devoted to your Holy See, and from whom I have learned and imbibed that attachment for the same Holy See, which I showed not long ago when other persons were weak and wavering.[2] ANTHONY OF ARMAGH".

The Fathers of the Society of Jesus opened a school in Limerick on the 10th of March, 1859, about three hundred years after Father David Wolf came to reside there as nuncio, and got through Dr. Creagh faculties for the Jesuits to set up schools and a university in Ireland.[3] This school was opened at the corner house of the Crescent, which has its entrance at Hartstonge Street. In 1862, the fine house called Crescent House, in the middle of the Crescent, and opposite the O'Connell monument, was purchased by them from Richard Russell, Esq., J.P., and has been occupied since as the College of St. Munchin's. The first rector was the Very Rev. Edward Kelly, S.J., who was succeeded in 1864 by his brother, the Very Rev. Thomas Kelly, S.J., the present rector, in the rectorship. The Jesuit Fathers opened St. Patrick's preparatory school at Bedford Row in 1863.

THE REDEMPTORISTS.

The Redemptorist Fathers, who have obtained so many splendid triumphs for religion, established themselves permanently in Limerick, November 30th, 1853, after having given two missions in the city—the first in the old chapel of St. John's, October, 1851, the second in the parish church of St. Michael's, May, 1852. At first they occupied a temporary residence in Bank Place, where they opened a small oratory, which considerable numbers were in the habit of attending. In May, 1854, they removed to Upper Henry Street, near South Circular Road, where they had built a temporary chapel, close by the site of their present magnificent church and convent. In August, 1856, the first stone of the

[1] Dr. Lynch's *Life of Dr. Kirwan.*

[2] Father Ravignan's Clement XIII.

[3] The foregoing details have been taken from Dr. Oliver's collections: Cretinean Joly's *Histoire de la Compagnie*, Father D'Oultreman's *Personnages Illustres*, *Historia Societatis*, Charlevoix's *Paraguay*, Dr. Moran's, Meehan's, O'Renehan's, Brennan's works, Rinuccini's *Nunziatura*, and Carte's *Ormond*, etc. The manuscripts in the Irish College and the Gesu in Rome, in Stoneyhurst, and in the libraries of Spain, Portugal, and France, where the Irish Jesuits had colleges, with which the mother country kept up a constant correspondence, give further lengthened and important details of the proceedings of this illustrious order.

new convent was laid by the Right Rev. Dr. Ryan, Bishop of Limerick, and the Fathers entered it June 24th, 1858. The first stone of the new church was laid with becoming solemnities, as already described, May 30th, 1858. The church was solemnly dedicated December 7th, 1862.

The style of the church is the early pointed Gothic of the 13th century; the west front is varied by lines of red marble, which give it a rich effect; and the principal porch has the tympanum of its outer door adorned with sculptures on a large scale, representing our Saviour and angels in adoration: these sculptures are surmounted by the legend, "COPIOSA APUD EUM REDEMPTIO". The principal window over the porch is of great dimensions, and consists of five lancet lights. There is a clerestory and double transepts. The roof, which is a semi-octagonal ceiling, is supported by principals and collar beams, ornamented with cusped arching. The pillars on each side of the nave are surmounted by foliated capitals in Bath-stone; the flooring is formed throughout of black and red tiles, and the sanctuary is floored with encaustic tiles of varied and beautiful design, by Minton. The arch of the apse is supported on richly sculptured capitols resting on lofty columns of red Clare marble. The length of the church internally is 173 feet; the extreme breadth 73 feet; the main breadth throughout is 70 feet; the width of the nave is 36 feet; the width of the lateral chapels is 17 feet; the space occupied by the sanctuary is 38 feet; the internal height is 68 feet; the external is 75 feet to the ridge. An organ gallery is placed over the principal entrance, and there are two spacious sacristies, which adjoin the northern transept.

At the end of the church, and on the exterior of the apsis, which is rounded after the ancient Basilican plan, there is a cross of red marble, with a tablet underneath, containing the following inscription:—

Revmus. J. Ryan,
Episcopus Limericensis,
Assistente
Revmo. D. Moriarty,
Episcopo Kerriensi,
me posuit,
hac 30 Maii, 1858,
In honorem Sti. Alphonsi.

In English:
The Right Rev. J. Ryan,
Bishop of Limerick,
Assisted by
The Right Rev. D. Moriarty,
Bishop of Kerry,
placed me,
This 30th of May, 1858,
In honour of St. Alphonsus.

The back windows of the convent command a view of the Shannon, the docks, and the hills of Clare. The buildings were designed by P. Hardwick, Esq., M.R.I.B.A., who drew the plans of St. John's cathedral. Mr. Corbett superintended the work, and Mr. Wallace was the builder. The high altar, the munificent gift of John Quin, Esq., of Limerick, is one of the most beautiful works of the kind, for design, materials, and execution, in the empire. It was erected from the designs of G. Goldie, Esq., architect, M.R.I.B.A.

This new altar deserves a particular description. This altar may fairly claim to be the most important work of religious art erected in Great Britain. As a work of art, and in reference to its extraordinary magnitude, its claims to this description are unquestionable:—

The altar and reredos stand on the chord of the shallow apse which terminates the chancel of the church. The reredos consists of six niches containing statues nearly life size of angels bearing the emblems of the passion of our Lord; these niches stand on a lofty base inlaid with various Irish marbles richly sculptured; they are divided from each other by red marble shafts, and are surmounted by pediments which are crocketed and finialed with elaborate foliage, and between which are figures of the angelic host in various attitudes of devotion, on a small scale. In the centre of the reredos arises a canopy surmounting the throne for exposition of the Blessed Sacrament. It is on this portion of the design that the utmost elegance of form and beauty and elaboration of detail have been lavished; and some idea may be formed of the general scale of the work when we say, that this canopy measures no less than forty-one feet in height from the floor of the nave of the church to the summit of its gilt and jewelled cross. The effect of the whole work is singularly enhanced by the introduction in the leading lines of the structure of bosses of variously coloured crystals, whilst the whole design is bound together by a carefully studied application of gilding. The tabernacle for the preservation of the Host stands at the foot of the throne which we have just described, and, as far as sumptuousness of material and elaboration of workmanship can go, it may be said to be somewhat worthy of its most sacred object. It is formed of polished walnut wood, lined with iron and poplar wood, also highly polished—the whole of the exterior being overlaid with elaborately engraved brass work, richly gilt, on which are enchased ruby crystals. The typical pelican, sculptured and gilt, crowns the cover. The altar itself is comparatively of simple design, as it is proposed to use the coloured frontals prescribed by the rubrics of the church; nevertheless, it is supported by rich columns of polished marble, and inlaid with the same material; and in the central panel a sumptuous cross of enamelled and gilt metal work, set with crystals, is introduced. The period of the architecture is in keeping with the church, being that of the severe thirteenth century Gothic. The general material is the soft magnesian limestone, derived from the quarries of the north of France, intermixed largely, as we have above mentioned, with the beautiful native marbles of Ireland, from the counties of Cork and Galway. In addition to the altar and reredos, the chancel or communion rail has been erected, which extends across the whole width of the transepts, being upwards of 70 feet long. This railing is composed of a balustrade of red marble columns, each column being surmounted by a capital of sculptured stone, bearing a rail of polished Sicilian marble; the spaces between the columns are filled with wrought scroll work, enriched with gilt brass foliage, whilst three elaborate gates of the same material and character give access to the chancel and the two side chapels. The general effect of the high altar has been materially improved by the decoration in colour of the shallow apse, to which we have already referred, the roof being painted of delicate azure and strewn with golden stars; a rich band of foliage, which embraces various sacred monograms, separates this portion of the design from the lower part of the walls, which are painted with conventional representation of drapery, and further bands of ornament.

The whole work occupied about ten months in its execution and erection, and though most elaborate in its ornament, and perfectly finished in its every detail, was completed at comparatively moderate expense, to the entire satisfaction of the generous donor and the Rev. Fathers of the

church. The architect, George Goldie, Esq., may justly pride himself upon the great success of this, one of the most difficult works of his art.

The altar was unveiled and solemnly dedicated to public worship on Sunday, the 15th of October, 1865, by the Right Rev. Dr. Butler, Lord Bishop of Limerick, assisted by a large number of the clergy. The Very Rev. Dr. Carbery, O.P., prior of St. Saviour's, Limerick, preached on the occasion.

The whole building is not unworthy of a community who, from the sanctity of their lives, the apostolic simplicity of their manners, and the extensive utility of their pious labours, have gained for themselves the love and respect of all men, and their significant and well merited appellation of the Holy Fathers.

The following have been Superiors of the Redemptorist Convent, Limerick: Very Rev. Louis De Buggenoms, of Belgium, November, 1853, to February, 1854; Very Rev. Bernard Hafkenschied, of Holland, February, 1854, to March, 1855; Very Rev. Louis De Buggenoms, March, 1855, to May, 1857; Very Rev. John Baptist Roes, of Belgium, from May, 1857, to October, 1860, when he died; Hon. and Very Rev. William Plunkett (son of the Earl of Fingal), October, 1860, to June, 1865; and the Very Rev. Thomas Edward Bridgett, the present rector, elected June, 1865.

PAROCHIAL CATHOLIC CHURCHES AND CATHOLIC INSTITUTIONS.

We shall now allude more particularly to the Catholic parish churches, and to such other of the religious institutions of Limerick as have not been already noticed. Before doing so we may observe, that among the old, but not very ancient, religious buildings of Limerick, is that of the old Franciscan Friary in Newgate Lane, close by the old Post Office, and facing what is now called Abbey-Row Lane. No vestige of it is left; but it is well remembered. The house of the nuns of the Order of St. Teresa stood on Sir Harry's Mall, and was established more than eighty years ago. Of the Poor Clares we have spoken before, as well as of the churches of the regular orders.

In the Catholic arrangement the county of the city is divided into the parishes or districts of St. Mary, St. John, St. Michael, St. Patrick, and St. Munchin.

St. Munchin's Catholic Church, situated on the North Strand, amidst some fine trees, stands opposite St. John's Castle, at the Clare side of the Shannon, between the Treaty Stone[1] and the site of the old mill of

[1] The last public monument erected in Limerick is the pediment and enclosure placed for the protection of the "Treaty Stone". It is about 12 feet high, of plain limestone, and bears upon its eastern and western sides, respectively, the inscriptions: "This pedestal was erected May, 1865, John Rickard Tinsley, Mayor"; and "The Treaty of Limerick, signed A.D. 1691". The north and south sides bear the castle, the city arms, with the Virgilian legend; "Urbs antiqua fuit studiisque asperima belli". Of the Treaty Stone itself we speak with some hesitation, for it is mentioned in none of the old historical documents, and yet the uninterrupted local tradition is that the treaty was signed *upon it*. But how? No one could write on it as it existed, and it was still lower in situation before the erection of the present bridge. Possibly the stone served as a rest for a board, or for a *chair* for those who signed that celebrated document; for it is not to be imagined that there was no table available for the purpose. In fact, a table was advertised years ago for sale in Cork, which, it was stated, was the identical table on which the Treaty was signed. I have heard, but not on reliable authority, that the Treaty Stone was removed from the county Clare. O'Connell, during his references to the Treaty, always seemed to recognize the truth of the tradition. History says the treaty was signed in the camp.

Curragower.[1] It is an old plain cruciform structure, originally built in 1744, afterwards rebuilt, and lately repaired, and supplied with a small sanctuary and altar to the Blessed Virgin. The seats in the gallery have also been renovated. St. Munchin's is remarkable as being the first Catholic Church publicly erected in Limerick after the Revolution.

St. Mary's Catholic Church, a large plain cruciform edifice, was built, in 1749, on the Little Island. The altar exhibits three styles of architecture, finely combined, and has a fine copy of Michael Angelo's picture of the Crucifixion, presented by John Kelly, Esq., merchant, at whose expense was also built the altar, which was composed of several different kinds of architecture, and erected in 1760. The church has lately undergone various improvements, with a new tabernacle, and grounds enclosed by a fine iron balustrade.

St. Patrick's, Penny Well, was erected in 1750, chiefly at the expense of Mr. Harrold. The new church was built in 1816. It is in the form of the letter T, and is small, but neatly fitted, having the entrance surrounded by trees. The building was much improved in 1835, and the Rev. Dr. Meehan, the present parish priest, has lately fitted up an apartment at the eastern side for a school-house. The chapel of Monaleen, a neat but small building, about two miles from Limerick, is attached to this parish.

St. Michael's Church, situated in Denmark Street, was built in 1779, when it was surrounded by open fields. It was re-opened for divine service in 1781, and considerably enlarged in 1805. The Very Rev. Patrick Hogan procured an admirable organ for this church in 1816.

In St. Michael's Church are two mural monuments. One is a handsome white marble monument in mediæval style to the memory of the late Very Rev. Patrick Hogan, P.P., V.G., and has the following inscription:

✠
I. H. S.
Revo. admodum
Patricio Hogan,
Dicec. Lim. Vic. Generali,
Hujusq. Parochiae per XXVI. annos
Pastori Vigili,
Pietate, Zelo, Eloquio
Eximio
Monum. hoc moerentes posuere
Parochiani.
Obiit in Dno. Kal. Aprilis,
MDCCCXXIX,
Annos sexaginta natus.
Requiescat in Pace.

Bardwell Kelsey

[1] The walls of Curragower Mills are now quite gone. Here two of the Irish soldiers, who were unavoidably shut out by their friends during a sortie, and who were almost all massacred by the English, hid until the gray of the morning, when they swam over to the four-gun battery. Their names we have heard, were Roche and O'Halloran.

This monument cost about £300, and is of fine statuary marble, with several admirably sculptured figures. "Father Pat Hogan", as this noble hearted priest was familiarly called, and by which designation he is to this day remembered, was a zealous and indefatigable pastor indeed; he left a sum of £2,000 to Park College, if it should be revived. On his generosity to the Presentation Convent we have already dwelt; he caused Mr. John Gubbins to execute the very fine painting of the Crucifixion which is placed over the Virgin altar in this church, saying that "a painting of the kind is the prayer book of the poor".

The other and older monument is—

To the memory of
Patrick Arthur, Esq.,
Who died on the 16th of December, 1799,
in the eighty-second year of his age.
In him the poor have lost a liberal benefactor,
society an example of every Christian virtue,
and his affectionate family a kind and tender parent.
In memoria æterna erit justus.
Requiescat in pace.

Arthur Arms.

Deus Justos Defendat.

St. John's Chapel, near John's Gate, was built in the form of a cross, and finished in 1753. The altar, which was very handsome, had a picture of the Crucifixion, by Collopy, the native artist. St. John's chapel was demolished when the new cathedral was completed. Its site is now occupied by an enclosed garden, adorned with a variety of shrubs and flowers.

St. John's Cathedral.—In the year 1854, the late Right Rev. Dr. Ryan determined to take down the old Parish Chapel of St. John's, not only on account of its being far too small for the wants of the large congregation and the extensive parish, but also because it was so unfit for a place of divine worship, being little better in appearance than a barn. The late Rev. William Bourke was administrator of the parish at the time, and gave the project every assistance. When the project of erecting a new church was first mooted, the intention was, that it should be only a plain substantial edifice, sufficiently spacious to contain the congregation, but of the simplest character and without ornament—one of the conditions most imperatively insisted upon being, that it should cost the smallest possible sum; and those who know that the parish is principally inhabited by the poorest class will appreciate the prudence of the projector in not embarking upon a building of extravagant character, when his own

parishioners were so little able, however willing, to assist him with large funds.

The plans for the new church were made and the work commenced, and the building was about half finished when it began to attract much attention beyond the parish and those immediately interested in it, and it was determined to extend the scheme, and make the new church the Cathedral of the Diocese of Limerick. This decision rendered some alteration necessary in the arrangements of the building, not so much in the plan, which had been devised to meet the requirements of a very large congregation, but in the height and decoration of the building; as the plain structure designed merely for a parish church was scarcely suitable in character for a cathedral. It was unfortunate that this decision had not been sooner arrived at, as the work was too far advanced to alter the extreme simplicity of character already given to the exterior, and which could not well be altered without too extensive changes in what was already executed, and cost was still a very important consideration. The result, however, is a certain poverty of appearance in the exterior, unaccountable perhaps to those who have not heard the early history of the building we have here given. The style of the building is the architecture of the thirteenth century, for which the hard material furnished by the limestone quarries of the neighbourhood is perhaps better adapted than any other.

The church consists of a nave 97 feet long by 30 feet wide, separated by piers and five arches from aisles, which are 19 feet wide. Transepts extend beyond the nave, and these are the same width as the nave, and their extreme length from north to south is 116 feet. The chancel is 30 feet wide, and 43 feet deep from the end of the transepts. Opening eastwards from the transepts are four chapels, two on the north and two on the south side; these are 19 feet wide. The total length of the building internally is 168 feet. The height of the nave and transepts to the apex of the roof is 80 feet; the height of the aisles is 52 feet.

From the necessity of strictly economizing the funds placed at his command, the architect had to trust to large simple forms for the effect of the exterior of the building, rather than to any decoration or richness of detail, which were impossible; and for the interior, to general proportions and the play of light and shadow obtained by the arrangement of the transepts and chapels.

It is needless to say that the roofs were obliged to be, like the rest of the fabric, perfectly plain, and are left for coloured decoration at some future time. Ornamentation of this character has, however, been commenced in the chancel, and across the chancel arch is placed a rood beam, according to ancient custom, bearing the figure of our Lord on the cross, with figures of the Blessed Virgin and St. John on each side. These figures are carved in wood larger than life size, and are the work of Phyffers, a Belgian sculptor. The most conspicuous and important object in the interior is very properly the high altar, which is in the ancient form of a canopy standing on four columns, which are of the red Limerick marble. Stone alabaster, and the same red and other marbles, are used for the materials of this work, which is much decorated by figures and bas-reliefs, also executed by M. Phyffers. This altar was the munificent gift of one lady, according to the record of an inscription placed against the chancel pier:

The High Altar
of this Cathedral Church
was given by
Mrs. Frances McNamara,
in memory of her husband,
Mr. Charles McNamara,
and to obtain for him and herself
the prayers of the faithful
who come here to worship God.

One of the most striking of the ornaments of the cathedral is Benzoni's beautiful statue of the Blessed Virgin, presented by the Right Hon. William Monsell, M.P. It is of pure white marble, and is supported by a pedestal of Portland stone, consisting of a slab resting on a cluster of pilasters with floriated capitals. The statue, which is of life size, and most exquisitely chiselled, represents the Madonna as standing on the crescent and crushing the serpent's head, in reference to the third chapter of Genesis and twelfth of the Apocalypse. The gracefulness of the figure, the holy beauty of the countenance, the delicacy of the lineaments, the elegance of the drapery, and, above all, the heavenly air of resignation and loving charity that characterise this most beautiful piece of statuary, reflect the highest credit on the artist, and realize the highest conception of the human presentments of the mother of the Lord. Near the statue of the Blessed Virgin is suspended a glassed frame containing the Italian and Latin originals of the great indulgence made by the present Pope Pius IX., whose sign manual is attached to them, to those who shall recite certain prayers before the statue, and who contribute to the decorations of our Lady's Chapel. The following is a translation:—

"Mr. William Monsell, a Catholic member of the British Parliament, having presented a beautiful marble statue, the work of the sculptor Benzoni, to the new Cathedral of Limerick, is anxious that indulgences shall be granted to such as shall pray before the statue as well as to those who shall contribute towards the decoration of our Lady's Chapel in the same Cathedral. To render these indulgences more precious, he requests that they may be subscribed by His Holiness's own hand.

"Rome, at S. P. 1859, 14th day of January.
"MONSGR. CULLEN.

"We grant three hundred days' indulgence to all the faithful who shall devoutly recite the Litany of Loretto, and one hundred days' indulgence to those who shall recite three times the Angelical Salutation, before the holy image mentioned above.

"PIUS IX.

"We certify and bear witness that the grant of indulgences written on the other side of this leaf, has been signed by our Most Holy Father, by Divine Providence Pope Pius IX.

"ALEXANDER G. BARNABO, Prefect, January 14, 1859, at the House of the Sacred Congregation de Propaganda Fide".

The following inscription is appended to this grant:—

"The first stone of St. John's New Cathedral was laid by the Right Rev. Dr. Ryan, on the 1st of May, A.D. 1856".

A remonstrance is preserved in the cathedral, the gift of Thady Quin, Esq., of Adare, the ancestor of the Earl of Dunraven, to the Parish of St. John's. It bears the following inscription:—

"Ex dono Thadaei Quin Armigeri de Adare, ad usum Parochiae Sti. Johannis Limericencis in honorem Venerabilis Sacramenti, A.D. 1725. Orate pro eo".

It only remains to speak of the tower, which is placed on the north side of the church, and is still unfinished. The height to which it is now carried is 70 feet, and it is intended before long to complete it, when its height will be 253 feet to the apex of the spire. Altogether, this is a cathedral worthy of the ages of the faith, and a proof that the traditional love for religion is as active as it ever had been among the Catholics of Limerick.

Near St. Patrick's Church, but on the opposite side of Clare Street, and occupying the position which was originally the site of Walker's Lace Factory, is the noble institution known as the Convent of the Good Shepherd, originally established as a Magdalen Asylum (which it still is), about the year 1812, the funds of which were raised from public subscription, charity sermons, the interest of £1,000 given by Miss White (who, at the same time, subscribed £1,000 towards the Lying-in Hospital then situate in Nelson Street, now in Henry Street), and by washing. Miss Reddan had long presided over the Asylum, until it was placed under the care of the nuns of the Good Shepherd. The convent, which has been greatly augmented in latter years, is a spacious, airy building, but without any special character, and containing, besides an extremely neat chapel and ample dwelling apartments, a large dormitory, very neatly kept; a reformatory, a wash-house or laundry of great extent, having clothes airing and drying rooms. The chapel has recently been fitted up with beautiful stalls and altars carved in wood from designs of G. Goldie, Esq., architect. The nuns of the Good Shepherd arrived in Limerick from Angers, in France, in 1849. Mrs. Smith was the first Superioress, Madame de Balligand, a native of France, was the second, and Madame Lockhart is the third and present superioress. Very fine Brussels and Valenciennes lace and vestments are made here by the nuns, who are twenty-five in number; as also by the penitents, who are seventy-five in number, and who are constantly employed in industrial occupations. In connection with the convent, but separated from that part of the building appointed for the penitents, is the reformatory, in which there are forty-five girls, who are thus preserved from the contamination of prisons, and fitted for honest occupations. In chapter lii. we have given an account of the Presentation Convent, the convent of the Sisters of Mercy, and Orphanage of Mount St. Vincent (attached to this orphanage has been built an asylum for widows); and we have given also elsewhere, in the course of this work, an account of the grand educational convent of Laurel Hill, etc., and of the other noble Catholic educational and charitable foundations of the city. Indeed few cities of its rank can boast of so many Catholic religious and charitable institutions as Limerick.

CHAPTER LXI.

PROTESTANT ANGLICAN AND DISSENTING CHURCHES.[1]

ST. MUNCHIN'S CHURCH, which has been already partly described, was rebuilt in 1827 at the cost of £1,460, and is a handsome structure, with a lofty square tower, embattled and pinnacled. The living is a rectory, united from time immemorial to the rectory and vicarage of Killonehan and the rectory of Drehidtarsna, the three parishes constituting the corps of the prebend of St. Munchin in the Cathedral of St. Mary, Limerick, and in the patronage of the Bishop. Of the churches mentioned as existing in Limerick in the will of Martin Thomas Arthur, four have entirely disappeared, namely those of St. Laurence, St. Nicholas, St. Patrick, and St. Michael, notices of which frequently occur in the history.

ST. MARY'S Cathedral has been already fully described.

ST. LAURENCE'S Church stood on the Cork road, near the site of the present county jail. The parish is an entire rectory, and had been in the gift of the Corporation, who sold the advowson to the trustees of the Blind Asylum.

ST. NICHOLAS'S Church, near the Castle barrack, on the ground afterwards occupied by the old post office, was destroyed during the last siege of 1691. Described as a busy scene of action in 1642.

ST. MICHAEL'S Church, outside the walls, in the churchyard near Mardyke. Destroyed in the siege of 1691. The cathedral is now the parish church of St. Nicholas, as well as of St. Mary's. The parish of St. Michael, which is a rectory, united from time immemorial to part of the rectory of Kildimo and the rectory of Ardagh, the three parishes constituting the union of St. Michael and the corps of the archdeaconry of Limerick, in the patronage of the Bishop, comprehends the whole of the new town, as St. John's forms the Irish town, and St. Mary's, St. Munchin's, and St. Nicholas's, the English town. All these parishes are within the bounds of the county of the city.

ST. GEORGE'S Church, a neat structure which was used as a chapel of ease for the parish of St. Michael, has also disappeared. It occupied the site of the present Provincial Bank of Ireland in George's Street. It was built and endowed in 1789 by the Pery family, and was a plain but neat and commodious edifice. St. Michael's Church, Pery Square, is built of cut stone, and possesses little interest, except the east window, which is well worthy of inspection, being very lofty, and elaborately decorated in the style of the fifteenth century, to which date it belongs, having formerly belonged to the ancient abbey of St. Francis.

An episcopal chapel of cut stone, in connection with the Blind Asylum, which is attached to it, was erected in Upper Catherine Street, in the parish of St. Michael, in 1834, by subscriptions raised in England and Ireland, by the personal exertions of the Venerable Ed. N. Hoare, Archdeacon of Ardfert, subsequently chaplain, and one of the trustees. Its portico is

[1] The Protestant Bishop's palace stands at the north side of Henry Street, in close juxtaposition with Mr. Russell's linen store, which had been the residence of the Earl of Limerick. The two mansions present one great but plain façade of brick masonry, and send off a conjoint demesne from their rere to the quays. The joint value of Limerick, Ardfert, and Aghadoe, which were consolidated with Limerick in 1663, on an average of three years ending December 31, 1831, amounts to £4,535 3s. 1½d. gross, and £3,987 17s. 1¾d. nett.

supported by two massive pillars of the Ionic order. The façade is very elegant. An iron balustrade goes round the entrance.

St. John's Church stands in the square[1] opposite the remains of the old black battery, on the ground which will be ever memorable as one of the busiest battle-grounds of the last of the sieges. It is a very neat, compact, and substantial building of cut lime stone, Anglo-Norman in design, built in 1843, and forming an imposing feature of the scene, notwithstanding the superior attractiveness of the new Catholic cathedral of St. John's, which stands in close proximity. Over the organ loft is a handsome wheel window with richly stained glass in the centre, in which are the armorial bearings of the Russells. There are also stained glass memorial windows to the memory of deceased members of the Pery family, the Russells, Maunsells, and Corneilles. The old church of St. John, before its renovation, was an ancient edifice, comprising a nave, with a north and south aisle, extending the whole length of the building. It had been repaired by a grant of £185 19s. 3d. from the Ecclesiastical Commissioners. St. John's is a vicarage and in the gift of the Earl of Limerick. The cemetery, which, judging from the quantity of human bones occasionally dug up in the square around it, must have been originally of greater extent, is surrounded by a wall which bears an inscription, informing us that it was repaired not by John Foorde, Mayor, as Fitzgerald, copying the blunder of Ferrar states, but by the parishioners at at their own expense.

The following is the inscription:—

Johanne Foord, Pretore
et hujus operis promot
ore parochiani sancti
Johannis de Santa Cruce
post recentes belli cla
des hos cæmeterii mur
os suis sumptibus ex
trui curarunt.
A.D. 1693.
Johanne Paterson, Vicario,
Edvardo Uncles, } Guardians.
Roberto Kemp, }
John Barry, Sculpsit.

Which may be thus literally translated—

John Foord being Mayor, and
promoter of this work,
the parishioners of
St. John of the Holy Cross,
after the recent havoc
of the war,
procured the
building of these
walls of the
cemetery at their
own expense.

Then follow the names of the vicar and churchwardens.

[1] In this Square, just opposite St. John's cathedral, the foundation stone, a handsome fountain of cut lime stone, was laid on the 31st of October, 1865, by John R. Tinsley, Esq., mayor, it being erected by the committee of the Pery Jubilee Fund.

Inside the wall, in the churchyard, is a cut stone recess, with death's head and cross bones carved on it, and this inscription:

John Foorde, Mayor, 1693.

The period of the erection of the old church has been supposed to be coeval with the fortification of the Irish town, in the early part of the fifteenth century. The oldest tomb in the churchyard, probably belonging to a date not much posterior, is fixed in the wall near the entrance, bearing the device of a slipper, and having a defaced inscription written round the sides, stating that Philip ———— caused the monument to be erected, and praying the Lord to have mercy on his soul. The slipper probably refers to the fatal dancing which led to the beheading of John the Baptist, to whom this church is dedicated. Several respectable citizens of modern times, including the Gavin family, are buried in this churchyard. Among the other tombs are those of the Catholic Bishops O'Kearney, Conway, M'Mahon, and one of older date bearing a variety of most curious sculptures, representing that part of the Gospel history which describes the betrayal of the Saviour. The cock, thirty pieces of silver, etc., etc., are quite visible. Before 1763, when £500 were expended on the repairs of this church, it contained a fine monument of the Power family, surrounded by figures of the twelve apostles, sculptured in stone, with armorial bearings, and having the following inscription underneath:—

THOMAS POWER, quondam civis Limericensis, et ejus uxor JOANNA RICE, hoc monumentum hæredibus suis construxerunt, in quo ambo sepeliuntur. Ora pro eis pius lector.

Quisquis eris qui transis,
Sta, perlege, plora,
Sum quod eris, fueramque quod es,
Pro me precor ora.
Hoc finito, A.D. 1622.

In English:—

Thomas Power, formerly citizen of Limerick, and Joanna his wife, erected this tomb for their posterity, in which both of them are interred. Pray for them, pious reader.

Whoe'er thou art who passest, stand,
Read and mourn at heart;
I am what thou shalt be,
I had been what thou art.
Pray for my better part.

The original entrance to the church was at the western door, to which it was again transferred, after the building of the square. Over the eastern entrance in John's Street, was a coat of arms cut in stone, bearing the following inscription:—

Sursum Cor
Contritus
JOHANNES MURRAY, *Aberdonensis*,
Erected this Gate at his own Expenses.
Johannes Sinclair, Sculpsit, 1693.
Memento Mori.

[1] Murray expended much of the money which he had made as a publican, in building this

The following are the benefices in the diocese of Limerick:

Benefice. Union, Rectory, Vicarage, or Perpetual Cure	Patron.	Church Revenue from Glebe lands: Rent Charges, etc.
Abbeyfeale, *v.*	Crown,	
Adare, *v.*	Earl of Dunraven,	£200
Ardcanny, *r.*	Bishop,	205
Askeaton, *u.*	Sir M. Blackiston,	183
Ballingarry, *v.*	Earl of Cork and Orrery,	172
Ballycahane, *r.*	Bishop	120
Bruff, and Uregare,	Bishop,	70
Bruree, *v.*	Dean of Limerick,	180
Cahernarry, *p. c.*	Dean of Limerick,	97
Castlerobert, *u.*	Bishop,	143
Chapelrussell, *r. v.*	Bishop,	69
Clonelty, *u.*	Vicars Choral of Limerick,	132
Corcomohide, *v.*	Vicars Choral of Limerick,	240
Crecora, *v.*	Vicars Choral of Limerick,	68
Croagh, *v.*	Henry Watson, Esq.,	400
Croom, *r. v.*	John Croker, Esq.,	752
Derrygalvin, *r.*	Bishop,	96
Donoughmore, *r.*	Bishop,	
Drehidtarsna, *r.*	Incumbent of St. Munchin's,	117
Dromin, *u.*	J. Croker, Esq.,	470
Dysart, *r.*	Bishop,	54
Effin, *r.*	Earl of Dunraven,	254
Fedamore, *u.*	Bishop,	304
Kilbreedyminor, *r. v.*	Bishop,	120
Kilbrodan, *r. v.*	Bishop,	170
Kilcolman, *r.*	Bishop,	59
Kilcornan, *r.*	Rev. T. Waller,	306
Kildimo, *p. c.*	Archdeacon of Limerick,	107
Kilfintinan, *v.*	Lord Leconfield,	53
Kilfergus, *v.*	Vicars Choral of Limerick,	84
Kilfinane, *u.*	Earl of Cork,	217
Kilflyn, *r.*	Bishop,	135
Kilkeedy, *r. v*	Crown,	739
Killaliathan, *v.*	Lord Muskerry,	30
Killeedy, *r. v.*	Bishop,	313
Killeely, *r. v.*	Bishop,	264
Kilmallock,	Dean and Chapter of Limerick,	90
Kilmoylan, *v.*	Vicars Choral of Limerick,	95
Kilmurray, *r.*	Crown,	277
Kilpeacon, *u.*	Bishop,	202
Kilscannell	Bishop,	63
Loughill, *u.*	Bishop,	567
Mahoonagh, *r.*	Earl of Devon,	408
Manisternenagh, *v.*	Crown, for Lord Southwell,	14
Mungret, *v.*	Dean of Limerick,	182
Nantinan, *p. c.*	Precentor of Limerick,	94
Newcastle, *u.*	Earl of Devon,	440

gate, and was soon afterwards so reduced, that his goods were distrained by the excise; whereupon a poetical guager subjoined the following couplet to the above lines:—

"Johannes Murray, had he been wise,
Would have kept this money to pay his excise.

Rathkeale, *u.*	Bishop, ...	£871
Rathronan, *r. v.*	Bishop, ...	86
St. Michael's, *p. c* ...	Earl of Limerick, ...	140
St. John's, *v.*	Earl of Limerick, ...	100
St. Laurence, *v.*	Trustees of Blind Asylum, ...	19
St. Mary's, *u.*	Crown	454
St. Michael's, *u.*	Bishop, ...	70
St. Munchin's, *u.*	Bishop, ...	334
St. Patrick's, *r.*	Bishop, ...	293
Shanagolden, *v.*	Precentor of Limerick, ...	95
Tankardstown, *r.*	Bishop, ...	130
Tomdeely, *u.*	Precentor of Limerick, ...	18
Tullebrackey, *r.*	Bishop, ...	355

The total revenue may be gleaned from the above. Cost of glebe houses, £25,894, statute acres of glebe, 1082, cost of Protestant parish churches, £27,647, number of persons for whom accommodation is provided in parish churches, 8,670, number of members of Established Church in benefice, 11,122, Catholics in benefice, 246,302.[1]

The following are the places of worship attended by the Protestant dissenters, who form a numerous and respectable portion of the inhabitants

THE PRESBYTERIAN MEETING HOUSE, a commodious edifice of cut stone, is situated in Glentworth Street, near the Dominican church. Their former place of worship was in Peter Street, having been built in 1775, with a house for the minister, at an expense of £500. They had previously, that is, soon after the Revolution, rented the chapel of the old Augustine Nunnery in Peter's Cell. The Presbyterians in Limerick have been largely increased by an accession of several Scotch families, whose representatives are now merchants, and otherwise respectably employed in the city.

THE QUAKERS' MEETING HOUSE is at present in Cecil Street. It had been first in Creagh Lane, and was afterwards in Peter Street, where they had a cemetery, now disused for the more modern one at Ballinacurra Pike. The Quakers settled in Limerick in 1655.

THE METHODISTS.—Shortly after 1748 or 1749, when the first Methodist sermon was preached upon the Parade Castle Barrack by a Mr. Swindall, the celebrated Mr. Wesley visited Limerick, and a society being formed, they rented the old Church of St. Francis' Abbey, where they continued until 1763, when they erected a handsome brick house, near the city court house, at the expense of £600. It was supported by four columns of the Tuscan order. The congregation subsequently removed to the new town.

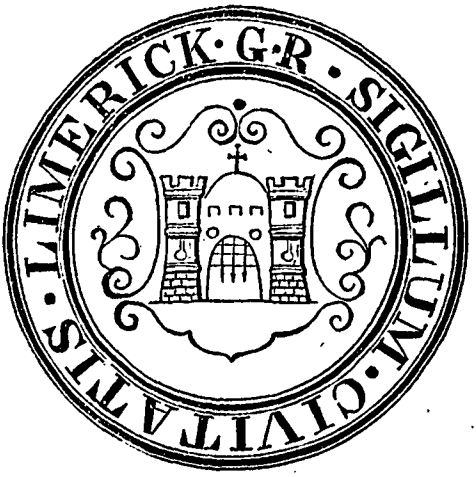
THE METHODIST WESLEYAN CHAPEL.—In 1812 this very neat preaching house was erected in George Street. It is built of cut stone, with a flight of steps and balustrade of cast iron. The interior is neat and conveniently arranged. After the disputes respecting the expediency of sacramental administrations by the preachers in 1815, the Methodists divided into the Wesleyan Methodists, who kept possession of the new house in George Street, while the Primitive Wesleyan Methodists retained

[1] Sir William (Justice) Shee's *History and Statistics of the Irish Church.*

the old one; but the latter society soon found means to build a better house, known as

THE PRIMITIVE WESLEYAN METHODIST PREACHING HOUSE, in Bedford Row, founded in 1821, built of cut stone, in the Gothic style, with iron balustrade and handsome entrance. The interior is very neat. Apartments for the preacher are attached to the house.

THE INDEPENDENT CHAPEL—a plain, substantial building, well suited for the purpose for which it is intended, and adjoining the latter place of worship.



CHAPTER LXIII.

A LIST OF THE PROVOSTS, MAYORS, BAILIFFS, AND SHERIFFS, OF THE CITY OF LIMERICK, FROM THE YEAR 1195, TO THE YEAR 1866, etc.

1197. In this year, being the ninth of Richard I., Limerick obtained a charter to elect mayors and bailiffs. The Arthur and Sexten MSS. say: "On the 18th of December this year, John, Earl of Moreton, then sole Lord of Ireland, dwelling at the time in Killaloe (in pago Laonensi), bestowed on Limerick, by his charter, the honours of a city, and gave to it the same liberties, immunities, indulgences, and privileges, which he had a short time before granted to the city of Dublin; he gave to it the faculty of electing prætors, who are called mayors, and duumvirs, whom they used to call bailiffs, but whom by a more recent charter of King James I., they now call sheriffs". The first royal charter was not granted to Waterford till 1205-6, by King John in the seventh year of his reign; and it was not till 1220, the 5th of Henry III., that a charter was granted to Cork. The 6th of July, first Richard I., 1189, is assigned by some authorities as the date of the grant of mayor and bailiffs to London.[1] The

[1] We learn from Nash's *City of London Records*, that Alfred, King of the West Saxons, committed the safe custody of London to his son-in-law, Adhern, Earl of Mercia; on his death the whole city reverted to King Edward "the Elder", and remained in his hands and governed by him by "Portgraves" or "Portreeves".

Coke says, 2 *Institute*, "Before and since the time of Richard I., London was governed by a Portreeve. In Richard I. by the bailiffs, afterwards by a 'mayor' appointed by the *King*. But by 9th John, the King granted 'quod *eligant* a mayor *de seipsis* annually'".

Stow says, that in the reign of King Edward, the last *before the Conqueror*, Wolfegare was portgrave, as appears by charter.

The charter was, "Edward, King, greeteth Alfward, Bishop, and Wolfgare, my Portgrave, and all the burgesses of London".

Another charter, "King Edward greeteth William Bishop and Swetonan my Portgrave".

Also in another charter to Cherlsey he says, "To William Bishop and Leofstane and Alffy portgraves".

White MSS., followed by Ferrar and Fitzgerald, state that London did not obtain a mayor till 1207, ten years after Limerick. The charter of King John to London (12th May, 1208), gave the privilege of appointing the mayor annually *to the citizens*. Richard reserved the choice *to the king*. White, who states he compiled his list of mayors from three ancient manuscripts, disagrees in some particulars with Sexten's Chartulary and Book in the British Museum, which contains a list of mayors and bailiffs from 1256, when he places Reynald de Sancto Jacobo as mayor, to 1636, when his list terminates. The Arthur MSS. begin the list in 1215, when they place Siwardus de Fferandona as provost; and in the year 1218, give Thomas Fitz-John Arthur as mayor. Arthur's list ends in 1651. We compile our roll from the three MSS., supplying names from one which do not appear in the other.

PROVOSTS.

1195 John Spafford, elected and sworn on Monday after Michaelmas Day, and to continue such till Monday after Michaelmas the year following.

1196 Alexander Barrett,

1197 Henry Troy.

MAYORS.	BAILIFFS.
1197–8 Adam Sarvant,	John Bambery, Walter White.
1199 Thomas Cropper,	
1210 Roger Maij,	
1211 John Cambitor.	

MAYORS.	BAILIFFS.
1212 Walter Crop,	
1213 Robert White,	

In reign of William Conqueror, "William Bishop" procured from the Conqueror his charter of liberties. "To the said William Bishop and Godfrey, *portgrave*, and to all the burgesses of the city of London". Anno 1087.

"'Portgrave, or portreeve, means (Saxon, two words) port or town, and guardian or keeper".

The first charter was as follows:—

"William, Kyng, gret Willlam Bisceep and Gosfregh porterelan, and ealle tha Burhwarn binnen Londone Frencisce and Englisce friendlise".

(By William Conqueror in *Saxon* language.)

King Stephen used portgrave.

Henry II. "Portgrave".

These portgraves were called vice comites, viscounts, or *sheriffs*, as being under *comes*, i.e., an earl.

Fitz-Stephens wrote (Henry II.), this city is divided like Rome, instead of consuls has sheriffs, it has senators and aldermen.

Richard I. changed the title of portgrave to *bailiff*, and appointed two persons yearly.

1209 King John altered the title from bailiff to "mayor" (quere from Latin *major*, or meyr (Sax.), or miret (Brit.), and the sheriffs called *baliva*.

Stowe shows that the office of mayor was older than that of Richard I., 1189.

FIRST MAYOR.

Henry Fitz-Alwyn (draper) was first elected Mayor of London. He served from Richard I. until 15th John (24 years), but he was originally "bailiff", and then nominated "mayor".

In 1208 the King, by letters patent, granted to the citizens the liberty and authority yearly to choose themselves a mayor.

In 12th May, 9th King John, by letters patent, granted permission for a mayor to be *annually* chosen by themselves out of their own body.

Henry III. in 1233, granted a charter to the citizens of London to choose their own *mayor*.

The title of "Lord" accorded to mayor by Richard II. in 1381.

The first Provost of Dublin, given in Harris's *His. of Dub.*, was John Le Decer, 1308; first mayor, 1309, Thomas Cussack; first Lord Mayor, Sir Daniel Bellingham, 1665.

[A. S. W. refer respectively to Arthur, Sexton, and White's MSS.]

MAYORS.	BAILIFFS.
1214 Siward Minutor,	
1215 Siwardus de Fferendona.	
1216 J. Russell, *alias* Creagh.	
1217 John Banbury.	
1218 John Fitz-Thomas Arthur.	Nicholas Walsh, Nicholas Fitz-Hiu, A.
1219 John Avenbrugger,	

Fitzgerald gives the above name and date, on what authority, I know not.

1230 Reynold de St. Jacobo,	Maurice Blund, Pierse Russell.

In page 23 of the *Black Book*, Simon Herwarder is styled Mayor, and Maurice Blund and Walter of Adare Provosts; again, p. 40, Reginald de Sto. Jacobo is called Seneschal of Limerick.

1231 Nicholas Fitzsimon,	John Bolingford, William Mac John.
1234 Geraldus Domiler,	
1235 John de Hanco,	
1236 John Poines,	
1237 Henry Troy,	John White, Philip Rainbold.
1238 Richard Millesowen.	

From 1238 to 1255 sixteen Mayors are unknown say White's MSS., but the following appear in A and S.

1241 Nicholas Fitz-Thos. Arthur	
1255 John White,	John Moore, Richard Reymbold.
1258 Thomas Crop,	
1259 Adam Serjeant,	
1260 Henry Troy,	
1261 Robert Juvenis (S.) (or Young?) Robert Reymbold, Alexander Barret (W.)	
1262 Reginald de St. Jacobo,	
1263 John Russell, *alias* Creaghe,	
1264 John Banbery,	
1265 Richard Troway,	Anlane O None, Owen Moore, S.
1266 Geraldus de Mulier, S.	
1267 John Hamilton, (S. W. Hampton, W.)	
1268 Robert Poynes, (W.)	
1269 Henry Troy, W.	
1270 Richard Milles Owen, W.	
1271 John White, W.	John Moore, Richard Reymbold, S.
1272 Gregory Wanybould, W.	John Danyell, John Nash, (S.)
1273 John Bambery, W.	
1274 Gilbert Fitz-Thomas, W.	Thom Albe, John Troy, (S.)
1275 Geraldus Millis Owen,	Richard Whyte, Richard Laceye, S.
1276 Edmund Longan,	Richard White, Gregory Winebald, S

A. gives Gregory Wynedbald Mayor, and William de Rupe and John Daniel as baill

1277 Gregory Vonbonde (Bonbonde),	William De Rupe, John Danyell, S.
1278 Morris Lisborne, S.	
1279 Gerald De Murley,	Anlane O'Noyne, Owen Moore, S.
1280 Maurice Blund,	Anlane O'Noyne, Owen Moore, S.
1281 Richard Troy,	John Walsh, John Troy, S.
1282 Henry Troy,	John Walsh, John Troy, S.
1283 John Kildare,	John Daniel, Thom. Ricolf, A.
1284* Gerald Morles,	Nicholas White, Richard Longane.
1285 Edmond Longane,	Nicholas White, Gregory Wainbold.
1294 Maurice Lisborn,	
1295 Gerald de Morly,	Anlonus O'Neonan, Owen Moore, S.
1296 Richard Troy.	Nicholas Walsh, John Troy, S.
1297 Nicholas Fitzsimons,	
1298 Gerald Morles,	
1299 Richard Troy,	
1300 John Kildare (second time Mayor, Arthur MSS.) Gerald Domilier W.	

* No names are given for sixteen years, commencing 1284 and ending 1300, by Sexten r Arthur. White supplies some names during these years.

MAYORS.	BAILIFFS.
1301 John de Hanco,	
1302 Robert Poines,	
1303 Henry Troy,	John White, Philip Troy, S.
1304 Richard Milles Owen,	
1305 John White,	John Moore, Richard Symbols.
1306 Thomas Bambury,	
1307 William Loung,	Walter Jannell, Robert Warren.
1308 Robert Juvenis or Yong,	Henry Troy, Alexander Barrett.
W. gives the following for 1308 and 1309:	
1308 Gregory Wambold,	John Kildare, William Croppe.
1309 Gregory Wainbold,	William Clean, David Russell.
1310 John Bambery,	Walter White, Philip Rainbold.
1311 Rowland Troy according to White, but according to Arthur, Fitz-John Albus (or White),	Robert Long, Thomas Crop.
1312 John Creagh of Adare says White, but according to Arthur, Gaylbardus de Melen,	Richard Long, Thomas Winnebol.
1313 Walter White says White, but according to Arthur, John de Langeton,	Thomas Crop, Nicholas Ricalf.
1314 John Samtone,	Thomas Croppe, Nicholas Ricolfe, S.
Robert Troy,	Richard Loung, Thomds Wambold, W.
1315 Robert Juvenis,	Henry Troy, Alexander Barrett, S.
Gregory Wambold,	John Dannell, John Nash, W.
1316 John White,	Nicholas Fitz-Thomas Blake, and William Fitz-Thomas Mouer, S.
Maurice de Lisborn,	Stephen Danniel, Alanus O'Hartegan, W.
1317 Thos. Blake Kildare, Gregory Wambold (White)	John Wigmor, John Troy, S.
From 1318 to 1328, Sexten gives no list. White gives the following:—	
1318 Nicholas White. William Prendergast,* according to *Roll Just. It.* 44, 45 Hen. III.	
1319 Philip Rainbold,	
1320 Thomas Bambery,	
1321 Richard Loung,	
1322 Walter White,	Owen Moore, Richard Milles Owen.
1323 Roger de Lisborn,	
1324 John Fitz-John White,	Hugo Woodfor, —— Laynach. } A.
1325 John Fitz-John Le Blunt,	John Hamond, Daniel Martell. }
White gives for 1324 and 1325, Thomas Kildare, and Richard Miles Owen, Mayors.	
1326 John White,	Nicholas Black, William Moore, W.
1327 Gregory Wainbold,	John Daniel, John Nash.
1328 Henry Troy,	John White, Phillip Rembold.
1329 Greg. Wyneband,	William Blunde, David Russell.
A. and S, but according to White, Richard Milles Owen, John Moore, and Richard Rembold.	
1330 Greg. Wyneband,	John of Kildare and William Cropp (A. and S.).
John White,	John Moore, John Rembold (White).
1331 Greg. Wyneband,	William de Rupe, John Daniell.
From 1302 to 1349, Sexten gives no names; Arthur gives some, and White the following:—	
1332 Thomas Bambery	Thomas Tallow, John Howse.
1333 Greg. Wainbold,	William de Rupe, John Daniel.
1334 Thomas Black, of Kildare,	John Vigmor, John Troy.
1335 Richard Milles Owen,	John Rembold, Richard Rembold.
Sexten states that John Daniel was mayor this year, James Moore, John Massie, Bailiffs.	

* The Prendergasts had large estates in those days at Kilcolman, near Doneraile, and also at Mitchelstown, then considered in the county of Limerick. There was a suit raised as to what county part of their estates was in, and twelve freeholders of Cork, and twelve of Limerick, were summoned to decide the point. The record as to this is, *Roll of Justices Itinerant*, 44 and 45 Hen. III. I presume this branch of the Prendergasts ended in an heiress, who carried the estates to the family of the Geraldines known as the White Knights.

MAYORS.	BAILIFFS.
1336 John White,	Richard Noxthine, John White, W.
1337 Greg. Wainbold,	John Daniel, John Nash.
According to Arthur the persons following—John of Kildare, John Daniell, Thomas Ricolf.	
1338 John Kildare, A. W.	Nicholas Symons, John Troy, A.
1339 Thomas Kildare,	Richard Troy, Nicholas Howse, W.
1340 Richard Miles Owen,	John Fleming, Laurence Daniel, W.
1341 Thomas Bambery,	Thomas Taylor, John Howse, W.
1342 Robert White,	John Daniel, John Nash, W.
1343 Gregory Wambold,	
1344 Simon Bouir, Gregory de Lisborn, W.	Richard Miles Owen, Thomas De Rannecks, A.
1345 Nicholas Fitz-Thomas, Simon Coney,	Martin Fitz-Thomas, William More A. Richard Miles Owen, Thomas de Knock, W.
1346 Nicholas Fitz-Symons,	Nicholas Tabernator, Thomas White, A.
W. gives John Bambury as mayor.	
1347 John Croft, W.	
1348 Richard Miles Owen, senior,	Adam Moore, Richard Reymbald, A. W.
349 Richard Miles Owen, of Emly,	Rd. F. Thomas, John Lofts, A.
White gives Thomas Silver, Richard Troy, and Nicholas Hussey.	
350 Richard Millisse of Emly,	Richard Fitzthomas, John Loftus, W.
1351 Robert Creagh,	John Moore, Richard Rembold, W.
1352 Nich. Fitz-Thomas	Martin Fitz-Thomas, William Moore, A.
1353 Nicholas Fitzsimon,	Wm. FitzAdam More, Maurice FitzRichard FitzThomas, A.
1354 John Nash (W),	Thomas Troy, Mw Howse, of Hunlin, S.
1355 Nicholas Black, of Kildare,	John Vigoner, Richard Rembold, W.
1356 John Kildare,	Richard Fitzsimon, Thomas Troy, W.
1357 Rd Bultingfourd,	Henry Croyn, Branden Valens. (A. & S.).
1358 John Crofte (S.),	
White gives John Baltingford, Henry Troy, and Branden Valens.	
1359 Rd. Milles Owen,	Rd. Fitz-Thomas, Henry Croyne (A.).
This mayor was sworn in on the festival of St. Senan the Bishop. A. MSS.	
1360 Rd. Milles Owen, jun., A.W.	John Ffleminge, Laurence Daniel, A.
1361 Nicholas Bakkecar,	John Wigmor, John Troy, A.
1362 Robt. Creaughe, S.	
1363 John Bambery,	Wm. Longe, John White, S.
1364 Thos. Pill,	Walter Gilbert, Roger White, S.
1365 John Fitz-Thomas Arthur,	Rd. Nashe, John White, S.
1366 Thos. Bambery,	Rd. Dony, Robt. Lisborne, S.
1367 John Bultingfourd,	John Vigmor, Rd. Skiner, S.
1368 Gilbert Fitz-Thomas,	Dominick Cricke, William Man, W.
1369 John White,	Richard Nophine, John White, W.
1370 Gilbert F. Thomas Blake,	John Creaugh, John Troy, A.
1371 Robt. Creaugh, S.	John Arthur, W.
1372 John Arthur, S.	David Cricke, Thom. White, A.
1373 Nicholas Blackader,	John Wigmore, John Troy.
These were officers A.D. 1362, 12th August. S.	
1374 Rd. Milles Owen,	John Ffleminge, Laurence Daniell, S.
1375 Wm. Bambery,	Wm. Longe, John White, S.
1376 Rd. Bultinfourd,	Thom. Pill, Roger White, S.
1377 Thomas Kildare,*	Wm. Longe, Rd. Grant, S.
1378 William White,	Thomas Barkley John Man, W.
1379 Thomas Kildare,	Thomas White, Thomas Spicer, S.
1380 Rd. Bultingford,	Peter O'Cullen, Brandon O'Hurtigane S.
1381 John Banbery,	Wm. Longe, Thom. Taylor, S.

* One of this name (Kildare) was representative for the county and city of Limerick in the parliament of Edward III., A.D., 1376, at Westminster.

[Between the Sexten and Arthur, and the White MSS. roll there is much discrepancy from 1357 to 1483, which I have endeavoured as far as possible to adjust by a careful comparison of the rolls. In reading these confused accounts of the chief magistrates of Limerick, we are reminded of what Livy says of those of Rome:—"Tanti implicant errores temporum et nominum ut nec qui consules fuerint secundum quosdam ordinares, nec etc". "So many mistakes about persons and dates embarrass one, that you can neither tell who were consuls after others, nor", etc. However, there is nearly a perfect agreement in all the MSS. rolls from 1483 down to 1686 and 1665, when S. and A. end. Arthur would appear to have had access to Sexten's roll, which he margins some times with E. S. He quotes ancient MSS. for his roll, Sir James Ware, family monuments and records, etc., etc.]

MAYORS.	BAILIFFS.
1382 John White,	Richard Nopthyrein, John Whyte, de Ballysheada, A.
1383 Richd. Troy,	Nich. Woulfe, John Troy, S.
1384 Thomas Kildare,	William Longe, Richard Grand, S.
1385 Thom. Pill,	Mathew Long, Roger White, A.
1386 Richard Bultingfourd,	Nich. Gough, Nich, Scourlock, A.
1387 John White,	John Spaffourd, Roger White, A.
1388 Thomas Malby,	John Cassy, Richard Wigmor, S.
1389 John White,	Roger White, Thomas White.
1390 Richard Baltingford,	Pierce Callan, Brandon O'Hartigan, W.
1391 John White,	John Carter, John White, Alanus, O'Noyn, A.
1392 John Kildare,	John Man, John Carter.
1393 Thomas Kildare,	John Sraws, Alanus O'Noyn, A.
1394 Thomas Kildare,	John Grante, John Carter, S.
1395 Walter Daniel, W.	John Grant, Philip Moddii, S. A.
1396 Richard Bullingfourd,	Brandanus O'Hethigan, Petrus O'Cullan, A.
1397 Thomas Kildare,	Richard Wale, Willam Yonge, A.
1398 Thomas Kildare,	Nicholas Walsh, Richard Mason.
1399 Nicholas Black,	John Vigoner, John Moody, W
1400 John Arthur,	Richard Troy, John Moddii, A.
1401 Peter Loftus,	John Budston, John Fitz-Robert Crevagh, A.
1402 Thomas Spicer,	Thomas Comyn, John Whyte, A.
1403 John Arthur,	Thomas Comyn, Philip Lawless, A.
1404 John Arthur, 27th June. John Spofford, 6th Dec. A.	John Moddy, Peter O'Cullan. A.
1405 Thomas Kildare,	Richard Troy, Nicholas Fitz-Howe, S. A. W.
1406 (Wanting in S. A. W.)	Philip Callane, John Moddy, W.
1407 Thomas Comyn,	Thomas Arthur, Nicholas Walsh. A.
1408 Thomas Comyn,	Thomas Arthur, Nicholas Walsh, W.
1409 Thomas Comyn,	Thomas Arthur, Nicholas Walsh. A.
1410 John Bambery,	William Long, John White. A.
1411 Thomas Troy, A. W.	Richard White, Nicholas Howell, A.
1412 (Wanting in S. A. W.)	Nicholas Walsh, A.
1413 Thomas Comyn,	Philip Lawless, Richard White, A.
1414 Thomas White,	Richard White, Peter Loftus, A.
1415 Peter Loftus,	William Budston, John Crevagh, A.
1416 Thomas Comyn,	John Nagle, Nicholas Walsh, A.
1417 Thomas Comyn,	Richard White, Peter Loftus, A.
1418 John Gale, *alias* Spafford,	Richard White, William Harold, A.
1419 John Spafford,	Nicholas Palliel, John Moddy, A.
	Sworn the first Wednesday after the feast of Corpus Christi, A.
1420 Richard Troy,	Peter Loftus, John Troy, A.
1421 Thomas Arthur,	Patrick Cogan, Thomas Barton, W.
1422 Richd. Troy,	Pires Loftus, John Troy, W.
1423 —— Spafford,	Richard Arthur, William Harold, W.
1424 Pires Loftus,	John Creaugh, William Budstone, A.
1425 Richard Troy,	William Creaugh, John Borton, W.
1226 Thomas Arthur,	Nicholas Walsh, John Rede, A.
1427 Nicholas Stritch,	Edmond Harrold, Phillip Nagle, W.
1428 Thomas Comyn, W.	
1429 (Wanting in S. A. and W.)	

1419 The woorke about Towre ny Clony and St. John's Gate in the suburbs began. *S. Annals.*
1428 Cahan's Towre in ye east of the suburbs builte. *Ibid.*

The following are from the Arthur MSS.:—

In 1419, Na Clouna Tower, and that portion of the town walls which looks towards St. John's Gate and the country, were built. Previous to this date, the walls were principally confined to that part of the city which is now called the English town. Thomas Arthur, who was Mayor in 1421, obtained a pardon (*Patent and Close Rolls of Chancery and Select Rolls*, 58). A pardon was granted in 1422 to the Corporation, of fines, etc. (*ibid.*)

In the charter of Henry VI. to the city, the abominable exclusion of "Irishmen" from all privileges, etc., is expressed.

In 1424, the charters of Limerick were confirmed (*P. and C. Rolls*, 272). The bishop was summoned to answer certain charges (*ib.* 234).

In 1429, another charter is granted to Limerick by Henry VI., and in this year the eastern

MAYORS.	BAILIFFS.
1430 Richard Troy,	Patrick Cogan, Phillip Russell, A. W.
1431 William Arthur,	Robert Warren, John Loftus, W.
1432 John Spafford,	Richard White, William Harold, W.
1433 Thomas Bambery,	John Cassy, Richard Vigoner, W.
1434 William Wailsh,	William Loftus, Thomas Fox, W.
1435 Richard Fox,	John Loftus, Robert Nagle, W.
1436 Nicholas Arthur, A.S.W.	John Husshie, John Cromwell, A.S.
1437 William Yong,	Edmund Howell, Philip Midchael, A.
1438 Thomas Comyn,	Phillip Russell, John Axdy, A.
1439 Walter Yong,	Robert Warren, Laurence Scott, A.
1440 William Arthur,	Robert Waring, John Loft.
1441 William Arthur,	Robert Nangle, Richard Galway, A.
1442 Nicholas Arthur,	Patrick Turger, Robert Warren, S.
1443 Richard Ffox,	John Lofts, Robert Nangyll, A.
1444 Nicholas Arthur,	John Lofts, Edmond Harold, S.
1445 Richard Arthur,	John Loftus, Robert Nagle.
1446 Nicholas Arthur,	John Loft, Edmond Howell,
1447 William Loftus, W.	
1448 William Comyn,	Robert Waring, John Rede, jun. A.
1449 William Arthur,	Patrick Cogane, Robert Nangle, A.
1450 Thomas Arthur,	John Creagh, David Arthur, W.
1451 Richard Arthur,	Edmond Howell, Robert Nangle.
1452 Nicholas Arthur,	John Long, Patrick Torger, A.
1453 Thomas Burthon,	Patrick Vogane, Thomas Budstone, A.
1454 Nicholas Arthur,	John Lofts, Edmd Harold, S.
1455 William Longe,	David Creagh, John Comyne, S.
1456 Edmund Howell,	John Verdune, William Whyte, A.
1457 Nicholas Arthur,	John Roch, John Verdun, A.
1458 Nich. Arthur A. W.	Maurice Roch, John Arthur, W.
1459 William Comyn,	Patrick Fox, Richard Fanning, A.W.
1460 Richard Arthur,	John Arthur, William Young, S.A.
1461 Patrick Torger, A. W.	Richard Stretch, Anlenus O'Neonen, A.
1462 Nich. Fitz-Thomas Arthur,	Philip Troy, Walter Whyte, A.W.
1463 Nicholas Arthur, A. S. W.	Peter Arthur, John Doudon, A.

side of the suburbs is fortified by a wall and tower. The tower was called Cogan Tower, and it did not occupy a long time in building, because, in 1430, Richard Troy, mayor, Patrick Cogan and Phillip Russell, bailiffs, rendered an account of the expenses of building Cogan Tower in the eastern wall of the southern suburbs, Hen. VI. (*Arthur MSS.*). This tower lay on the east walls of the suburbs of the Irish town "Richard Troy being mayor" (*White's MSS.*)

In 1434, Gerald Earl of Kildare being Lord Deputy, a parliament was held here (22nd Ewd. IV.).

In 1436, a trial is prohibited in Limerick by ecclesiastical authority.

In 1441, 20th Hen. VI., William Arthur, mayor, Robert Nangyle and Richard Galway, bailiffs, they furnished an account of the expenses incurred in building the walls of the southern suburbs (*Arthur MSS.*). *White's MSS.* state: "In this year part of the town wall near Cromwell's Tower was built, and add that the different joinings in the wall, to be seen at Mr. Robert Carr's house, prove that this wall was built at several different periods".

1449 This year the Tholsel (which afterwards was converted into a gaol) was building. The fact is told in rhyme in the *Davis MSS.*

1450 This year they began to build John's Gate of Limerick, near Tower-ne-Clouny, Thomas Arthur being Mayor.

1451 The Tolsel began to be built. *Sexten's Annals.*

1460 The following account of salaries and expenses appears in the *Arthur MSS.*:—

		S.	D.
1460	To Catherine Carter, return of tolls	2	2
	Salary at the time usually given to the Mayor ...	50	0
	To Nicholas Arthur, for the custody of the castle ...	5	
	Bailiffs	40	0
	There was a public clock, to the caretaker of which used to be paid ...	5	0
	To the Public Assistant Clerk (Amanuensis) of the Court ...	20	0
	To the Mayor's Sergeants	27	4
	To the two Porters	10	8
	To Thomas Hay, for market dues	3	4
	Organist	6	8

MAYORS.	BAILIFFS.
1464 Nicholas Arthur,	John Fitz-William Arthur, John Marshall, A. Stephen Skeolan, 1st February, A.
1465 Patrick Torger,	Gerald Tews, William Whyte, A.
1466 Thomas Arthur,	James Creagh, John Stackpol, A.
1467 Thomas Arthur,	Patrick Arthur, Richard Stretch, A.
This year being the nineteenth of Edward IV., David Ffanning was Assessor of Limerick. A. MSS.	
1468 William Comyn,	John Stackpool, William Verdune, A.
1469 Thomas Arthur,	John Creagh, Daniel Arthur, A. W.
1470 Henry Creagh, S. David Creagh, W.	Garret Woulfe, William White, W.
1471 John Arthur,	John Comyn, John Stackpol, A.
1472 Patrick Arthur,	John Waring, Thomas Woulfe, A.
1473 William Comyn,	John Stackpol, John Verdon, W.
1474 John Arthur,	John Stackpol, John Comyn.
1475 David Creagh,	Edmond Arthur, William Cromwell, W.
1476 Patrick Arthur,	Edward Arthur, William Cromwell, A.
1477 Daniel Crevagh,	Edward Arthur, William Cromwell, A.
1478 Thomas Arthur,	Edmond Torger, David Miagh, A
1479 Thomas Arthur,	John Warren, David Midchell, A.
1480 John Arthur,	John Creavagh, David Arthur, A.
1481 John Comyn,	George Arthur, Walter Arthur, A.
1482 David Arthur,	William Comyn, David Miagh, A.
1483 John Fitz-Nicholas Arthur,	John Fitz-William Comyn, William Fitz-Richard Crevagh.
1484 Walter Whyte, S.A.W.	Maurice Stackpol, Philip Richford, S.
This was the first of the Whites of Ballycondon that came to Limerick. W. MSS.	
1485 William Harold,	John Stackpol, Richard Stritch, W.
1486 John Arthur,	William Cromwell, Myles Arthur, A.
1487 John Arthur,	William Cromwell, Myles Arthur, A.
1488 David Creagh,	Edmond Long, Nicholas Nangÿll, A. W.
1489 Thomas Arthur, A. W.	Christopher Arthur, John Whyte, W.
1490 Patrick Arthur,	George Comyn, Pierce Rice, W.
1491 David Creagh,	David Roche, Christopher Arthur.
1492 Maurice Stackpol,	William Arthur, Edmund Nangÿll, A. W.
1493 Edmund Longe,	Nicholas Whyte, David Verdune.
1494 Geo. Fitz-Nicholas Arthur,	Richard Fox, David Meyagh.
1495 Edmond Longe,	David Roche, Walter Harold, Thomas Stackpol.
1496 George Comyn,	Richard Fitz-David Creagh, Thomas Stackpol,
1497 George Comyn,	Richard Fitz-David Creagh, Thomas Stackpol.
1498 William Harrold,	Nicholas Stretch, John Fitz-William Whyte.
1499 David Roche,	Thomas Roche, John Stackpol.
The city sent this David and Richard Serjent, its orators, to Henry VII. A violent contention arose between him and his successor Philip Stackpol, relative to the succession to the mayoralty. A. MSS.	
1500 Philip Stackpol,	John Everard, Richard Fitz-Nicholas Creagh.
1501 Christopher Arthur,	Robert Stackpol, Edmond Comyn.
1502 John Creagh,	Richard Harrold, Thomas Cromwell.

1465 In this year it was enacted that every town in Ireland should have a constable, and a pair of butts for shooting every holiday (Irish Stat. Edwd. IV.)

1466 Liberty given to the cities of Limerick and Waterford to coin money (*ibid.*).

1470 It was enacted that every merchant who imports goods into Limerick, must import bows to the value of 100 shillings (*ibid*). Charter granted by Henry VI. to barbers and chirurgeons, or Guild of St. Mary Magdalene, Limerick.

1485 William Harrold, Mayor. Numbers of cattle died of murrain. This year cow hide sold for four pence, and the bushel of wheat for a shilling (*Arthur's MSS.*)

1489 In this year, the charter of Henry VII. was granted to Limerick, on the 26th of July.

1492 The citizens then sent John Woulf, clerk of the court, and Richard Stretch, their pleaders, to the King of England, and for the expenses of the journey, granted them £9 sterling. From an old MS. quoted in *Arthur MSS.*

1494 They were then engaged in the building of the St. John's Gate, and Wm. Donnyll (?) [this name is Daniel, or O'Donnell, an ancient family represented now by General Sir Charles O'Donnell and his relatives] appointed treasurer of that gate; and the bailiffs were bound to preside alternately over those who watch this and Thomond Gate every night (*Arthur MSS.*).

1495 A guild of merchants was incorporated in this city, and it was enacted in this year that every subject having goods to the value of £20, must have a jack, sollet, an English bow and sheaf of arrows, and every freeholder a horse also, to assist the king (Irish Stat.).

1501 This year there were collections made by the mayor to place the cathedral of St. Mary's in repair.

MAYORS.	BAILIFFS.
1503 Nicholas Stretch,	Robert Roche, Nicholas Bonevyle.
1504 Nicholas Stretch,	Nicholas Lawless, Nicholas Fitz-John Arthur, John Lewis or Lawless
1505 William Harrold (2nd time)	Nicholas Creagh, Nicholas Rochford.
1506 William Arthur,	Richard Whyte, Richard Sergeant.
1507 William Creagh,	Nicholas Harrold, Nicholas Ryce.
1508 Richard Fitz-Patrick Fox,	Thomas Yong, Richard Sargeant.
1509 Nichs. Thos. Fitz-W. Arthur,	David Comyn, Richard Boneovle.
1510 Nicholas Stretch,	Walter Rice, Richard Fanning.
1511 Thomas Roch,	Patrick Fanning, Thomas Rochefort.
1512 Robert Harrold,	David White, Peter Comyn.
1513 Robert Stackpol,	James Stretch, Christopher Harrold.
1514 Richard Fox (2nd time	Christopher Creagh, James Fitz-Edward Arthur.
1515 Thomas Comyn,	William Long, William Arthur.
1516 Nicholas Harrold,	Richard Milonis (Fitz-Milo) Arthur, Galfridus Stretch.
1517 Nicholas Harrold,	James Harrold, Peter Walter Arthur.
1518 David Comyn,	George Stretch, Peter Fitz-William Creagh.
1519 John Rocheford,	Edmond Harrold, Daniel Fitz-John Arthur.
1520 Walter Ryce,	Stephen Creagh, Thomas Woulfe.
1521 David Comyn (2nd time),*	William Fanning, Andrew Harrold.
1522 David Whyte,	John Ryce, Thomas Arthur.
1523 David Roche,	James Creagh, Stephen Comyn.
1524 Christopher Arthur,	Peter Creagh, Patrick Everard.
1525 James Harrold,	Richard Comyn, Patrick Everard.

White, who gives James Arthur as Mayor this year, states "that a lease made to Thomas Roche, a citizen of Limerick, on the 26th day of February, 1526, which is in my possession, was witnessed by James Harrold, Mayor of the city"—another proof of the general correctness of the Arthur roll.

1526 Thomas Yong,	Nicholas Fitz-Thomas Creagh, John Nangyll.
1527 Nicholas Creagh,	John Fitz-Nicholas Arthur, Peter Fitz-Christopher Arthur.
1528 Nicholas Stretch,	William Creagh, Leonard Creagh.
1529 Patrick Fanning,	Nicholas Comyn, Patrick Long.
1530 Stephen Creagh,	William Verdun, Richard Stackpol.
1531 Edmond Harrold,	John Harrold, Roland Arthur.
1532 Daniel Fitz-George Arthur,	George Creagh, Wm. White.
1533 Thomas Yong,	David Ryce, Thomas Long.
1534 John Fitz-Nicholas Arthur,	Bartholomew Stretch, John Fitz-John Stretch.
1535 Edmond Sexten,	Dominick Whyte, Oeunepherous Fitz-Christoper Arthur.
1536 Bartholomew Stretch,	John Comyn, Jasper Fanning.
1537 Nicholas Comyn,	William Yong, Patrick Ryce.
1538 Wm. Fanning,	James Fox, James Roche.
1539 Leonard Creagh,	Wm. Stretch, Thomas Creagh.
1540 Dominick Whyte,	David Creagh, James Loftus.
1541 Patrick Everard,	Walter Harrold, and Dominick Comyn.
1542 George Crevagh,	Wm. Stretch, James Stackpol.
1543 David Whyte,	Wm. Creagh, Wm. Yong.
1544 James Harrold,	Andrew Harrold, Hector Fitz-James Arthur.
1545 Dominick Whyte,	Patrick Long, George Rochfort.

* 1521. 13th Hen. VIII. 1522, David Comyn second time Mayor, Nicholas, son of Thomas William Arthur, William Fanning, Andrew Harrold, bailiffs. A terrible pestilence prevailed all over the city, and carried off Mayor Comyn, who was succeeded by Nicholas (F. W.) Arthur on the 4th day of September, on which day he was made mayor (*Arthur MSS.*). It was then that the Supreme Pontiff conferred on Henry VIII. the title of Defender of the Faith, in consequence of the book he published against Luther, and it was then that the Turks invaded the Island of Rhodes (*Arthur MSS*)

1505 William Harrold imposed several penalties or taxes on the citizens for the repairs, etc., of St. Mary's Church.

1529 On the 10th of June, Edmond Butler, Archbishop of Cashel, held a Provincial Council at Limerick, at which were present—Nicholas Comyn, Bishop of Lismore and Waterford; John Quoin, Bishop of Limerick; and James O'Corrin, Bishop of Killaloe. In this synod power was granted to the Mayor of Limerick to commit to prison ecclesiastics for debt, without any prohibition to the contrary, until their creditors were satisfied. The clergy complained grievously of this decree, as an impiety and a violation of their rights (*Arthur MSS.*). The MSS. adds, it is doubtful whether the concession avails.

1530 Richard Fanning was clerk of the court, Town Clerk (?) of Limerick (*Arthur MSS*).

1542 Hector Arthur was Clerk of the Court of Limerick (*Arthur MSS.*)

1543 David White being Mayor of Limerick, was the first Mayor who carried a white wand (*White's MSS.* p. 41). This year the title of Earl of Thomond was conferred on Maurice

MAYORS.	BAILIFFS.
1546 Stephen Creagh,	Wm. Verdun, Myles Stretch.
1547 John Fitz-Nicholas Arthur,	Thomas Arthur, John Stackpol.
1548 Wm Stretch,	Peter Whyte, James Creagh.
1549 John Fitzgeo. Stretch,	John Harrold, Christopher Creagh.
1550 James Fox,	James Stretch, Edward Fitz-Daniel Arthur.
1551 James Creagh, for one month Mayor; James Fox, second time for two months.	Clement Fanning, Nicholas Harrold.
1552 William Stretch,	Roland Harold, Philip Rochford.
1553 William Verdune,	Nicholas Whyte, John Creagh.
1554 James Stretch,	William Fox, Richard Fanning.
1555 John Stackpol,	David Comyn, Thomas Creagh.
1556 John Comyn,	Peter Fitz-Leonard Creagh, George Roche.
1557 Clement Fanning,	Richard Arthur, John Everard.
1558 Edward Fitz-Daniel Arthur,	Stephen Whyte, Dominick Creagh,
1559 Daniel Comyn,	Dominick Fanning, Thomas Fitz-Peter Creagh.
1560 Peter Fitz-Leonard Creagh,	Thomas Fitz-Patrick Creagh, Richard Young.
1561 Richard Fanning,	Patrick Rochford, David Cromwell.
1562 Nicholas Whyte,	Nicholas Woulfe, Patrick Fox.
1563 Nicholas Harrold,	John Comyn, John Fanning.
1564 George Roche,	George Fanning, Thomas Harrold.
1565 Thomas Fitz-John Arthur,	Patrick Creagh, William Creagh.
1566 Roland Harrold,	Roger Everard, Stephen Fanning.
1567 Christopher Creagh,	James Creagh, John Wolf.
1568 Dominick Fanning,	Thomas Fitz-Arthur, Richard Cromwell.
1569 Philip Rochford,	Nicholas Price, Stephen Whyte
1570 John Fitz-Stephen Comyn,	Dominick Everard, Daniel Fitz-Daniel Arthur.
1571 Geo. Fitz-William Fanning,	George Fitz-Daniel Arthur, George Comyn.
1572 Richard Stretch,	Philip Comyn, Jordan Roche.
1573 Thomas Fitz-John Arthur,	Thomas Stretch, Milo Fitz-Eustace Arthur.
1574 Thomas Harrold,	George Cromwell, Nicholas Whyte.
1575 Roger Everard,	Stephen Fitz-Dominick Whyte, David Rochfort.
1576 Stpn. Fitz-Dominick Whyte,	William Fitz-John Arthur, Patrick Fanning.
1577 Thomas FitzJohn Arthur,	Walter Fitz-Patrick Ryan, Nicholas Stretch.
1578 John Woulfe,	John Stretch, Peter Stretch.
1579 Nicholas Fitz-Bw. Stretch,	Thomas Stretch, Arthur Creagh.
1580 Jordan Fitz-Gerald Roche,	Andrew Creagh, Edward Fitz-Hector Arthur.

O'Brien, descended of the O'Briens who were Kings of Limerick, and the title of Earl of Clanrickard on Ulick Bourk (*ibid.*).

1549 Hector Arthur was amanuensis of the court of Limerick this year. *Arthur MSS.*

1559 The Masse put down, and the communio. put up: so Thom. Creagh [Creagh, bailiff of Limerick]. *Sexten's Annals.*

1565 The Earl of Desmond taken and sent to England. *Ibid.*

1565 John Hawkins, who had come from Santa Fe, in South America, originally introduced potatoes into Ireland.

1569 Coner, Earl of Thomond, pclayd. trayter (by Thom. Creaugh), fled to France, from thence he ca. to England, and was pdoed. Conor O'Brien was third Earl of Thomond. In his letter of submission to Queen Elizabeth, dated 27th September, 1572, he proposed to "advance the Book of Common Prayer, the Sacraments, and the Communion Book". *Sexten's Annals.*

1570 Kilmalock spoyled by James Fitz-Morris. *Ibid.*

1570 Kilmallock burned by James Fitzmaurice, Earl of Desmond.

1571 Printing in Irish characters introduced by Nicholas Walsh, Chancellor of St. Paul's, Dublin.—*Dublin Directory.*

1573 A terrible pestilence broke out in Dublin this year.

1574 James Fitz-Morris, the archtrayter, wet. fro. Inshcatty beyond ye seas. A great plage in Dublin. *Sexten's Annals.*

1755 (18 Eliz.) A swoord grattd. and borne before ye maior. *Ibid.*

1575 The Queen (Elizabeth) sent by the Viceroy, Henry Sydeney, a royal sword, to be borne before the magistrates for the greater honour. *Arthur MSS.*

Symon Sexten was clerk of the court of Limerick this year. *Ibid.*

1576 The ruins of the King's Castle at Limerick are repaired this year. *Ibid.*

1577 James Fitz-Morris landed and fortified at Smerwick, and the Earl of Desmond rebelled. *Sexten's Annals.*

1579 James Fitz-Morris and Theobald did slay either the other. *Sexten's Annals.*

1580 The fort at Smerwick taken, and the no. of 600 or 700 Spaniards and Italians put to the sword [1580]. *Ibid.*

MAYORS.	BAILIFFS.
1581 James Fitz-John Galway,	Thomas Yong, George Harrold.
1582 John Fitz-Bw. Stretch,	Peter Fitz-Dominick Creagh, Peter Oenopherous Arthur.
1583 Nicholas Comyn,	Oliver Harrold, Nicholas Bourke.
1584 James Fanning,	Nicholas Harrold, Patrick Midchell.
1585 Stephen Sexten,	Patrick Woulfe, Oliver Bourke.
1586 Thomas Yong,	Robert Whyte, James Cromwell.
1587 George Fanning,	Stephen Roche, Edmond Comyn.
1588 Jordan Roche,	Martin Creagh died, Walter Ryce, and Patrick Woulf.
1589 Nicholas Bourke,	William Fitz-Wm. Creagh, Thomas Stackpol.
1590 Thomas Fitz-Wm. Stretch,	Thomas Woulf, Nicholas Fox.
1591 Oliver Bourke,	Edmond Fox, Richard Woulfe.
1592 Nicholas Fitz-Thomas Arthur (first time),	John Fitz-Andrew Comyn de Parke, David Woulfe.
1593 Peter Fitz-Dominick Creagh,	Bartholomew Fitz-Jas. Stretch, Ed. Fitz-Stephen Whyte.
1594 John Fitz-Bw. Stretch,	Dom. Fitz-John Arthur, Edward Stretch.
1595 JamesWhyte, who died in the first month, and in his place was chosen Peter Fitz-John Creagh,	John Fitz-John Stretch, Clement Fanning.
1596 Robert Whyte,	Bartholomew Stackpol, Robert Bourke,
1597 Dominick Fitzjordan Roche,	Wm. Fitz-Thos. Arthur, Jas. Fitz-Stephen Whyte.
1598 James Cromwell,	Philip Roche, Thomas Bourke.
1599 Wm. Fitz-John Stretch,	David Fitz-Nicholas Whyte, Michael Waters.
1600 Galfridus (Sir Geoffrey) Galway, afterwards made a baronet, fined and imprisoned by the lord president (*Sexten's MSS.*).	Simon Fanning, Robert Arthur.
1601 Stephen Roch,	Wm. Fitz-Thomas Stretch, for the first six months; Jas. Fitz-Edward Arthur, for the second six months; David Fitz-Walter Ryce.
1602 Philip Roch,	James Fitz-James Whyte, Wm. Myeagh.
1603 Nicholas Bourke (2nd time),	Thomas Fitz-Philip Comyn, Thos. Fitz-Patrick Creagh.
1604 James Galway (2nd time),	David Fitz-Milo Comyn, Thos. Fitz-Patrick Creagh.
1605 Edmund Fox, for two months,	Dominick Fitz-Peter Creagh, James Woulf.
1606 Edmund Sexten,	Christopher Arthur, P. Creagh.
Sexten Sheriff of the County Limerick a second time, S.	
1607 Nicholas Arthur,	Nicholas Whyte, William Hally.
Galway and Sexten Agents for England, S.	

Sir Henry Bunkard, President of Munster, commenced a truculent persecution against the Catholics; and because Edmund Fox, three weeks before Michaelmas Day, refused to take the oath of supremacy and go to church, he was deposed of his office. The citizens being driven to a new election, chose Andrew Creagh Fitz-Gasper, who was the first Protestant Mayor. *Arthur MSS.*, and *White's MSS.*, p. 56.

Andrew Creagh was May)for one month.

1582 A hat of maintenance granted and borne before the maior. *Ibid.*

1583 Queen Elizabeth granted the Salmon Weir, the Island of Iniscattery, in the Shannon, with twenty-four acres of land, a house and castle in the island, to the Mayor and citizens of Limerick for ever, and their successors, at the annual rent of £3 12s. 8d.; also ten cottages, one church in ruins, twenty acres of wood and stony ground in said island, called beechwood, with all the tithes, and the several customs following:—From every boat of oysters coming itno the city of Limerick, once a year 1,000 oysters; and from every herring boat, once a year 500 herrings (Archdall, etc.). The Queen also granted the customs of the several gates of the city.

1594 A hundred talemen were sent to ye north of Irland, under the leadinge of David Woulf capte. in somer tyme. My father dyed this year. *Sexten's Annals.*

1600 On the 14th of November in this year, Sir George Carew, Lord President of Munster, held a sessions of jail delivery in Limerick, when several of the Irish were condemned and executed (*Hib. Pacata*, p. 305).

1601 Siege of Kinsale and overthrow of the Spaniards.

1601 Edm. Sexten sher. of the county of Limke. ye first tyme, and then married. Sir J. Norish the Lo. President, and Sir Thom. Vic. Pdt. longe befor absented fro. church.

1601 Geffrey Galway, Maior. This maior fined and imprsd. by ye Lo. Presdt. Secured ye East Dich of ye south suburbs.

1602 All the cittyes and towns of Munster entered into arms, and put upp Masses in their churches, which continued not long.

1604 A terrible pestilence, brought over from England, scourged the province of Munster, and carried off three hundred of the inhabitants of Limerick (*Arthur MSS.*)

MAYORS.	BAILIFFS.
1608 Patrick Arthur,	Wm. Creagh, Geo. White.

These were the last Bailiffs and the first Sheriffs of Limerick.

	SHERIFFS.
1609 David Whyte,	William Myeagh, Dominick Creagh.
1610 Clement Fanning,	Walter Whyte, Jasper Whyte.
1611 David Comyn, one month,	David Fitz-Geoffry Ryce, two months; Christopher Creagh.

This David Comyn and David Ryce were deposed for refusing the oath of supremacy and not going to church, and were chosen

Edmund Sexten,	Christopher Creagh, Patrick Lysaght.
1612 Wm. Myeagh, for four months,	Patrick Fitz-Henry Whyte, John Skeolan, for four months.

This Mayor and both Sheriffs were deposed for not taking the oaths, etc., and in their places were chosen

Christopher Creagh, who took the oath, but did not go to church, and held the office for eight months,	Geo. Fitz-James Creagh, John Lyseiaght, conformable Sheriffs for eight months.
1613 Dominick Fitz-Peter Creagh,	John FitzJohn Arthur, George Woulfe, for three months.

This Mayor and Sheriffs were deposed for the same cause, and in their places were chosen

William Haly for nine months	David Bourk, Thomas Power, nine months.
1614 Michael Walter, for five months,	Nicholas Fitz-Nls. Stretch, Wm. Roch de Cahiravahalla, five months.

The Mayor and Nicholas Stretch were deposed for not going to church, and in their places were chosen

James Fitz-James Whyte,	William Rochford, Peter Fitz-Peter Creagh, three months.

They were likewise deposed for the same cause at the following assizes, and there were chosen

James Galway, (third time Mayor),	David Bourke (above), Thomas Power, two months, who resigned the office, then chosen Arthur Fanning, Christopher Fitz-D. Arthur.
1615 William Stretch, fourteen days,	James White Fitz-Henry, Walter Fitz-Richard Arthur, fourteen days.

This Mayor and Sheriffs were deposed for the same cause, then chosen

Simon Fanning,	George Sexten, George Rochford.

The Mayor also and George Sexten were deposed for the same cause, then chosen

David Comyn (second time)	Nicholas Fitz-Henry Whyte, Geo. Rochford.

The Mayor and Nicholas Whyte resigned office, then chosen

1616 James Galway, (fourth time)	James Fitz-John Stretch, George Rochfort.

The Mayor and Rochfort were deposed for refusing the oaths, then chosen

Christopher Creagh, (conformed),	Patrick Leyseaght, James Stretch.

This Mayor, for now refusing the oaths which he took in 1611, when Sheriff. was brought to the Star Chamber, was fined £100, and was confined; none of these five Mayors or Sheriffs, in 1615, would take the oaths or go to church, except Patrick Lyeseagh, who was a Protestant.

1616 Dominick Roche, (second time Mayor),	John Fitz-John Stretch (conformed), Richard Lawless, (conformed).
1617 John Fitz John Stretch, (Poyson),	George Fitz-James Creagh (conformed), Peter Harrold, (conformed),
1618 Dominick Roch, (third time)	

He resigned in Dublin, then chosen

Peter Fitz-Peter Whyte,	Edward Sexten (conformed), David Roch (conformed).
1619 Edward Sexten, (third time),	Edward Sexten (conformed), Philip Ronane (conformed).
1620 Henry Barkley,	

Who was deposed through the opposition of the Earl of Thomond, the very day of election, then chosen

1621 Dominick Roche (the fourth time Mayor,)	James Lawless (conformed), Robert Lawless (conformed), booksellers.

1608 This year James I. granted his charter to the citizens, by which they obtained sheriffs, and the ancient name of bailiffs abolished, and the mayors increased (?)—*Arthur MSS.*

1608 (7 Jas.) The plague at Limke., whereoff 300 dyed. Limke., Cork, and Galway, made countyes. Clonmel had first a mayor and bayliffe wt. a *swoord.*

1613 An act was passed for the King's general and free pardon; also an act to repeal a former act, which prohibited the Irish, English, and Scotch, from intermarrying.—*Irish Statutes, 11th Jas. I.*

1615 Edm. Sexton 4 time sheriff of ye county of Limke., whoe had ye corporation seised in the Castele chamber for a riott. *Sexten's Annals.*

MAYORS.	SHERIFFS.
1622 John Fitz-John Stretch, (Poyson),	Peter Harrold (conformed), Philip Ronane (conformed).
1623 Edward Sexten (3rd time Mayor),	George Fitz-James Creagh, Patrick Lawless.
1624 David Fitz-Nicholas Comyn (3rd time Mayor),	James Sexton (conformed), Edward Barkley (conformed).
1625 Henry Barkley (conformed),	Nicholas Fanning, John Meyeagh, Catholics.
1626 James Fitz-Nicholas Bourke, (Catholic),	James Fitz-Bw. Stackpol, George Bourke, Catholics.
	Mayor and Sheriffs went publicly to Mass.
1627 James Fitz-John Stretch,	Andrew Fitz-Andrew Creagh, Peter Fitz-Oliver Harrold.
1628 Peter Fitz Peter Creagh,	Dominick Fitz-Bw Whyte, Edward Skeolane.
1629 Dr. Domk. Fitz-David Whyte,	Peter Fitz-Andrew Creagh, William Fitz-Stephen Roch.
1630 Nicholas Fanning,	Stephen Fitz-James Whyte, Robert Haly.
1631 Andrew Fitz-Andrew Creagh,	Stephen Stretch, Dominick Tyrry.
1632 James Lawless,	James Fitz-Stephen Whyte, Francis Fanning.
1633 John Meyeagh,	James Fitz-Ed. Fox, Peter Fitz-Peter Creagh.
1634 Peter (or Pierce)* Creagh Fitz-Andrew,	John Fitz-Thomas Bourk, William Fitz-Peter Creagh.
1635 Thomas Fitz-Martin Arthur,	Daniel Nihell, James Fitz-Water Ryce.
1636 Sir Domk. Fitz-Bw. Whyte,	Luke Stretch, William Leyseaght.
	This Sir Dominick was father to the Marquis of Albaville in Germany.
1637 James Fitz-James Whyte,	James Fitz-John Creagh, James Hackett.
1638 Robert Lawless,	James Fitz David Whyte, Nicholas Fitz-Ed. Fox.
1639 Jordan Roch (the younger),	David Fitz-David Whyte, William Fitz-Wm. Stretch.
1640 William Fitz-Ed. Comyn,	John Fitz-Jasper Comyn, Henry Cassy.
1641 Dominick Fitz-Simon Fanning (third time).	Thomas Fitz-James Whyte, George Fitz-Patk. Rochfort.
1642 Peter Fitz-Pierce Creagh,	Laurence Whyte, Laurence Ryce.
1643 Dominick Fitz-David Whyte,	Thomas Fitz-David Comyn, James Sarsfield.
1644 Francis Fanning,	James Mahowne, Patrick Meyeagh.
1645 John Fitz-Thomas Bourk,	Thomas Fitz-Patrick Stretch, Edmund Fitz-Stephen Roch.
This Mayor was deposed by the clergy and populace for endeavouring to proclaim Ormonde's peace, and the rod was given to Dominick Fanning (second time).	
1646 Dominick Fitz-Stephen Fanning,	David Fitz-Peter Creagh, James Fitz-Geo. Sexten.
1647 Peter (Pierce) Creagh Fitz-Andrew,	Bartholomew Fitz-David Ryce, Patrick Woulfe.
1648 Sir Nichs. Fitz-David Comyn,	Patrick Fitz-Oliver Arthur, Andrew Bourk.
1649 John Fitz-Wm. Creagh,	David Rochefort, James Bonefield.
1650 Thos. Fitz-Patrick Creagh,	Martin Fitz-Andrew Creagh, Nicholas Ronan.
1651 Peter Fitz-Peter Creagh,	Stephen Fitz-David Skeolan, Wm. Fitz-David Creagh.
These were the last Catholics in office in Limerick. This was the year of Ireton's siege, referred to in detail in this work. The mayoralty was vacant for four years after that most lamentable event, and governed by the military governor until June, 1656, when twelve English aldermen were elected, who chose, for the remainder of the year, until Monday after Michaelmas, Colonel Henry Ingolsby as Mayor.	
1656 Colonel Henry Ingolsby,	John Comyn, Peter Ash.
1657 Captain Ralf Wilson,	John Comyn, Peter Ash.

* The Christian name of the Creaghs are called Petrus in Latin, which we translate Peter throughout. In *White's MSS.* it is called Pierce, for which Pierius and Peircius are also given in the *Camb. Lat. Dic.*

1622 Mungret Gate opponed and nowe built, half ye street paved wc. was shut tyme out of mynde. St. Mary Church repayrd, and organ put up there. The spitell bego. to be built. *S. Annals.*

1627 (4 K. Chas.) Generall agents sent for England from the pvinces., whoe granted £120,000 subsidy to be granted by parlt., but levied for the *souldiers* wt. out. pliament. *Ibid.*

1631 The lower part of the sub. burnt, and ale at £3 the hogset. *Ibid.*

Indenture of last day of August 1609, defining boundaries of county of the citty of Lk. between Erl. Thomond, Bishop Limck., and Mayor of Limck, etc. *Ibid.*

1652 John Cullen, of the Order of St. Dominick, was executed for the faith in Limerick.—*White's MSS.*

1654 Commons of Ireland limited this year by Cromwell's Parliament to thirty. The counties of Limerick, Clare, and Kerry, one member only; city of Limerick and Kilmallock, one each.

1657 The death of Oliver Cromwell is thus noted in the *Davis MSS.*:—

"Oliver Cromwell hurried to his woe,
Justly rewarded by a *quid pro quo*".

MAYORS.	SHERIFFS.
1658 Wm. Yarwell, Esq.,	Jeremy Heywood, Christopher Keyes.
1659 Wm. Hartwell, Esq.,	Robert Passy, John Crabb.
1660 Thomas Miller,	Henry Price, Robert Shutt.
1661 John Comyn,	James Banting, Wm. Pope.
1662 Henry Bindon,	Henry Salfield, Wm. Joint.
1663 Sir Ralph Wilson,	Thomas Martin, John Burn.
1664 Sir Ralph Wilson,	John Lence, Samuel Foxon.
1665 Sir Wm. King,	Henry Price, John Symmes.
1666 Samuel Foxon,	John Backner, John Arthur.
1667 Sir Ralph Wilson,	Wm. York, Anthony Bartlett.
1668 Sir Ralph Wilson,	Edward Clock, John Bennett.
1669 E. Werendoght,	Rowland Bonton, Henry Clinton.
1670 R. Studdendoght	Francis Whittamor, George Bockendoght.
1671 John Bourin, chirurgeon,	Daniel Hignett, John Hart.
1672 Sir Geo. Ingoldsby,	John Beer, John Halpin.
	John Halpin deposed; James Phillips, Sheriff.
1673 Wm. York,	Robert Higgins, Bartholomew Ast,
1674 Wm. York,	Thomas Rose, Robert Smith.
1675 Edward Clarke,	George Roche Wm. Craven.
1676 Capt. Humphrey Hartwell,	Pierce Graham, Edward Waight.
1677 Capt. Humphrey Hartwell,	Richard Lyllis, Wm. Clifford.

1666 A great drought this year, without great heat; the river Shannon was so low that people walked dry round the city, and from Thrawnoe (new strand) now big Water Gate, to Emblin Gate (I suppose Creagh's Gate) about the time of St. James's fair, there were scarce any brooks, ponds, or wells running. Cattle were driven many miles to water. 500 salmon would be taken in a day at the weir.—*White's MSS.*

1666 On September 1st, his Grace James Butler, Duke of Ormonde, Lieutenant-General, General-Governor and Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, came to Limerick, Sir William King being Mayor. He was accompanied by many of the nobility: the Earl of Barrymore carried the sword before him; a drummer mounted on horseback beat the kittle drums, which was the first of the kind ever seen in Limerick. He was lodged by and at the expense of the Mayor. It was an excessive hot summer, all commodities exceeding cheap.—*White's MSS.*

1666. The following inscription was on the bridge near Villadora:—"This causeway was repaired by the Commons of Limerick, Samuel Foxon, Mayor, A.D. 1666.

1669 On May day, some Protestants of the Company of Grocers, would fain bring the Catholic merchants under quarterage, as other trades practised, and, therefore, would form themselves into a company, and began to march through the streets with their officers and colours, as others did; but as they imagined that all other trades should give way to them, they attempted to take the right hand, but they were terribly banged and beaten, which ought to deter them from the like for the future.—*White's MSS.*

John, Lord Roberts of Truro, Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, after reviewing the troops at the Curragh of Kildare, on the 18th of September, came to Limerick, but in no great pomp, and lay at the bishop's for two nights.—*Ibid.*

1669 This year the poundage for Protestant ministers began—.*Ibid.*

1670 The shaking fever and bloody flux greatly raged in this country, and swept away numbers.—*Ibid.*

The Mayor of Limerick, Robert Shute, was accused at the assizes of ravishing his maid and of other high crimes.—*Ibid.*

1671 Proclamation was made for the restoring all the exiled merchants to their ancient freedom and privileges, in all the corporations of the kingdom.

1672 John Bourin, the Mayor, collected all the boys of the town, and perambulated the Gravelines with them for two days.

1672 November 10, The Earl of Thomond admitted to ye freedom of this citty, and ye same presented to him in a silver box, in Latin. *Cor. Book* in British Museum from 1672 to 1680.

1672 Salary of mayor £100.

John Baptist Ronzell, of *Bridges* (Bruges ?), in Flanders, admitted to his freedom.

Tobacco from Antigua to Richard Pierce,

Charity Pyne charges half a year's lodging of Earl of Inchiquin, when he was a captain of a troop of horse, in this city in 1672, according to a contract with the corporation, £9. From *Corporation Book* in British Museum, from 1672 to 1680.

1673 No swyne to be kept within the walls, nor dogs loosed after ten at night. *Corporation Book*, ibid.

1674 Charter granted to plasterers and slaters.

1676 Tobacco-makers made a fraternity. *Corporation Book*, ibid.

1677 Total rent roll, £867 10s. 10½d., besides coquet, customs, pilotage. *Corp. Book*, ibid.

Masons' charter granted. Felt maker's guild created. *Corporation Book*, ibid.

MAYORS.	SHERIFFS.
1678 Wm. York, (third time),	Thomas Long John Bond.
This Mayor died in April, Sir William King (second time) chosen.	
1679 Sir Wm. King, (third time),	Wm. Allen, Moses Woodroff.
1680 Anthony Bartlett,	Richard Ingram, Thomas Meagher.
1681 Fras Whitamor, innkeeper,	John Craven, Nathaniel Webb.
1682 Wm. Gribble,	Edward Clark, Giles Spencer.
1683 Wm. Gribble,	Richard Allen, John Ford.
1684 Robert Smyth,	Daniel Bowman, Simon White.
1685 George Roche,	Thomas Breveter, Samuel Bartlett.
1686 George Roche (second time),	John Young, James Robinson.
1687 Robert Hannan, a Catholic,	Thomas Harrold, a Catholic, Peter Monsell, a Protestant.
None of them would be admitted, but Sir Stephen Rice, Lord Baron, compelled Roche, a Protestant Mayor, to admit them.	
1688 Robert Hannan, (2nd year)	Francis White, a Catholic, Philip Stackpole, a Catholic.
1689 Thos. Harrold, a Catholic,	Thos. Creagh, a Catholic, Richard Harrold, a Catholic.
1690 John Power of Drogheda, a Catholic,	James Arthur, a Catholic, Nicholas Morrough a Catholic.
1691 George Roche, Protestant,	John Young, a Protestant. Jas. Robinson, a Protestant.
1692 John Craven,	Zachary Holland, Bartholomew Lee.
1693 John Foord,	Wm. Davis, Abraham Bowman.
1694 Edward Waight,	Henry Chaplain, Charles Atkins.
1695 Thomas Rose,	Richard Sexton, George Roche.
1696 Simon White,	John Vincent, Pierse Piersy.
1697 John Young, apothecary,	Thomas Flaxon, John Higgins.
1698 James Robinson, goldsmith,	Tock Roche, Raudal Holland.
1699 Robert Twigg,	Richard Craven, Ezechias Holland.
1700 Richard Pope,	Walter Parker, George Robinson.
1701 Wm. Davis,	Railly Colpoys, Robert Wilkinson.
1702 George Roche, ye younger,	Redmond Fitz-Maurice, Isaac Moth.
1703 John Vincent,	Wm. Grimes, George Bridgeman.
1704 Richard Lyllis,	George Sexton, James Jacques.
1705 Tock Roch,	John M'Call, Wm. Medcaff.
1706 John Higgins,	Wm. Butler, Richard Chinnery.
1707 Randel Holland,	Henry Exham, Wm. Franklin.
1708 Richard Craven,	Francis Sargent, John Seamor.
1709 Rawly Colpoys,	David Davis, James Yeamans.
1710 Pierse Piercy,	John Murray, Thomas Cash.
1711 Edw. Waight (second time),	Paul Terry, Wm. Carr.
1712 Wm. Butler,	Christopher Carr, Robert Palmer.
1713 Ezechias Holland,	Joseph Phibbs, Michael Abjohn.
1714 Wm. Franklin,	Benjamin Barrington, Edmond Vokes.
1715 George Sexten,	Charles Coply, John Carr.
1716 Francis Sergeant,	Joseph Wilson, David Bendon.
1717 George Bridgeman,	John Busshery, Wm. Buxton.
1718 Wm. Medcaff, hatter,	Arthur Vincent, Richard Moore.
1719 Richard Davis,	Joseph Hartwell, John Graves.
1720 John Seamor, sadler,	Wm Norris, Isaac Clampett.
1721 George Roch,	Thomas Mason, Wm. Turner.
1722 Joseph Wilson, butcher,	Christopher White, Richard Roch.
1723 Tock Roche,	George Wright, Wm. Parker.

Mayor directed to agree with the Dean "for making a public seat on the north side of the *quyre* in ye cathedral of this city, for ye mayor, ald., and burgss". *Corporation Book*, ibid.

1678 Citizens complain of the oppressions suffered by billeting soldiers within the walls. The corporation answers: that butchers, bakers, brewers, maltsters, shoemakers, and *broag-makers*, are served by the soldiers; and this ordered that the sheriffs, for the time being, do command and require the constables of the several wards within the walls of this citty, to quarter the said soldiers upon all the master tradesmen of the said trades, and such as make mault to sell, whether they keep inns and sell ale or not. From *Corporation Book* as above.

April 2nd, 1678. Articles between Sir George Preston and Corporation as to the purchase of Lax Weir, etc. Vid. *Corporation Book*, as above.

Call on the freemen, Protestant bishop, clergymen, etc,, etc., to lend money to the corporation. *Ibid.*

1678 The old shambles near Baal's Bridge, were this year converted into a guard house for the army; it continued to be a main guard until the year 1750, when the city jail was built in Mary Street.

1688 The brogue makers granted a charter by the Corporation.

MAYORS.	SHERIFFS.
1724 Tock Roche,	Thomas Vincent, Joseph Franklin.
1725 John Carr,	Samuel Mounsell, Wm. Gardiner.
1726 Lieut.-Gen. Thomas Pierse,	Philip Rawson, Wm. Jessop.
1727 John Vincent,	George Rose, Richard Chester.
1728 Arthur Vincent, the above's son,	James Seamor, George Sexton.
1729 Walter Parker,	John Wight, Benjamin Barrington.
1730 Wm. Carr, shoemaker,	Richard Seymour, Joseph Roch.
1731 Philip Rawson,	Thomas Roch, John Ingram.
1732 Charles Smyth, Esq.,	John Bull, Mark Scaly.
1733 Wm. Wilson, Esq.,	John Shepherd, Simon Burton.
1734 Richard Maunsell, Esq.	Peter Sargent, Arthur Roche.
1735 George Wright,	James Sargent, William Roch.
1736 Thomas Vincent,	Henry Long, William Robinson.
1737 The Lord Thos. Southwell,	John Franklin, Zachary Davis.
1738 George Sexton,	Richard Graves, David Roche.
1739 Isaac Clampett,	John Long, John Gough.
1740 Josph. Roche, this Mayor died, and was succeeded by Thos. Vincent (second time),	Robert Cripps, John Davis: the latter died, and was succeeded by George Waller.
1741 John Wight,	James Smyth, Wm. Vokes.
1742 John Robinson,	John Jones, Walter Seymour.
1743 Arthur Roche,	Henry Ivers, Esq., Thomas Maunsell.
1744 Henry Long,	James Robinson, Thomas Brown.
1745 Robert Cripps,	Wm. Davis, Zachary Johnson.
1746 Henry Ivers, Esq.,	Henry Holland, Frederick Gore.
1747 John Ingram,	Richard Nash, Esq., Francis Sargent.
1748 John Jones,	George Vincent, Robert Hallam.
1749 David Roch,	John Smyth, John Bull.
1750 Captain Henry Southwell,	Andrew Shepherd, Joseph Cripps.
1751 James Smyth, Esq.,	John Weakly, John Tavernor.
1752 John Shepperd,	Thomas Palmer, Joseph Barrington.
1753 Peter Sargent,	Sexten Bayly, Dr. John Barrett.
1754 John Gough,	George Sexton, Christopher Carr.
1755 Stepney Rawson Stepney,	Edward Villiers, Esq., Joseph Johns.
1756 Arthur Roch,	Andrew Welsh, Exham Vincent.
1757 Andrew Shepherd,	Christopher Britson, Wm. Goggins.
1758 Sexten Baylee,	John Parker, Wm. Gubbins.

The list in White's MSS. is continued down to 1814, for the most part in the hand-writing of the Right Rev Dr. John Young.

1759 Francis Sargent,	Walter Widenham, Thomas Pearse.
1760 Arthur Roche, (third time,)	Thomas Vokes, Eaton Maunsel.
1761 George Vincent,	John Monsell, Francis Sargent.

The above Mayor was the best and most active we had within the memory of the living. W. MSS.

1762 Edward Villiers, Esq.,	Eyres Evans Powell, Esq., Thomas Vereker.
1763 Robert Hallam,	John Prendergast Smyth, John Vereker.
1764 Thos. Smyth, Esq., admitted in 1755,	Alexander Franklin, Counsellor John Tonnadine.
1765 George Sexton, junr.,	Samuel Johns, Francis Sargent.
1766 Joseph Cripps,	Counsellor Henry Wm. Bindon,* John Shepherd, jun.
1767 Thomas Vereker, Esq.,	Wm. Smyth, Raleigh James.
1768 Dr. John Barrett, M.D.,	Wm. Gabbett, Richard Harte.
1769 John Vereker, Esq.,	Edmond Morony, Thomas Ewer.
1770 Exham Vincent, post master,	John Creaghe, John Atkinson.
1771 Christr. Carr Christopher,	Bryan Mansergh, Wm. Piercy.
1772 Arthur Roche elected, but being disqualified, George Roche (parson) his son, admitted in 1755,	Wm. Stamer, Pierse Piercy.
1773 Joseph Johns, silversmith,	Thomas Carpenter, Miles Jackson.

* Was elected Recorder in the room of Baron Smyth, which office he held until his death, A.D. 1731.

1749. David Roche (Mayor) died on Monday, 22nd of May, 1797, aged eighty-one years. He was father of the city, buried at St. Munchin's, Thursday, 25th May, 1797.

1752. Thomas Palmer (who was sheriff this year), died in 1792.

1755. Christopher Carr (who was sheriff this year), died 24th March, 1791.

MAYORS.	SHERIFFS.
1774 Richard Hart,	Philip Smyth, Burton Bindon.
1775 Wm. Gabbett,	Wm. Fitzgerald, Joseph Gabbett.
1776 Thomas Smyth,	Christopher Knight, Thomas Vincent.
1777 Walter Widenham,	Charles Sargent, Francis Russell.
1778 Philip Smyth,	John Gabbett, Amos Vereker.
1779 Eaton Maunsell,	Hugh Gough, John Harrisson.
1780 F. Sargent James.	Edward Parker, John Ferrar, author of the *History of Limerick.*
1781 Thomas Carpenter,	Wm. Fosbery, John Frederick Furnell.
1782 George Smyth admitted in 1776,	George Tomkins, Hugh Brady.
1783 Alexander Franklin,	John Fitzgerald, Wm. Russell.
1784 Thomas Pearse,	Wm. Wallace, Michael Blood.
1785 Sir Christopher Knight, Kt.,	Joseph Sargent, Arthur Vincent.
1786 Wm. Fitzgerald, Esq.,	Wm. Piercy, M.D., Henry Rose, Attorney.
1787 John Creagh, attorney,	Robert Wallace, Samuel Hunter.
1788 Richard Maunsell, Esq.,	John Cripps, Wm. Hunt.
1789 Joseph Gabbett, Esq.,	Henry D'Esterre, Thomas Moroney.
1790 John Minchin,	John Augustine Ievers, Bryan M'Mahon.
Said Ievers died in office in the month of February, 1791, and Michael Furnell, Esq., was associated as a colleague with Bryan M'Mahon for the rest of the year.	
1791 Rev. Thomas Shepherd,	George Sargent, David Dwyer.
1792 Benjamin Frend, Esq.,	Ralph Westrop, Henry Brady.
1793 Henry D'Esterre, Esq.,	George Davis, Thomas Edwards.
George Davis died in office the latter end of July, 1794, and was succeeded by Philip Russell.	
1794 Henry D'Esterre, Esq., re-elected,	Robert Briscoe, Joseph Cripps.
1795 Thomas Gabbett, Esq.,	Nicholas Mahon, Frederick Price.
1796 John Harrison, Esq.,	Robert Briscoe, Andrew Watson.
This Mayor died in the beginning of April, 1797, and Joseph Cripps was sworn into his office the 25th of the same month.	
1797 Joseph Cripps, re-elected,	Francis Lloyd, Richard Webb.
1798 Frederick Lloyd,	Andrew Watson, Henry Pierce Carroll.
1799 Frederick Lloyd,	Francis Lloyd, Richard Webb.
Mr. Webb died suddenly on the night of Tuesday the 25th of March, 1800, and was succeeded by Philip Russell for the rest of the year.	
1800 Ralph Westropp,	Philip Russell, Henry Collis.
1801 Ralph Westropp, reëlected,	Ed. Morony, Thomas F. Wilkinson.
1802 Joseph Sargent, nephew to Peter, Mayor in 1753,	Abraham Russell, Henry Collis.
1803 Arthur Vincent,	Henry Pierce Carroll, Colclough Stritch.
1804 Robert Briscoe,	Henry P. Carroll, Colclough Stritch.
1805 Wm. Fosbery,	Ab. Colclough Stritch, Bryan M'Mahon.
1806 Richard Harte,	Henry P. Carroll, D. F. G. Mahony.
This Mayor was knighted the year following.	
1807 Kilner Brooke Brasier,	Edmond Morony, Thomas Westropp.
1808 John Cripps,	Edmond Morony, Thomas Westropp.
1809 Francis Loyd,	Edmond Morony, Thomas Westropp.
1810 Francis Loyd,	Edmond Morony, Thomas Westropp.
1811 William Hunt,	Denis F. G. Mahony, Henry Watson.
1812 Andrew Watson,	Henry Collis, Arthur Brereton.
1813 Thomas S. Wilkinson,	Henry Collis, Arthur Brereton.
1814 Edmond Morony,	Henry Collis, Arthur Brereton.

1792. Henry Vereker was killed in a duel with Michael Furnell this year (*Ousely's MSS*).

1814. Bow Lane was reduced to an inclined plane of easy ascent, making a difference of seventeen feet.

1814, June 1, The inland navigation opened between Limerick and Killaloe, after being suspended since the bursting of the banks on 5th February, 1809. On the 31st of May, the Directors General of Inland Navigation purchased the property of this branch from the proprietors for the sum of £17,666 13s. 4d., two-third of the original stock; each share consisted of £250, for which the Directors General paid £176 13s. 4d. The original stock was 100 shares, at £250, £25,000.

Provisions at famine prices—beef 10d. per lb.; mutton, 11d.; veal, 7d. to 8d. Wheat 8s. 3d.

MAYORS.	SHERIFFS.
1815 John Vereker,	Henry Collis, Arthur Brereton.
1816 John Vereker,	Henry Collis, Arthur Brereton.
1817 John Vereker,	Henry Collis, Arthur Berreton.
1818 Joseph Gabbett,	W. M. Jackson, J. M'Al. Taverner.

John M'Alister Taverner died in office, then was chosen Wm. Taylor.

1819 Joseph Gabbett,	Wm. M. Jackson, Wm. Taylor.
1820 Sir Chris. Marrett, Knt.,	Wm. M. Jackson, Wm. Taylor.

Sir Christopher Marret was the first Mayor of Limerick who presented an address to a sovereign in London; and on the visit of King George to Dublin, he received the honour of knighthood from his majesty, at a special court held in Dublin Castle, 30th August, 1821. In this year, Carew Smith, Esq., was Recorder, E. Parker, Esq., Town Clerk, D. F. G. Mahony, Esq., Chamberlain. Charter Justices—Right Hon. Lord Viscount Gort, Andrew Watson, Esq., Denis F. G. Mahony, Esq., Henry Watson, Esq.

1821 Thomas Ormsby,	W. Taylor, Andrew James Watson.
1822 D. F. G. Mahony,	W. Taylor, Andrew James Watson.
1823 Henry Watson,	John Piercy, Henry Rose.
1824 Henry Watson,	Wm. Hunt, Wm. Piercy.
1825 Henry Watson,	John Harrison, John Westropp.
1826 Nicholas Mahon,	A. J. Watson, Richard Franklin, jun.
1827 Thomas Jervis,	John S. T. Piercy, Edmond Moroney, jun.
1828 Vere Hunt,	William Gibson, John Standish,
1829 Henry Rose,	William Piercy, George Lloyd.
1830 John Cripps,	Andrew James Watson, Henry Mahon.
1831 Hon. J. P. Vereker,	Edmond Moroney, jun., Ralph Westropp Brereton.
1832 Hon. J. P. Vereker,	Richard Franklin, George Sexten.
1833 John Vereker, jun.,	William Piercy, Samuel Moore Watson.
1834 John J. Piercy,	George Loyd, Francis Philip Russell.
1835 William Gibson,	Edmond Moroney, jun., Ralph W. Brereton.
1836 Alderman J. Vereker, jun.,	Henry Mahon, Hughes Russell.
1837 Edmond Moroney,	Richard Franklin, Henry Vereker.
1838 Garret Hugh Fitzgerald,	George Lloyd, James Sexten.
1839 Richard Franklin, M.D.	Robert Hunt, Thomas F. G. Sexton.

This Mayor was knighted by Earl Fortescue, Lord Lieutenant of Ireland.

1840 Henry Vereker Lloyd,	Ralph Westropp Brereton, Thomas Lloyd.
1841 Hon. C. S. Vereker,	Robert Ringrose Gelston, M.D., Arthur Vincent Watson.

These were the last of the Mayors and Sheriffs chosen by virtue of the charter of James I.

REFORM MAYORS AND SHERIFFS.

Under the Act 3 and 4 Vic, c. 108 (the Municipal Reform Act), there is but one Sheriff, who is appointed by the government, and the Mayor is elected on the 1st of December, and is installed on the 1st of January following, for twelve months.

1842 MARTIN HONAN, first Reform Mayor.

[Dr. Gelston continued to act as Sheriff during this year, pending the litigation between the old and reformed Corporations referred to in chapter liii.]

1843 Martin Honan, re-elected,	John Norris Russell, first reform sheriff.
1844 Pierse Shannon,	Samuel Dickson.

Mr. Shannon died in office in June, 1844, W. J. Geary, M.D., was chosen for the remainder of the year.

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per stone, every other article in proportion. Gold coin vanished, silver rare, paper money universal, the effect of twenty years war with France.

In the summer of this year, in consequence of the scarcity of water, the canal navigation was suspended All the flour mills near the city were obliged by the same cause to cease working, which rendered bread stuffs very scarce and dear.

The new theatre, George Street (now the church of St. Augustine), opened on the 29th July.

Many failures in country banks. Limerick banks refuse to discount.

From 17th to 27th of March in this year, the number of troops billeted on the citizens was 157 officers, 258 non-commissioned officers, and 3,996 privates.

1842 Alderman John Cripps was elected Mayor by the old Corporation on the 29th of June; James Sexton and Amos Vereker were elected Sheriffs, but were never sworn into office. The Municipal Reform Act having at length come into operation in Limerick, the functions of the Old Corporation ceased, and the New and Reformed Corporation began. The Mayors and Sheriffs under the Old System were elected on the 29th of June, sworn into office on the first Monday after Michaelmas day, and continued in office until that day twelve months.

1853. The Limerick Corporation Act, 1853 (16 and 17, Vic. c. 73), received the Royal assent on the 28th of June this year. There was no election of Mayor until the 1st of January following. The Limerick Improvement Act (16 and 17, Vic. c. 1), received the Royal assent on the 15th of August, 1853.

MAYORS.	SHERIFFS.
1845 Wm. John Geary, M.D. re-elected,	Wm. Roche.
1846 E. F. G. Ryan,	Henry Watson.
1847 Thomas Wallnutt,	Richard Russell.
1848 Michael Quin	Henry Maunsell.
1849 John Boyse,	David Leahy Arthur.
1850 Laurence Quinlivan,	Wm. Spaight.
1851 Thaddeus M'Donnell,	P. A. Shannon.
1852 Thomas Kane, M.D.	Wm. Gabbett.
1853 Wm. H. Hall,	James Spaight.
1854 Henry Watson,	Major George Gavin.
1855 Henry O'Shea,	Francis Grene.
1856 James Spaight,	Helenus White.
1857 Thomas Kane, M.D. (second time),	Captain Michael Gavin.
1858 Edmond Gabbett,	Thomas Keane, M D.
1859 Michael R. Ryan,	Andrew V. Watson.

Mr. Ryan restored the ancient arms of Limerick, according to the Corporate seal of the city, over the city jail and other public edifices, and had them engraved on the coat buttons of the sergeants at mace and bailiffs. Mrs. Ryan presented by the Corporation with a silver cradle on the occasion of the birth of a son during her husband's year of office.

1860 Wm. Fitzgerald,	Edward Murphy.

Mr. Fitzgerald died in office, October 1860, when Alderman T. M'Donnell was elected for the remainder of the year. A portrait of Mr. Fitzgerald, painted by Catterson Smith, Esq., and the result of a subscription, is placed in the Town Hall.

1861 John T. MacSheehy,	Thompson Russell.

Mr. MacSheehy was presented with a valuable testimonial in the shape of a piece of plate value 200 guineas on his retirement from office. He received a public procession which was attended by the congregated trades, with banners, etc., also in testimony of his exertions on behalf of the unemployed labouring classes, for whose relief a sum of £1,200 was subscribed by the citizens during his year in office.

1862 Wm. Lane Joynt,	Robert Hunt.
1863 Robert MacMahon,	Thomas Boyse.
1864 Eugene O'Callaghan,	H. C. Smyth Vereker.
1865 John Rickard Tinsley,	John Thomas M'Sheehy.
1866 Peter Tait,	Eugene O'Callaghan.

THE ARMS of the City of Limerick are, argent, a castle, triple-towered, proper, the centre tower of a conical shape, and terminated with a cross, the portcullis of the entrance to the Castle elevated.

CITY SEAL.—The Royal Charters, including the Charter of Elizabeth, etc., gave a seal to the Corporation, and the power of altering, breaking, or changing it. The ancient Corporation seal is of silver, and a correct *fac simile* cut of it is given at the head of this chapter.*

THE MAYOR'S CHAIN is of gold, with forty-three links, to which a gold ring has been attached by each Mayor, with few exceptions commencing A.D. 1822. On each gold ring is engraved the name of the Mayor on the obverse, and on the reverse, beginning with the Reform Mayors, a legend records some memorable event which occurred during the tenure of office of the chief magistrate. The chain, in consequence, is massive, and weighs 19oz. and 7½dwts., including a gold chain of fifty-one links to which the other is hooked. Martin Honan, Esq., the first reform mayor, attached a gold medal to the chain, with his crest and name, "and Mayor for the years 1842 and 1843", on the obverse; and on the reverse, the City Arms, with legend, "the Municipal Reform Act became law in Limerick, Nov. 9th, 1841".

TOWN CLERK'S AND TREASURER'S CHAINS.—These chains were formerly worn by the Sheriffs; they are exactly of the same make and material as the Mayor's chain, with the exception of the rings.

THE SWORD.—The Sword granted by Queen Elizabeth to the Corporation is kept in the Council Chamber of the Town Hall, and is a cut-and-thrust cutlass-like weapon, with a cross guard or "mameluke" handle. The blade is 44 inches long, and was divested of its ancient ornamental scabbard of crimson velvet, with silver bands, etc., before it came into the possession of the Reform Corporation. It is now never borne in public.

THE HAT OF MAINTENANCE, granted by Queen Elizabeth, is not in existence.

THE MACES are four in number, of silver, very massive and ornamented with the royal arms; they are borne by the sergeants at mace and constables on public occasions before the Mayor.

* Ferrar gave in his first edition a cut of arms which have no existence, and in his second a cut of seal, of which there is no record, whilst Fitzgerald equally misrepresented the City Arms.

The Maces bear the following inscription:—

George Sexton, Esq., Mayor, David Roche and Richard Graves, Esqrs., Sheriffs, 1739. They had each eight lions wrought in silver, supporting a crown, on the top, before those appendages were stolen, previous to the time of the reformed corporation.

There were four Sergeants at Mace in the old Corporation; and there are but two in the Reformed Corporation. They wear a cocked hat with gold lace, a blue cloth coat, trimmed with gold lace, etc. There were four constables in the old Corporation and two town criers, or bell men. There are two constables and two town criers in the new Corporation. They wear a blue livery with gold lace hat-bands.*

Joseph Murphy, Esq., solicitor, is Law Agent, John Ellard, Esq., Town Clerk, and Mathew H. De Courcey, Esq., Treasurer of the Corporation of Limerick; William Edward Corbett, Esq., C.E., City Surveyor of Limerick. John Gleeson, Esq., is City Coroner.

* The present dress of the sergeants at mace is rather modern, dating no farther back than the mayoralty of the late Henry Watson, Esq., in 1824. Previous to that period they wore no gold lace coats or cocked hats, but a blue surtout, and plain hats with orange and blue cockades (the colours of the clothiers and combers, the staple trades of Limerick in those days). On certain public occasions they wore large red cloth cloaks richly trimmed with gold lace, the collars of which were trimmed with gold lace also. The constables and criers or bellmen, wore cocked hats, with the corner over the right temple. The hats of the constables were trimmed with black lace and they had black ribbon cockades, those of the criers with silver lace, and black ribbon cockades. The high constable carried a slung sword, and wore a black cloak and cocked hat trimmed with black lace. The sword bearer wore a black cloak and a bearskin cap with a red bag hanging down from the top. According to the Charter of Elizabeth, the sword bearer is to carry the sword and wear the hat of maintenance, when public duty requires.

CHAPTER LXIV.

HISTORICAL AND DESCRIPTIVE NOTICES OF REMARKABLE PLACES IN THE COUNTY OF LIMERICK.

TOPOGRAPHY, STATISTICS, ANTIQUITIES.

The county of Limerick is situated between 52 and 53 deg. of north lat., and 9 deg. west long. from London. It is bounded on the north by Clare, the estuary of the Shannon, and Tipperary; on the east by Tipperary, on the south by Cork, and on the west by Kerry. The surface is an undulating plain, but the boundary over a great part of the south, and part of the east and west, is mountainous. The chief rivers, besides the Shannon, which forms its great boundary line on the north, are the Maig, Deel, and Mulcair. The Mulcair river, flowing from the Slievephelim mountains in the north-east, is greatly increased by the Newport river, which pours a large volume of water into the Shannon, three miles of Limerick. The Feale traces much of the boundary with Kerry. Lakes or ponds are not numerous, those of chief interest and size being, Coolapish, in the barony of Coonah, and Gur in that of Small County. The soil is remarkably fertile, especially in the "Corcasses" along the Shannon, and the Golden Vein, which extends from the borders of Tipperary westward, through the centre of the county, from the sources of the Mulcair to the Maig, forming an area of about 160,000 acres, equally suitable for tillage and grazing, but chiefly used for the latter. Its soil is a rich, mellow, crumbling, calcareous loam. The subsoil of the county, generally, is limestone, trap, and sandstone. The Corcasses extend fifteen miles long, from Limerick to the embrochure of the Deel, and have a soil of yellow or blue clay, thickly covered with a rich black mould. The coal, which has been observed in six beds, is soft and slaty, and was worked at Newcastle and Loughgill. Iron, copper, and lead ores occur in various parts of the county, but they have not as yet attracted the investment of capital. The occupations are chiefly agricultural; pasturage and dairy farming are most cultivated, tillage less attended to. Large quantities of produce are exported. The manufactures are coarse woollens, flour, meal, tanning, lace, linen, and flax, the latter having lately received an additional stimulus. A good cider is still made in various districts, particularly round Adare, Rathkeale, and Croom.

The Palatines are the descendants of the German Protestants brought over by Lord Southwell in the beginning of the last century, and settled chiefly near Rathkeale; other colonies were also planted in various places throughout the county.

Arthur Young, Ferrar, and Mrs. Hall, have given detailed descriptions of these German settlers, whom they describe as an industrious, independent sort of people. They had many curious customs; such as sleeping between two beds, getting a copy of the Bible to be buried with them, etc.; besides certain superstitions which are directly traceable to Germany. They used to speak German, but, like the Barony Forth people in Wexford, they have now lost their language.

Connected with the establishment of the Palatines in the county of

Limerick, the Earl of Dunraven, in the *Memorials of Adare*,[1] states that there is a list extant of the names of the families that settled in Ireland, "found in the original document".[2] Those in *italic* in the foot note are at present tenants on the Adare estate.[3]

The Palatines settled in the county in 1708, and at Adare in 1777-8.

STATISTICS.[4]—The population in 1851 was 262,136; in 1861, 217,271. The greatest length, north and south, is 35 miles; greatest breadth, east and west, 54 miles, comprising 1,061 square miles, or 640,842 acres, of which 526,876 are arable, 120,101 uncultivated, 11,575 in plantation, 2,759 in towns, and 18,531 under water.

Baronies—Owneybeg, Coonagh, Clanwilliam, Small County, Costlea, Coshma, Pubble Brien, Upper Connelloe, Lower Connelloe, Kenry, Glenquin, North Liberties of Limerick, Shanid, and liberties of Kilmallock.

Towns—The post towns are, Adare, Askeaton, Ballingarry, Bruff, Castleconnell, Croom, Glynn, Kilmallock, Limerick, Pallasgreen, Pallaskenry, Rathkeale, and Shanagolden. Post Office accommodation is further extended to many villages, etc.

The county is in Limerick and Emly dioceses, with small portions in Cashel and Killaloe. The principal towns are, Limerick, population in 1861, 44,476; Rathkeale, 2,761; Newcastle, 2,445; and Askeaton, 1,636. Limerick returns four members to parliament; two for the county at large, constituency in 1859, 6,481; and two for Limerick city, constituency, 2,013. The assizes are held in Limerick; the county is in the Cork military district. The city has been lately made head quarters for a regiment, instead of a depot station; before the last twelve years it was head quarters, and a military district. The net annual value of property under the Tenement Valuation Act is £519,162.

ANTIQUITIES.—The antiquities, which will be noticed with the towns when connected with them, are very numerous, and may be generally described as follows:

Round Towers—three; at Limerick, now extinct; at Ardpatrick, fallen a few years since; and at Carrigeen, which is still extant near Croom, and which is fifty feet high.

Cromlechs at Ballenacaellagh hill, and two others near it.

Tumulus[5] at Bruree, stone circles and other druidical works at Grange,

[1] This truly beautiful and admirably illustrated book, which is the joint production of the Countess Dowager of Dunraven and the Earl of Dunraven, was printed for private circulation in 1865, by Parker, Oxford, and is replete with most interesting and important matter, relative to Adare, ancient and modern, the Quin family, etc., etc.

[2] An account of Palatines published in the *Irish Evangelist*, in June 9th, 1860.

[3] Baker, *Barkman*, Banolier, Bonner, Bethel, Bowen, Bowman, Boviniyer (now *Bobanizer*), Brothower, Cole, Coach, *Corneil*, Crondeig, Dobe. *Dulmage*, Embury, Figgle, Grunse, Gruer, Heek, Hoffman, *Hiffle*, *Heavener*, Glozier (probably now *Leguer*), Lawrence, Lowes, Ledwick, Long, *Miller*, Mich, Modeler, Neizer, *Piper*, Reinheart, Rose, Rodenbucher, *Ruckle*, *Switzer*, *Sparting*, *Stark*, *St. John*. St. Ledger, Strange, Sleeper, Shoemaker, *Shier*, Switzer, *Shoultare*, Shunwire, Tesley (now *Teskey*), Tettler, Usbenlaugh, Williams, Young.

[4] I follow Thom's Almanac in these statistics.

[5] *Tumuli and Raths.*—On this interesting subject the reader will find ample illustrations in Wakeman's *Handbook of Irish Antiquities*, and in the examples and models in the R.I.A. We have only room for a few words on this subject. Cromlechs are sepulchral monuments used before the Christian era; they are not now considered to have been in use for sacrificial purposes. The tumuli, from the simple cairn to the magnificent barrow, were also intended for sepulchres. The bodies were buried horizontally or perpendicularly, or burned, In the small square stone grave or "kistvaen" is frequently found the cinerary urn. The great tumulus or mausoleum, as at Newgrange, consists of a large cavern containing one or

and very early, ancient, and interesting monuments on the banks and hill screens of Lough Gur, and within a large circuit around it, large earthen works, chiefly of the military class, as at Friarstown; circular moats, duns, intrenched forts, raths, etc., occur in various districts, the largest raths being at Bruree, Kilpeacon, and Kilfinnan, and one in segments near Shanid Castle. At Caher Park, Caherconlish, are the traces of an ancient city. Of religious houses not in the city, there were thirty-five, chiefly founded by the Desmond family. Seven monastic establishments were on the banks of the Commogue. The most interesting remains of religious houses are at Adare, Askeaton, and Kilmallock, Manisternenagh, Kilshane Abbey, Mungret, Galbally Friary, Kilflin monastery, and the fine old abbey in the parish of Rochestown.

Ruined Castles.—Of these there are nearly one hundred, as at Shanid, Croom, Carrigogunnell, Castleconnell, Cappagh, etc.

Old fireplaces of the Fenians (*Fulacht na Feinne*), fossil remains, bones, and horns of the great Irish deer; bog butter or tallow; caves and islands, as at Lough Gur.

Natural Curiosities.—Castleconnell chalybeate spa, sulphuric spring at Montpellier, parish of Kilnegariff.

ADARE.

Eleven miles by railroad from Limerick, or by post road nine miles s.s.w., upon the river Maig, stands the market and post-town of Adare, anciently *Aith-daer*, or the "Ford of the Oaks", celebrated for its ancient importance, its frequent notice in history, its fine architectural ruins, and its extremely beautiful scenery. The Earl of Dunraven's demesnes, upon which a noble castle has been erected of late years, are indeed unsurpassed by any property in the three kingdoms for their delightful combination of objects of antique interest and modern improvement.

The deeply interesting ecclesiastical edifices, of which the ruins of three still remain in various degrees of preservation, the ancient bridge with its ivy-clad battlements, the old castle of the Desmonds, formerly of great strength, and so situated as to command the passes of the river Maig, form a combination of peculiarly effective and rarely equalled views, exhibiting highly picturesque features amidst the groves, the lawns, the meadows, which make up the variegated landscapes that distinguish the beautiful seat of the Earl of Dunraven, the lord lieutenant and custos rotulorum of the county and city of Limerick. Venerable yew trees, wild ashes, and alders, add very much to the impressivenes of the scenery, while a profusion of shrubs, flowers, and other accessories of ornamental gardening, and the silence and seclusion of the locality, complete the effect produced by the antiquarian and romantic features of this most interesting of Irish manors. Referring our readers to the Earl of Dun-

more sarcophagi, and was perhaps occasionally the receptacle of treasure. Detached and isolated graves, popularly known as "giant's" beds, or "Darby and Grana's" beds, such as occur at Lough Gur, were not uncommon.

The ancient Irish lived after a very nomadic fashion; in the summer retiring to their "booleys", or summer habitations, with their flocks and herds; and in winter returning to their entrenched villages or forts, attended by their bards and harpers. Cashels were houses, or enclosures of houses, which latter were properly called cloghnas. The dun was a military work of uncemented stones. Some of the larger raths were dwellings of chiefs or kings; a beehive-like cavity is found in some, probably intended for a granary. Rath ground is always very rich.

raven's new and splendidly illustrated work, *Memorials of Adare*, for more perfect information respecting everything about this delightful spot, we can only give the principal features of the history and antiquities, for which purpose we shall transcribe without alteration, the notes taken during a recent visit, as well as such reference as we find in our MS. materials to its ancient and modern history.

The Augustinian Abbey is now repaired, and used as the parish Protestant church. It is an early English building, and has been carefully, beautifully, and elaborately restored. In the interior there is some fine stained glass The schools are in keeping with the rest of the church. It contains on the north side, besides the nave, choir, and tower, the cloisters, in which are buried some of the servants of the Dunraven family, whilst the family mausoleum is an object of much interest.

The Abbey of the Holy Trinity, the remains of which consist of the tower, nave, and part of the choir, is used for a Catholic church. The Franciscan Abbey, within the demesne, is a very fine ruin; the choir is large, and fitted with stalls and niches, and has a beautiful four-light window; the steeple is supported on an arch; there is an aisle on the south side of the nave, which contains three crooked niches, and a three-light window. The cloisters are nearly entire, and have Gothic windows, on most of which were escutcheons, with the English and Saltire crosses, generally ranged alternately. The remains, including refectory and offices, are roofless, but in good preservation.

HISTORY.—The early history of Adare is involved in great obscurity. In the reign of Henry II. it was distinguished for its castle and church, in the following century it became the property of the Fitzgeralds.

1279. John, Earl of Kildare, founded and entirely endowed the monastery of the Holy Trinity, now called the Black Abbey.

1310. Some time before this date, the town appears to have been incorporated. In this year a grant of murage and customs was made by Edward II. to the "bailiffs and good men of the town of Adare". The customs were for three years, to enable them to surround it with a stone wall. (*Rot. Par.* 3 *and* 4 *Ed. II.*, note Grace's *Annals*).

1312. John Thomas Fitzgerald knighted Nicholas Fitz-Maurice and Robert Clahull at Adare (Grace's *Annals*).

1315. The White Abbey founded by John, Earl of Kildare. This is the Augustinian Abbey. Others give the date 1306.

1326. The castle, originally built by the O'Donovans, rebuilt by the second Earl of Kildare.

1376. Edward III. issued a writ prohibiting the demand of services and customs from the "provost and commonalty" of Adare, until the town, which had been burned lately by the "Irish enemy", should be rebuilt and inhabited.

1464. The Franciscan Abbey founded by Thomas, Earl of Kildare, and his Countess Joan, who was buried in it. This stands within the demesne. The castle was subsequently burned by Turlough O'Brien, and in the time of Gerald, Earl of Kildare, who favoured Perkin Warbeck, was forfeited to the crown with other possessions. It was, however, afterwards restored to him.

1519. The Earl set out from this castle to meet the accusations of Cardinal Wolsey. On the rebellion of Silken Thomas, his son, the castle and family estates were again escheated to the crown.

1578. Castle taken and garrisoned by the English, under Captain Carew, assaulted soon after by Sir John Desmond, who, however, was repulsed, and obliged to seek protection from the Knight of Glyn, his relative.

1581. Castle again besieged, and garrison put to the sword by the Earls of Desmond and Kerry. Castle shortly afterwards retaken, and confederate earls defeated with great slaughter by the English forces under Colonel Zouch, who arrived somewhat tardily from Cork.

1600. Castle besieged again, garrison for many days without food, and obliged to cut a subterraneous passage to the bed of the river.

1641. Castle seized by the insurgents, who however were driven out by the Earl of Castlehaven.

1657. Castle dismantled by Cromwell's orders.

In 1786, 1793, and in the time of the Rockites, Adare was the scene of many outrages.

In the year 1809, the friary of the Holy Trinity was given by Richard Valentine Lord Adare, for the purpose of a parish Catholic church, and its ancient architectural ornaments were restored. This house was founded in 1230, in the reign of Edward I., by John, Earl of Kildare, for the redemption of Christian captives. In the rere of this building is a singular piece of antiquity—the country people call it a pigeon house, but it was thought by some antiquaries to be nothing less than a vestal fire house, built prior to the introduction of Christianity. It is still entire, except the stone over the door, which is wanting; it is perfectly circular, about fourteen feet in diameter externally, the walls nearly three feet thick; the inside at least consists of a species of fire stone, certainly brought from the shore of the sea, as many marine particles are still visible in them. The top is covered with a dome, and a circular opening, about eighteen inches in diameter, well secured by a ring of carved stone work, admits the light in the centre. In the Earl of Dunraven's *Memorials of Adare* it is described as a dove-cot attached to the monastery.

In the year 1811, the friary next the bridge of Adare, the Augustinian Friary, was converted by the same nobleman into a Protestant parish church: it has been roofed, and its ancient ornaments restored. This friary is a beautiful specimen of Gothic architecture; it underwent many improvements and restorations in more recent years, when several stone coffins were dug up in the nave of the church. The refectory is now a school-house.

In the old churchyard are two ruined churches—one the *old parish church*, the other a chapel of the fourteenth century.

A Visit to Adare.—On our arrival we entered on the grounds, crossed a double bridge towards the Franciscan abbey, the only one in the demesne, found it remarkably well preserved; a church, handsome steeple in the centre, a transept, and to this last three chantries attached. In the church are several canopied niches. The plan of all appears much the same as that of Askeaton. The convent lies at the north side of the church surrounding a small cloister. One side of the square contains twelve small pointed arches, the other three sides consist of a series of windows each of five lights, the mullions of stone, and perfect. In the centre of the cloister is an old yew tree, but not so broad in the boughs as that of Mucross. This place is kept in admirable repair, all the breaches in walls, windows, in chimneys, etc., have been carefully filled up and renewed, and inter-

ments are no longer permitted. The appearance of the whole, nevertheless, seems somewhat sharp and rather fresh, and if not relieved by a considerable covering of ivy, permitted, however, not to grow *ad libitum*, the effect would not be so striking as it is at present. There is a great absence of inscriptions in this abbey.

DESMOND'S CASTLE—stands within view on the brink of the river, its bawn wall nearly perfect. The keep had been wofully battered. A tower just over the river is in better preservation, and much had been done to repair the numerous breaches in it. A fosse has been opened near the door of the keep, which shows that access must have been by a drawbridge. The space covered is considerable. An ancient chapel stands at a little distance from the castle, but has no characteristic interest. In the centre is a high gable, surmounted by a double ope for bells. In this chapel several members of the Quin family were buried.

The castle of the Earl of Dunraven is a magnificent Tudor castellated structure of cut limestone, with bay windows of stone, mullions, etc., flanking towers, etc. The stone-cutting admirable, the ornaments, etc., grotesque, and of excellent pattern, all executed by local workmen, etc. The situation at the river-side is beautiful, in the midst of a noble demesne, finely planted, and commanding views of abbeys and castles. The whole of these buildings would well occupy the pencil for days. The schools of the Christian Brothers, the convent schools of the Sisters of Mercy, etc., also merit a visit, and afford a further proof of the munificence of the Earl of Dunraven.

Gerald Griffin's beautiful verses on Adare are too well known to be quoted.

The ancient town of Adare was situated on the eastern bank of the river Maig, near the castle, and the ancient parish church, which is now within the demesne, and about half-a-mile distant from the present town, which is situated on the western bank of the river. When the interior of the abbey was ordered to be cleared of its tombs and heaps of skulls and bones, some forty years ago, a party of military had to be brought in from Limerick, as the people around could not be induced to aid in the work of removal.

ABBEYFEALE,

distant thirty miles S. W. from Limerick, is a village situated in a wild mountain district, some years ago so inaccessible, that the locality between it and Glin was selected by the Rockites in 1822 as head-quarters, of "our camp at Abbeyfeale". The abbey, which gave name to the place, was a Cistercian one of some celebrity, founded in 1188 by Brien O'Brien, and afterwards made a cell to Monasternenagh. Half a mile below the village, and overlooking the Feal, are the ruins of Purt Castle, built by a branch of the Geraldines. The Feal is the scene of Moore's beautiful song, "By the Feal's wave benighted".

SEATS.—Glenasrone (Richard Ellis, Esq.), etc.

ABINGTON,

is a small fair town or rather village, situated on the little river Mulchair, in the barony of Owneybeg, county Limerick, and about seven miles east of Limerick. Its more ancient name, and that by which its history is more particularly traceable, was Woney. It gives name to

that parish which is a rectory in the diocese of Emly, in the patronage of Bishop of Cashel and Waterford. There is a church here, and a glebe house with twenty acres of glebe land. The map of this parish, as extant in the Down Survey, has suffered considerable mutilation. Its acreable contents have, however, been ascertained at about 5,718.

1189. John, Earl of Moreton, afterwards King John, granted a large district of country, comprising the lands of Abington or Woney, to Theobald Fitz-Walter, Lord of Carrick, the head of the Ormonde family. This Theobald was the nephew of St. Thomas-a-Becket, in allusion to which kindred, and to the scrupulous bounty of Henry to all such objects, when Viscount Baltinglass, in the time of Elizabeth, took up arms with the Earl of Desmond and others in defence of the Catholic religion, he wrote to the Earl of Ormonde to coöperate with them, adding, "Had not blessed Thomas of Canterbury died for the Church of Rome, thou hadst never been Earl of Ormonde".

1205. About this time an abbey was founded here for Cistercian monks and dedicated to the Blessed Virgin Mary, by Theobald Fitz-Walter, Lord of Carrick. He filled it with monks from the abbey of Savigniae, in France, richly endowed it, and was in the following year interred here. His charter of foundation is still extant.

1299. Theobald the Fifth of the family of Butler, was interred here. So early as the reign of Edward II., the Prior of Woney was summoned as a Lord of Parliament.

1365. By a record of this date it appears that the abbot of this house was entitled to the advowson of the Church of the Blessed Virgin at Arklow.

1382. The abbot was one of those appointed to collect a subsidy which the clergy of the diocese of Emly had voted for the service of the state.

1537. The Lord Deputy came to this abbey and there received the submissions of O'Mulryan, Lord of the Country, Ulick Burke, of Clanrickard, etc.

1540. One of the articles of impeachment brought in this year against the Lord Deputy Grey was, that he held secret correspondence with James, Earl of Desmond, and went to visit him in his tent in his night gown, and forced the abbot of this house to give him the sum of £40 for the purpose of insuring his abbey against spoliation. At the dissolution the last abbot was found seized of this rectory, then valued at £1; also of the rectories of Thurles, annual value £11; Enagh, in Ormond, £4; Arklow, £4; Tullowfelim, £4, etc., etc.

1550. The abbey was burnt by O'Carrol.

1563. This abbey with its appurtenances, and the rectories of Tullowfelim, were granted to Peter Walsh in *capite* at the annual rent of £57 Irish. In his family they continued for many years, and to one of his descendants a yet splendid monument remains amidst its ruins.

1601. Some interesting particulars connected with the escape of O'Donnel from the Lord Deputy's forces, on a morning of extreme frost, under the walls of this abbey, are detailed in the *Pacata Hibernia*.

In 1641 these estates were forfeit to the crown.

1688. There are extant, and of record, maps of such lands in this parish as were forfeited in the civil wars of this period, and sold in 1702 by order of the commissioners.

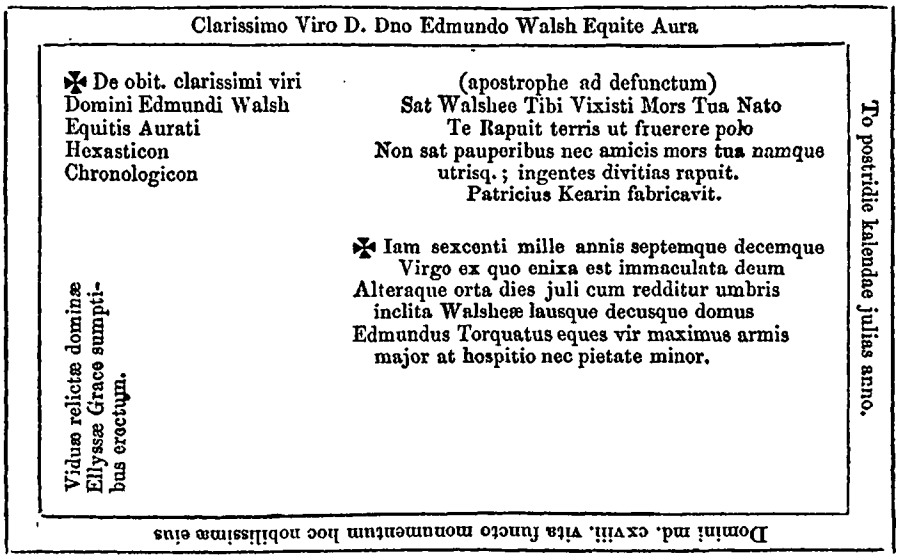
1776. This parish was by act of council united to the rectory and vicarage of Tuough.

1808. The board of First Fruits contributed £100 towards building the glebe house here.

Dineley, in his tour through Ireland,[1] visited Abbey Owney, in the reign of Charles II., and speaks of it as he saw it. The ruins of the abbey at that period extended over a considerable portion of ground. They are now covered by a small green mound. It contained some ancient monuments, of which we give the inscriptions in Latin, which we take from Dineley; they have been somewhat effaced since his day, by mischievous depredators. Over the door at the entrance to a small chapel belonging to the Walshes, was an inscription with the date 1619:

The Armes of Sr. Edmond Walshe, Knight, and hys Ladye Ellyce Grace.

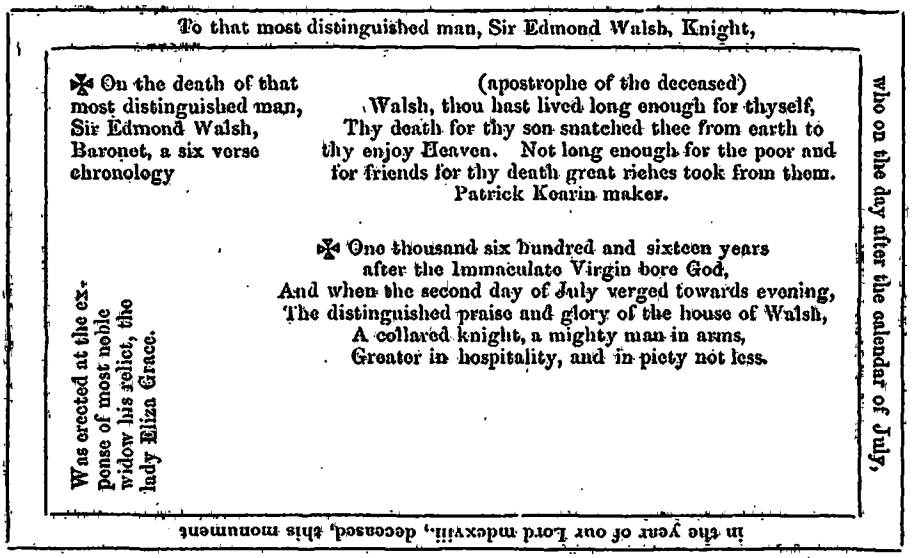
The Walsh monument, which is of the Doric order and of black marble, has the following inscription in raised Roman letters:—


Clarissimo Viro D. Dno Edmundo Walsh Equite Aura
✠ De obit. clarissimi viri
Domini Edmundi Walsh
Equitis Aurati
Hexasticon
Chronologicon
(apostrophe ad defunctum)
Sat Walshee Tibi Vixisti Mors Tua Nato
Te Rapuit terris ut fruerere polo
Non sat pauperibus nec amicis mors tua namque
utrisq.; ingentes divitias rapuit.
Patricius Kearin fabricavit.
✠ Iam sexcenti mille annis septemque decemque
Virgo ex quo enixa est immaculata deum
Alteraque orta dies juli cum redditur umbris
inclita Walsheæ lausque decusque domus
Edmundus Torquatus eques vir maximus armis
major at hospitio nec pietate minor.
Viduæ relictæ dominæ
Ellyssæ Grace sumptibus erectum.
To postridie kalendae julias anno.
Domini md. cxviii. vita functo monumentum hoc nobilissimo eius

Over the inscription are the arms of the Walshes and of the Butlers; on either side are incised figures of St. Peter and St. Bernard, and the Blessed Virgin Mary and St. Mary Magdalene.

[1] Published from the original MS., by Evelyn P. Shirley, Esq., M.P., in the *Transactions of the Kilkenny Archæological Society* for January, 1865.

The following is a literal translation of the inscription:—


To that most distinguished man, Sir Edmond Walsh, Knight,

✠ On the death of that most distinguished man, Sir Edmond Walsh, Baronet, a six verse chronology

(apostrophe of the deceased)
Walsh, thou hast lived long enough for thyself,
Thy death for thy son snatched thee from earth to thy enjoy Heaven. Not long enough for the poor and for friends for thy death great riches took from them.
Patrick Kearin maker.

✠ One thousand six hundred and sixteen years
after the Immaculate Virgin bore God,
And when the second day of July verged towards evening,
The distinguished praise and glory of the house of Walsh,
A collared knight, a mighty man in arms,
Greater in hospitality, and in piety not less.

who on the day after the calendar of July,

Was erected at the expense of most noble widow his relict, the lady Eliza Grace.

In the year of our Lord mdcxviii., deceased, this monument

There was a mural monument, with arms, and date 1633, of the Barrys, with the following inscription:—

"Nobilis admodum Dulamus Barry
In honorem suorum parentum sui ipsuis
Uxoris Joannæ Bourck et filiorum
Suorum hoc sepulchrum fieri curavit.
Antiqua Genitus Barri de Stirpe Dulamus
Quique Appollinea doctus in art viget
Quique fide plenus nusquam languentibus ægris
Defuit et patriam qualibet auxit opo
Hæc pius extinctis monumenta parentibus affert
Quæ sibi quæque deiusint [*sic*] monumenta suis
Tu qui cernis opus mortis memor esto futuræ
Dic præcor [hac vi] vant qui tumulatur humo".

In literal English:

"The very noble Dulamus Barry
In honour of his parents,
His wife Joanna Bourke, and their sons,
Caused this monument to be built.
Dulamus, born of the ancient race of Barry,
And who flourished, learned in Apollo's art;
And who being full of faith, never to the languishing sick
Was wanting in his duty, and served his country with considerable resources,
Duteously erects these monuments to his deceased parents
As a memorial for himself and friends.
Do thou who viewest this work be mindful of future death,
Pray, I beseech thee, that they may live who are buried in this Earth".

This monument is now lying flat in the churchyard of Abington. An ancient figure of the Crucifixion, sculptured in stone, taken apparently

from the ruins of the abbey, is close by it on the ground. The Barry family is said to have resided at Rath, in the parish of Abington. There was a monument to the head of the powerful sept of the Ryans: this is the country of the Ryans. When Dr. Thomas Arthur wrote, one of the O'Mulryans held a high position here. There is no trace whatever of the Ryan monument, of which Dineley gives the following inscription:—

NOBILISSIMUS DNS. GULIELMUS RIIAN PATRLÆ SUÆ
DE OWNII NEC NON ANTIQUÆ RIIANORUM FAMILIÆ CAPUT
ET PRINCEPS SIBI UXORI ET LIBERIS SUIS HANC SEPULCHRI
MOLEM ERIGI CURAVIT.
POSTERITATIS, HONOS MAJORUM LAUSQUE SUORUM
HOC GULILM. OPUS STRUXERAT ARTE RIANN
NOBILITATIS HEU QUANTA TOGA BELLOQUE PROBATA } Anno. Dom.
SANCTA FIDES VIRTUS ET DECUS EXIMIUM } MDCXXXII.
HAC RIANORUM CLAUDUNTUR MOLE SEPULCHRI
SI CLAUDI QUÆ NON SUNT MORITURA QUEUNT
OSSA TEGUNTUR HUMO TANTUM, SED CÆTERA MORTIS
NESCIA PERPETUOS SUNT HABITURA DIES.
LAUSQUE RIANÆÆ ET GLORIA GENTIS
SEMPER HONORATO NOMINE VIVET HONOS.

In literal English thus:—

THE MOST NOBLE CHIEF WILLIAM RYAN, OF HIS NATIVE COUNTRY
OF OWNEY, AS ALSO OF THE ANCIENT FAMILY OF THE RYANS, THE
HEAD AND PRINCE, FOR HIMSELF, HIS WIFE AND HIS CHILDREN,
THIS SEPULCHRAL MOUND CAUSED TO BE ERECTED.
THE HONOUR OF HIS POSTERITY AND PRAISE OF HIS ANCESTORS
WILLIAM RYAN WITH ART HAD RAISED THIS WORK.
ALAS! HOW MUCH NOBILITY PROVED IN PEACE AND WAR, } Ano. Dom.
HOLY FAITH, VIRTUE, AND EMINENT DISTINCTION, } MDCXXXII.
ARE SHUT UP IN THIS SEPULCHRAL MOUND OF THE RYANS.
IF THINGS NOT DOOMED TO DIE CAN BE SHUT UP,
THY BONES ALONE ARE COVERED BY EARTH, THY OTHER PARTS
INCAPABLE OF DEATH,
ARE DESTINED TO ENJOY PERPETUAL DURATION.
THE PRAISE, VIRTUE, AND GLORY OF THE SEPT OF RYAN,
WILL LIVE FOR EVER IN HIS HONOURED NAME.

The parish of Abington comprises about 32,000 statute acres, of which 12,920 are in the county Tipperary; the benefice nets £500 per annum.

SEATS.—Glenstal Castle (Sir William H. Barrington, Bart.), Ashrow (Thos. P. Evans, Esq.), Clonshavoy (Caleb Powell, Esq.), Tower Hill, (Mrs. Lloyd, widow of the late William Lloyd, Esq.), Farnane (Thomas Costelloe, Esq.), and Abington (Mrs. Apjohn).

There was an inscription which is now almost totally defaced, on the bridge of Abington; it is supposed to have referred to the building or repairs of it by the Walsh family.[1]

At the dissolution of the monasteries in the reign of Henry VIII., the lands belonging to the abbey were held by the crown, and in 1545 were granted by Edward VI. to Walter Powell for a number of years, and

[1] Dineley states that on the ancient bridge of Athlone (quere? Abington) there was an inscription under the arms of Sir Edmund Walsh, stating that Ellice Walsh erected the bridge after the death of her husband, "for devotion and charity, prayinge passengers to praye for the rest of their souls in heaven",—and that the stone was cut by Patrick Kearin, who, I believe, was the sculptor of the monument of Myler Magrath in the cathedral of Cashel, of Walter Bourk at Glankeen Church, Borrisoleigh, and of Maurice Hurley in Emily. The inscription on the old bridge of Athlone stated it was built by Sir Henry Sydney. See page 98.

subsequently were vested in Sir Edward Walsh, and were forfeited in 1641, and distributed among several persons. The Stepney family acquired a considerable estate, which had been previously held by King, ancestor of the Earl of Kingston. The grant of the lands of Annagh and Tough to the Earl of Orrery became vested, in the year 1706, in the Right Hon. George Evans, father of the first Lord Carberry, whose descendants conveyed to Sir Matthew Barrington. The derivative proprietors holding under fee farm titles are Lloyd of Tower hill, Evans of Ashrow, Powell of Clonshavoy, Ribton of Killuragh, De Burgh of Drumsally, and others. The entire barony of Owneybeg, in which Abington is situated, is valued by Griffith at about £11,000 per annum.

ARDPATRICK.

Ardpatrick is a beautiful green hill situated at the foot of the mountain which stretches away at its south-east and west. The ascent is steep and toilsome, but the view from the summit is good—a fine mountain outline in the southern distance, terminating in the Galtees. Castle Oliver, a modern edifice, crowns a cone-like hill, in the middle of the mountain pass called the *Red Chair*, the ancient Barna Derg, where a memorable fight occurred, temp. Brian, in the tenth century, for which see the Munster Annals. The Red Chair is the dividing line of the counties of Cork and Limerick. Kilfinan lies about two miles west, and Mortelstown moat nearer at one mile. "The moats in these parts", said a farmer to me, "were all built by the Danes". Ardpatrick, which was formerly a parish, is in the barony of Costlea, and four and a-half miles S.E. of Kilmallock.

On the summit of the hill is an ancient church, the stump of a round tower, and a holy well. The church lies east and west: at the west end is a portion of a lesser building, evidently part of a square belfry: two sides of it remain, but the western wall is gone. The church measures 39 paces in length (108 feet), and is 24 feet 6 inches broad. The walls are built of large stones; the conglomerate prevails. There are no polygons in the construction. At the N.E. side is a small ruinous square building, transept-like. At the S.E. is an arched ruinous chamber. The door is round-headed in and out, but beneath this is a pointed arch evidently an interpolation. Some detached stones are carved with tracery; the windows must have been few, none now remain; two-thirds of the north wall is perfect. The well lies at a short distance to the S.W. It is said to be 40 feet deep, is faced with stone, and has some steps, and with its water cattle are said to have been cured. The monastery is said to have been built by Saint Patrick.

On delving into the stump of the round tower, after clearing away the fallen stones and rubbish that choked the upper part of the structure, the delvers came upon a bed of earth, which extended down for some feet. This, according as it was shovelled out, they examined, but it presented nothing particular beyond a piece of coarse amber, weighing about a quarter of pound, a small piece of metal sconce, some fragments of mortar, and a piece of brass. What its use or purpose there is no telling, but the strangest things found were a number of oyster shells.[1]

[1] Another discovery of oyster shells was made amongst the similar first strata of the earth of the round tower of Cloyne.—J. Windle's MSS.

Of five silver bells, said to have belonged to the monastery, long missing, three were found in the ruins of the tower, and carried away by the excavators. These bells, which tradition reports, possessed the most ravishing tones, were concealed on the destruction of the monastery, but they used to be heard ringing in the air at midnight of Christmas and Easter, giving out the most heavenly music, and so year after year they were heard on those nights, until on one occasion a wicked woman in the neighbourhood, wishing to conceal her child, threw it into the holy well to the west of the town, since which the bells were never heard, and the well ceased to be frequented for religious purposes!

Amongst other curious things said to have been found, was a transparent stone, which being put before the eyes, the most remote objects could be seen, and with wonderful distinctness. As for the coast of Clare, beyond the Shannon, that could be observed as close to you as the next ditch. Another great curiosity was the "slug of the horn of St. Patrick's little cow". This animal it was that supplied the saint with his daily milk; and the cow might be seen painted on many a signboard.

Ballygreine, Sunville, is in the vicinity of Ardpatrick. This preserves the ancient name of the place as given by Colgan. Dallans near the church door pointed to the primeval paganism of the site. The residence of John Low, Esq., D.L., is situated here, which he calls Sunvale; formerly the residence of the Godsall family, who also had a house at Kilmallock.

Immediately on our arrival at Ardpatrick we proceeded to visit the hill which, steep as it is, on the morning of our visit, from the extreme heat of the weather, appeared doubly so. On our way up we met many of the peasantry descending on their way to Mass, and deeming this a good opportunity, we asked several of them to give us the Irish name of the "steeple" on the hill, and although on a former visit but one old woman gave it to me as Cluice, our response on the present occasion unanimously gave it as Cluice.[1]

The workmanship, i.e. stone dressing, etc., of this tower is excellent. They constructed the wall by facing it internally and externally with cut stone, and filling up the space between with rubble, whilst that of the neighbouring church is very rude.

On a fragment of an old tombstone I read in mediæval letters the words "Vicarius Huj. ecliæ".

A.D. 1114, Ardpatrick burned this year, O'Donovan, *Four M.*, vol. ii. p 999. Ceallach, or Celsus, Archbishop of Armagh, died in Ard Padraig, in Munster, A.D. 1129, ib. p. 1033. See also Colgan, *Trias Thaum.*, p.p. 300, 301. Also *Annals of Ulster*, at 1129. See also *Four Masters*, at 1602,—O'Connellan.

ASKEATON.

That is *As-cead-tinne*, "the cascade of the hundred fires", is a post, market, and ancient borough town, sixteen miles w.s.w. from Limerick, situate on the river Deel, over which there is a good bridge.

[1] Cloice, according to Vallancey, *Collectanea*, vol. v, p. 330, signifies a stony country. The Chaldean clakk signifies the same. Cluice means clothing or vesture, also as applied to towers: could it figuratively mean the last stone vesture of the bodies interred therein?—J. Windle's MSS.

The castle was a stronghold of the Earls of Desmond, of whom, in 1420, James, the seventh earl, founded the venerable Franciscan abbey, in which James, the *fifteenth* earl was buried, 138 years after its foundation.

1490. Reformed by the Observantines.

1564. A chapter of the Franciscans held at the abbey.

1574. Castle being attacked by Sir George Carew, was blown up by the garrison, who withdrew. This destroyed the greater part of the edifice, but the remains are still considerable, viz., the great hall with its windows, and a large arched vault beneath. It is a noble ruin.

1642. The town, which was then walled, was for some time defended by 200 men, sent by Lord Broghill, but at last surrendered.

1648. The confederate Catholics took possession of the abbey, and commenced restoring and repairing it.

Silver chalices, crosses, and coins, have been found near the abbey and castle.

The Deel is tidal, and navigable for small coasters.

The parish church was a commandery of the Knights Templars. The ruins of the south transept (date thirteenth century), separated from the nave by two early pointed arches (now blocked up), remain. At the east end rose two towers, square at the base and octangular above. There is an excellent Catholic parochial church close by the town.

The Franciscan or Rock Abbey, was a splendid cruciform building. The cloisters, of gray marble, which are very perfect, are enclosed on each side by twelve pointed arches, supported by cylindrical columns. The abbey was one of the finest in Ireland. The chapter house forms the burial ground of the ancient family of the Naishes of Ballycullen, the oldest, I believe, Catholic family of the county. There is an old black letter Latin inscription on a monument erected by two ladies of the Brien and Browne families to their husbands, members of the Stephenson family, in the central chapel. Tuesday is market day. Population 1637.

Messrs. J. N. Russell and Sons have very large flour mills at Askeaton, in fact they are amongst the finest in the south of Ireland, and contribute much to the industrial prosperity of the town.

Askeaton was a parliamentary borough before the Union; the names of the representatives of Askeaton are given in Addenda, page 743.

BRUFF.

Bruff, a post and market town, situated on the Morning Star or Dawn River, 12 miles S. S. E. of Limerick, was another of the principal towns of the Geraldines. In the reign of Henry III. a castle built in the town, and another near it by the De Lacys, who subsequently held under the princes of Desmond, in whose fortunes they shared. A few fragments of the ancient castle remain, and not far distant, the foundation of an ancient friary. North-east of the town are some traces of Templeen or Templebodeen, said to have been built by the Templars in 1285.

1600. Pierce De Lacy, the governor, defeated by Captain Slingsby, from Kilmallock, with the loss of 300 men. The castle was garrisoned by the Lord President.

1641. The insurgents defeated by the English here, after a bloody engagement.

1762. The Whiteboys assembled here in great numbers, and committed outrages.

1786. They repeated their visit and atrocities.

1793. Large body of Defenders attempted to seize the town, but repulsed by the 34th Regiment, after many being slain on both sides.

1822. The Rockites attempted to burn the church and several private buildings, but frustrated by the determination of the gentry and the nobility.

The town and neighbourhood forming the property of the Hartstonge family, whose monument is in the church. It now belongs to the Earl of Limerick.

The Catholic church of Bruff, a handsome building in the early English style, was erected in 1833, and completed by the late Very Rev. Dean Mac Namara, P.P., V.G. The altar, which is of scagliola marble, is embellished with a very beautiful painting of the Three Marys, by the late J. Haverty, Esq.

The beautiful convent of the Faithful Companions of Jesus, a branch of the establishment at Laurel Hill, owes its existence to the great zeal and ability of the late Very Rev. Dean Cussen. It is a first-class educational establishment, with about ninety boarders, and a great number of extern scholars. There is also an admirable school of the Christian Brothers at Bruff, which owes its existence also to the indefatigable zeal and assiduity of the learned and pious Dean, whose remains are interred in the Catholic church, and to commemorate whose estimable services by a public monument, the parishioners have raised a large sum of money.

SEATS.—Rockbarton (Lord Guillamore), Miltown (G. Gubbins, Esq), Camas (F. Bevan, Esq.), Baggotstown House (J. Bouchier, Esq.), Kilballyowen, (The O'Grady), etc.

Friday is market day. Population 1430.

Near Bruff is Lough Gur, the "Enchanted Lake" of the last of the Desmonds. It is, however, well worthy of a visit, for other reasons than those of a legendary kind. Its druidical remains, castles, a cromleach, natural curiosities, and beauty, have won the admiration of every tourist and antiquary. One of General Vallancey's tracts refers particularly to it. The following are notes of a visit to Lough Gur:—

My object was to see the druidic circles or temples, and the lake and castle of Lough Gur. Having hired a boy to accompany me, I walked on from Bruff to Lough Gur, a distance of about two miles, and the sight of its huge druidical reliques which I got from the road rewarded me for my walk, and in a moment a jump placed me inside the hedge, and within a field of the temples. Before me stood a green hill, here called the Paddock, which shut out the waters of the lake from the view; and at its feet, between it and the road, a rather small distance, now formed into two or three fields, is the site of the circles. The first, which lies nearest to Bruff, I should call the south circle. I could find no other name for it here than the Lioss. It consists of fifty-eight stones or columns[1] of different forms, never touched by hammer or chisel, and of various heights. Some scarcely appearing above the surrounding surface, whilst others rise to seven and

[1] Fitzgerald says sixty-five large upright stones, but there were formerly many more.

nine feet. It is fifty-six paces in diameter, or about 430 feet in circumference. The enclosed space is a void. The largest stone stands at the north-east side, and is distinguished by the name of *Rounach Crom Dubh*, a denomination pointing to the worship of the Irish Jupiter, Crom, within this temple. Forty paces north of this, is another larger circle, also called a Lioss, which, like the former, consists of fifty-eight stones, but all so sunk in the earth, that the greatest apparent height of any does not exceed three feet. This temple is sixty-five paces,[1] or about 190 feet in diameter, say 580 feet in circumference. The enclosed space has been tilled. Twenty-three paces north-east of this last, is a smaller circle, containing fifteen stones, which average about four feet high each, and from five to six feet thick; it is twenty-two paces, or fifty-five feet in diameter, about 175 feet in circumference. The enclosure has been tilled. 150 paces north-east of this again, is a sunken "gowlaun", about four feet high by six broad, quite rude. 100 paces (still in the same north-east line) from the goulaun, just at the rise of the Paddock hill,[2] is another, eleven feet high, six broad, and three thick.

The lake, or Lough Gur, lies embedded between high green hills, rendered in several places precipitous by gray limestone rocks, which stand thick and frequent upon their surface. It is almost of a circular, perhaps, more properly, an oval form, being from west to east. In the centre stands a steep hill, called Knockadoon—the hill of the castles or fortresses; it being defended at the east and south by two (of which hereafter), around whose base the waters spread like a river, varying throughout but little in their breadth. The whole extent seems to have been about two English miles.[3] The view of Garrode's Island from Knockadoon is beautiful. At the north side stands the hill of Knocknasilla. The house of a Mr. Harte, sub-agent of Count de Salis, owner of the property, is passed at the west side, and farther on is a fort or lioss, standing above the water's edge on the hill slope, of about seventy-five feet in diameter, and ten feet above the surrounding level. Ascending this hill still higher, are two natural caves in the rock, about which there are some notices of no interest; thence there is a view of the Black Castle at the opposite side, standing at the north-east base of Knockadoon. A quick descent down the hill, and a walk of about a quarter of a mile, brought me sufficiently near it. It is a square, thick tower, evidently built about the period of the Roses; its upper story, the bower, as well as the roof and parapets, are gone, so also are the outworks, whose site is occupied by a farmhouse and offices, and near it the handsome residence of Mrs. Cleary, sister of E. J. Synan, Esq., M.P. Crofton Croker was much mistaken in saying that it stood on an island out of the reach of musketry. It stands on the isthmus which connects Knockadoon with the surrounding country, and was placed there, as well as the castle of Killalough—a little further on—for the defence of that almost isolated spot; but neither castle could be deemed out of the reach of musketry; neither at the Bruff side is the country in the least rugged, so as to render the approach of cannon a matter of difficulty. In 1600, Sir George Carew, President of Munster to Queen Elizabeth, reconnoitred the place, then held by 200 men for the Earl of Desmond. He found it

[1] Fifty yards in diameter—*Fitzgerald.*
[2] This hill is now in the possession of Mrs. Spillane of Limerick.
[3] Fitzgerald most inaccurately calls Knockadoon an island, but it is an isthmus.

to be a place of exceeding strength, by reason that it was an island encompassed by a deep lough, the breadth thereof being in the nearest place a culverin shot over. On one side thereof standeth a very strong castle, which at this time was manned with a good garrison, for there was within the island John Fitz-Thomas, with 200 men at least, who showed themselves prepared to defend the place.

Fitzgerald[1] says, with some ignorance of the obvious evidence to the contrary afforded by the style of the castle, that it is supposed to have been built during the reign of Elizabeth by Sir George Bouchier, son to the second Earl of Bath, who, he states, built the chapel of ease called New Church on the side of this lake. The style of this chapel refutes the idea, and it was also built by Catholic founders. Carrigcolour, or Pigeon Rock, is the topmost eminence of Knockadoon. Eagles had nests here formerly, but none are now to be seen.

Killalough, which defended Knockadoon at the south, is now in a very ruinous state; the hill here joins the mainland by a narrow neck, on which a causeway fifteen feet broad had been raised, defended at the hill side by a fortified gate westward along the shore, and joins the tower.[2] This Fitzgerald describes as fifteen feet high and eight thick, made up of immense blocks of stone. These stones are the largest that can be seen in any building of this kind in the country; and within the ruins of the castle the walls are blackened with smoke, as if it had been the dwelling of some persons within more recent years.

Knocknafrion, or Mass Hill, is near Killalough.

On the north side of Knockadoon is a cave, twenty-two feet deep, and about twelve feet broad, the mouth hidden by an alder tree, and over the cave are irregular layers of large protecting limestone rocks rising about twenty feet above it. There is a fine echo here, and the view of the lake is really beautiful.

Garret Fitzgerald, the rebel Earl of Desmond to Queen Elizabeth, is the guardian spirit of this lake. He is held there by enchantment, which will cease when the silver shoes of his horse, whom he is seen riding over the surface of the lake once every seven years, are worn out, and he will thence once more return to life.[3] This legend strongly resembles that of Don Sebastian, King of Portugal. There are no trout in the lake; it contains pike and roach in abundance.

Not a tree or shrub occurs anywhere near the lake, except a few near the Black Castle adjoining the farm, and on the small tufted islet called Garrod's Island, which is an object of deep interest, and on which are the ruins of a castle. The hills have a great irregularity of outline, assuming the forms of miniature mountain ranges. They are said to have been hunting grounds of the ancient Irish.[4]

Some years ago, near the Black Castle, Mr. Baylee, the then landlord, cut a drain for the purpose of drawing off the water of the lake, but being killed by a fall from his horse, the work was not resumed to any extent, though there has been a considerable quantity of water drawn off. The

[1] *History of Limerick.*
[2] *History of Limerick*, vol. i. p. 311.
[3] Fitzgerald's *History of Limerick*, vol. i., p. 312.
[4] In the *Book of Lismore* (folio 196) mention is made of ancient royal hunts in the vicinity of Lough Gur, one of which is described as having taken place over the brow of the hill of Knockfennell.

peasantry attribute his death to the indignation of the Earl of Desmond on account of the attempt!

On Bailinallycailleach Hill, in this neighbourhood, is a cromlech, called *Labha-na-Mucka*, or Pig's Bed, near which a stone coffin was found some years since, with a human skeleton. The tradition here is, that a giant was buried beneath, and a golden sword was buried with him. At less than half a mile south of this are two others, one of which has been lately broken down by a farmer, who had two of the stones taken to make pillars for his gateway. On the west pinnacle of Knockfennell is one of the strongest forts in this country, circular, 360 feet in circumference, wall ten feet thick, and must have been proportionally high, from the quantity of stone that has fallen aside.

General Charles Vallancey notices Lough Gur,[1] and attributes to the Fomori or giants, the first inhabitants of the western isles, the erection of these cir-gors, or circles, or temples of the sun, of which he states there are many in Ireland, particularly around Lough Gor, or Gur, in the county of Limerick, on the borders of the lake, and from thence to Bruff. He adds that if an inquirer will venture in a corroch or leaky punt to the centre of the lake, with a peasant of the neighbourhood, he will pretend to show him the great city and cir-gor that sunk in one night, when the water rose above it and formed the lake. Fossil remains of the Polar bear have been found in this lake,[2] as well as many tons of bones of skulls of deer, pigs, cows, horses, dogs, sheep, and according to some, a rhinoceros!

BRUREE.

This village was distinguished from a very early period for the half-yearly meeting of the Irish Bards, which, according to O'Halloran, was continued until the year 1746. The name means "the country of the kings".

It possesses remains of a strong "triple" fortress, *i.e.*, three strong castles of the De Lacys, enclosed by a rampart wall more than 120 yards round. There is also, close to the church, a castellated building, erected by the Knights Templars in the twelfth centnry. There are also some remains of the small church of Cooleen, or Templecoleman, now called Howardstown, built by the same knights in 1287.

SEATS.—Bruree House (Captain Jonathan R. W. Shelton), Steyle Park (Neil Mac Donnell, Esq., J.P.), etc.

Bruree Mills are the property of Michael Ryan, Esq., J.P., and are among the flourishing and extensive mills of the county.

CAHIRCONLISH.

Cahirconlish, a post-town, formerly incorporated, seven miles E.S.E. from Limerick, formerly a walled town containing four castles, and an extensive and celebrated college, of which even the site only is now known from the name of the "College Field".

[1] Vallancey's Tract on the Ancient Stone Amphitheatre found in the county of Kerry, etc., etc., p. 46.

[2] Carte's paper on fossil remains of the Polar bear, read before the Geological Society of Dublin, A.D. 1861.

1358. (Edward III.) "murage for twenty years" conferred upon the provost, bailiff, and commonalty.

1690. August 7, William III. encamped here, as did also Ginkle in the following year.

Antiquities near the town: Carrigoreely, or "O'Farrell's Rock", built by the Bourkes, and last occupied by the O'Dalys; *Croc-a-ySenenachuslean*, or "the old Hall of the Castle", the outer wall of an old fortress apparently; and the ruins of Castle Brittas, built by the Bourkes, Lords of Brittas.

An inscription in the chancel of Cahirconlish Church is on the tomb of Theobald, son, we believe, of the first Lord Castleconnell, who was killed in action against Fitzmaurice, during the Desmond war. Fitzmaurice also lost his life in it, being killed by Theobald; and consequently Sir William de Burgh was created Lord Castleconnell by Elizabeth. The following is all that can be read of the inscription:

Hunc tumulum Theobaldus Bourk
sibi et uxori suæ Slany Bryan
fieri fecit
Bourkiana soboles carol . . . ann
guine tincta atque Bryenorum . . .
Hic Theobalde jaces tecum perire . .
issim firma fides martis gloria pacis
non totus abis tua fama superstes . . .
Phalanx spiritus ad superas vol. . . .

The rest of the inscription, and those parts not completed, are concealed by the vault recently erected by the Wilson family.

SEATS.—Cahirconlish House (Charles Monk Wilson, Esq.). The old mansion house was one of the old castles abovementioned, which suddenly split from top to bottom, leaving one half standing.

CASTLECONNELL.

Castleconnell (anc. *Carrig-Conuil)*, a post-town, six miles N. E. by N. of Limerick, happily described by Inglis as "a little village of neat, clean country houses, situated close to the Shannon, and backed and flanked by noble demesnes and fine spreading woods". Just below the village commence the rapids of the Shannon, which is 40 feet deep, and 300 yards wide above them, pouring an immense volume of water through and above a congregation of huge rocks, which extend nearly half a mile. These are the falls of Doonas. N. P. Willis says the Shannon here, for a considerable distance, resembles the rapids of the St. Lawrence. Castleconnell is "surrounded by every kind of beauty, fine mansions, green lawns, and lofty towers", and Inglis truly says that none of the Welsh waterfalls, nor the Griesbach in Switzerland, can compare with these famous falls.

The castle stands on the summit of an isolated rock close by the town, and within a short distance of the river Shannon, and was built by Conal, a native chieftain; afterwards a seat of the O'Briens, Kings of Thomond, and in which a grandson of Brien Boru is said to have been treacherously murdered by the reigning prince.

1199. King John granted five knight's fees to William de Burgh, including this parish, with a condition that he should erect a castle thereon.

Here and in the adjacent districts the English first obtained a footing in Limerick.

1578. Elizabeth condoles with William de Burgh for the loss of his son, slain in a skirmish with the Earl of Desmond, and in the same year created him Baron of Castleconnell, and gave him a yearly pension of 100 marks. In 1691, this title became extinct. Rickard of Dromkeene, M.P., for Naas, died without issue in 1762; bequeathed his estates to Chief Baron Walter Hussey, who took the name of De Burgh.

1641. Lord Castleconnell forfeited his estate and title, which, however, were restored on the accession of James II.

1651. Garrisoned by Ireton. Its subsequent history is related elsewhere in the course of this work. The castle was blown up by order of De Ginkle.

Castleconnell Spa. The waters resemble those of Spa in Germany, and are considered efficacious in scorbutic affections, liver complaint, jaundice, and worms. They are a strong chalybeate, having a mixture of earth and marine salt, and have been favourably noticed by Rutty.[1] Sir Richard Donnellan De Burgo, Bart., Major of the County of Limerick Royal Regiment of Militia, is the owner of Castleconnell. A very elegant Catholic church, built by Mr. Launcelot Ryan, of Newport (Tip.), from designs by W. E. Corbett, Esq., C.E., Limerick, was opened and dedicated to public worship in Castleconnell, through the exertions of the Rev. Patrick Hennessy, parish priest. This church contains a fine memorial window of stained glass to the late John White, Esq., J.P., of Belmont, and a beautiful altar presented by Helenus White, Esq., J.P., in 1865.

SEATS.—Island House (Sir Richard Donnellan De Burgo, Bart., D.L.), Woodlands (Captain Rich), Hermitage (Lord Massy), Stradbally Cottage (John Stephen Dwyer, Esq., J.P.), Prospect (Eyre Lloyd, Esq.), Castle View (Thomas Spunner White, Esq.), Belmont (George Sampson, Esq., J.P.), Shannon View (Helenus White, Esq., J.P.), World's End Cottage (Thomas Grove Grady, Esq), Lacka House (Edward G. Bell, Esq.), The Grange (Edward Gonne Bell, Esq., R.M.), Rock Lodge (Major Thomas Gillie), Upper Coolbawn House (Captain Spencer Vansitart), Lower Coolbawn House (William Corbett, Esq, whose collection of the rarest foreign and Irish birds, and of falcons, is said to be the largest in Ireland). All these seats are on the Limerick side of the Shannon. The seats at the Clare side of the river are—Landscape (Standish Thomas O'Grady, Esq.), Doonass House (Sir Hugh Dillon Massy, D.L., Bart.), Summer Hill (Berkley Vincent, Esq.), Water Park (John N. Phelps, Esq.), Rose Hill (James O'Grady, Esq.), Erinagh House (the residence of the late Admiral O'Grady), Erinagh (Thomas Smith O'Grady, Esq.).

CROOM.

Croom, a market and post-town, distant from Limerick nine miles, S.W. on the Cork and Limerick direct railway, beautifully situated on the eastern bank of the Maigue, over which is a handsome bridge of six arches. A place of importance and high antiquity. The castle was built by Dermot O'Donovan in the reign of King John, to protect the ford and the property newly wrested by O'Donovan from the M'Eneirys, and said to have been secured to him by King John, when Earl of Moreton. The O'Donovans having been driven out, and having fled to Cork, the castle

[1] See Rutty's *History of Irish Spas.*

was rebuilt by the Earl of Kildare, who made it his principal seat, taking from it the war cry of "Crom-a-Boo". Several times attacked by the English in the reign of Elizabeth. The Geraldines were three times besieged in the castle. The last time in 1600, when the celebrated Pierce Lacy, the constable, was attacked by Lord President Carew, and compelled to fly in the night. The castle surrendered next day. In the war of Desmond with Elizabeth was held by the De Lacys in Earl's interest, but Carew in 1600 ousted them on his way to the seige of Glen. It then vested in the Crown. Charles II. granted it to his natural son, the Duke of Richmond, who resided here some time, and then sold it to the Crokers.

1610. Castle and manor of Croom restored by King James to the Fitzgeralds.

1641. Forfeited by them for joining the insurrection.

1678. Granted by Charles II. to the Duke of Richmond, who resided in the castle several years.

1691. Garrisoned by James II., but on the approach of William, the garrison fled to Limerick.

The castle was rebuilt by John Croker, Esq.

The castle was lately in the possession of Colonel Dickson, Esq., ex-M.P, who sold it to Colonel Russell, brother of F. W. Russell, Esq., M.P.

The very extensive flour mills of Sir David V. Roche, Bart., and Henry Lyons, Esq., give considerable employment. There are several handsome residences in the neighbourhood, including Carass Court, Islandmore, Croom House, etc., etc.

A VISIT TO CROOM AND ITS NEIGHBOURHOOD.

Two miles from Croom is Manister an Aonach, "the Abbey of the fair, or place of Meeting". We rode in view of Tory hill; a conical mount with a gentle slope to the north, and presenting a steep and stony front to the south. At its base are some comfortable houses and clumps of trees, as also a small lake of great depth, which I did not see. In the reign of Elizabeth, the Earls of Kerry and Desmond encamped on this hill, certainly a strong and well chosen site for such a purpose, and beheld the battle and defeat of their hopes, fought on the plain beneath, adjoining the abbey, by Sir James FitzGerald, Desmond's brother, and Malby, the commander of Elizabeth's forces, when two thousand of the Irish were defeated and two hundred and sixty of them slain, amongst whom was the famous Dr. Allen, the Roman Legate.

This was called Tory Hill, from the number of freebooters and haters of English power who within the two last centuries frequented its sheltered sides.

The abbey was founded by O'Brien, King of Limerick, in 1148 and filled with a colony of Ulster monks, of the Cistercian order, from the abbey of Mellefont, in Louth. At the dissolution it was found possessed of five plowlands, together with tithes, oblations, a mill weir and watercourse on the river.

Holy Cross, a daughter of this house, far excels it in beauty, so do the abbeys of Adare and Kilmallock, though it has been so highly lauded by Fitzgerald and others. The abbey is situate in an open, almost level country, on the banks of the Commogue, neither tree nor shrub about it.

Some few of its features are worth being looked at. but, on the whole, it will not stand comparison with some, I may say the majority of our Munster abbeys. The abbey of Manister consisted of church and convent: the latter stands at the south side of the church, and is so ruinous, consisting of detached ragged fragments, that it defies description. The cloister, which was large, is scarcely distinguishable. There is no trace of a stone arcade, and I believe there never had been any. The front, or north wall of the church, faces the river Comogue. The church consists of nave and choir. If there was a transept, it has totally disappeared. A blank wall of great height divides the two portions of the church, and admits of communication only by a low pointed doorway six feet high by five broad. The two portions thus divided belong to very different architectural eras, the nave containing Saxon or Norman features, the choir being entirely pointed. The nave thus is the more ancient, and doubtless the portion built by the king of Limerick. The part of the nave adjoining the choir contains at either side two lofty pointed arches of plain (Fitzgerald says beautiful) masonry: those at the south side open into the field: whether there was any building there into which they opened, is only probable, for its traces are quite gone. The arches at the south side open into a low side aisle, running parallel with the south wall of the nave: these arches are of a similar plain and massive character. The west wall contains the principal ancient feature, viz., the remains of a low semicircular doorway of plain workmanship, formed of blocks of red grit. The chevron, zig-zag, etc., and all the other characteristic ornaments of the Hiberno-Romanesque style, are absent. Over this door are two round-headed windows faced with the same red stone, worked in a large cylindrical moulding, which runs along the edges of the jambs and arches. Above these is a string course of the same form and stone, accompanying the outline of the window heads at about one foot distance. High up in the south wall are two plain round-headed windows, and near them on the outside at the s.w. angle of the nave, part of the wall or steeple of the old belfry remains, rather an unusual situation for this structure, but as the whole church seems to have consisted of parts built and added long after the original church was founded, the want of unity of purpose and this choice of situation are easily accounted for. The tower, which was a noble square structure of great height, fell about sixty years ago. The choir is accessible only from the nave by a side door in the south wall, of small dimensions, which opened into the body of the convent. The altar or chancel end is covered over by a broad and pointed arch, thirty feet broad, which for about sixteen feet covers this portion of the church: it springs from either wall of the choir, and attains a good elevation at the base of the soffits; a stone frieze runs along its whole course, and the outer part is sustained by tall pilasters, or antæ, rounded at the angles, with laboured bases and capitals, decorated with leaves of a graceful pattern, the whole remarkably well wrought in a light brown coloured grit. The walls containing the choir to its junction with the nave, contained one or two considerable windows, and in the centre of each wall, opposite each other, and partly hidden by the masonry of the walls, is a round column of same stone as that in the antæ. The capitals are beautiful specimens of the skill and taste of the sculptors, consisting of leaves and flowers of different patterns, although undoubtedly not copied from nature, the designs belonging to the artist's

own fancy. These pillars formed portions of arches in these walls, which had been filled up before the destruction of the building in some of its many alterations. The altar was lighted by a lofty window of three sharp lancet lights occupying nearly the entire height, and neatly finished with stone mouldings. Its style refers it to the thirteenth century.

Tory hill in this neighbourhood was anciently called Cnoc Droma Asal. *Book of Rights*, 92.

FOYNES,

a hamlet beautifully situated on the Shannon, and important as the proposed station for the American mail packets. Good coal plants and shells have been found in the coal shales near Foynes. Near Foynes is Knockpatrick, traditionally said to have been visited by Saint Patrick, on the top of which is an ancient church and cemetery, and certain stones on which, tradition states, the Apostle of Ireland knelt in prayer. From Foynes there is railway communication with Limerick, and steam boat communication with Kilrush. The first steamer that has left the Shannon direct by Foynes for America, was Mr. Tait's blockade runner, the *Evelyn*, with clothing made up at his factory in Limerick for the late Confederate army of America.

SEATS—Mount Trenchard (Lord Mounteagle).

GLIN,

a butter and grain market and post-town, twenty-six miles w. by s. of Limerick, charmingly situated close by the Shannon, of whose salmon fisheries it was the great depot.

Near the town is the castle, the seat of the Knight of Glin, whose family has in uninterrupted succession held it for between 600 and 700 years. The present knight is the twentieth in succession. The manor, which was forfeited for some time in the reign of Henry VIII. and Queen Elizabeth, was restored in 1602.

The old castle of Glin, still extant, was celebrated for its siege by Sir George Carew in 1600, during Desmond's rebellion. During this siege, after a desperate fight, the Knight of Glin and his gallant band were either killed or drowned. We have alluded to this siege before.

The ruins of the castle are very extensive; two of the towers are extant, as are the tower and banqueting hall, near the church. Many parts of its extensive range of vaults are also perfect. In the castle demesne is a chalybeate spring.

PRINCIPAL SEAT.—The Castle (Knight of Glin).[1]

Saturday is market day. Population 1,243.

KILFINANE,

within two miles of Ardpatrick, a neat and thriving town. The locality is famed for its large rath, "130 feet high, 50 feet in diameter at the base, and 20 feet at the summit, encircled by seven earthen ramparts,

[1] John of Callan, ancestor of the Fitzgeralds of Munster, who was slain at Callan by the Mac Carthys, with his third son, Maurice, the first Knight of Kerry, had three other sons, Gibbon, ancestor of the White Knight; John, ancestor of the Knight of Glin or the Valley; and Thomas, ancestor of various families of the Fitzgeralds in Limerick. The Earls of Desmond, as Princes Palatine, created barons and conferred knighthood.

about 20 feet apart, gradually diminishing in height from the inner to the outer moat, which is 10 feet high, and 2,000 feet in circumference".[1]

SEATS—Castle Oliver (Captain Charles Frederick Gascoyne, D.L.).

Tuesday is market day. Population 1,274.

KILMALLOCK,

an ancient corporate and post-town, fifteen miles and three-quarters south from Limerick, styled from its fine ruins the "Baalbec" of Ireland, anciently *Killocia* and *Kilmochcallog*, derived its name from an abbey founded for Canons Regular by St. Mochcallog, or St. Molach, in the beginning of the seventh century. It is situated on the left bank of the little river Commogue, in the old territory of Hy Cairtre and Abhdha, and present barony of Coshma. The early tribe occupants of this district were the O'Donovans, until the twelfth century, when the O'Briens and other clans expelled them, and they settled in Corca Laighde, giving the name of their vacated territory to the Carberies in the south-west of the county Cork. A corporate town by presentation or charter, its privileges as a borough being recited by a charter by Edward III. It was surrounded by a stone wall of great strength, a great part of which remains, fortified with mounds of earth, and having four gateway towers of a lofty character, called respectively, St. John's Gate, Water Gate, Ivy Gate, and Blossoms Gate, of which the last only is now remaining. Inhabited at a very early period by several of the chief nobility and gentry. Elizabeth granted a charter to Kilmallock for its resistance to "the arch-traitor Garret Fitz Gerald, Earl of Desmond". It returned a member of parliament until the Union.

The church of SS. Peter and Paul, which is within the town walls, is the older of the two ecclesiastical ruins. It consists of a choir, nave, south transept, and circular belfry, or rather a round tower. The choir is used as the parish church. The nave is subdivided by a range of four pointed arches, which spring from square columns of plain mason work. The transept and the nave contain several sculptured monuments to members of the Fitzgerald, Verdon, Blakeney, and Haly families. The circular belfry, or round tower, has been perforated by several pointed windows.

The Dominican Abbey, situated on the Commogue outside the town, is said to have been founded in 1291 by Gilbert, second son of John of Callan, Lord Offaly. The architecture of the whole structure is described by the late Sir Richard Hoare, "as surpassing in decoration and good sculpture any he had seen in Ireland". The form of the pile is cruciform, with a tall steeple rising from the intersection of nave and transept. The east window is very elegant. In the centre of the choir is a fragment of the tomb of the White Knight, which was broken by some treasure seekers from Limerick, soldiers we have heard, then stationed in that garrison. We have already referred to the ecclesiastical antiquities of this ancient manor of the Bishops of Limerick.

On the floor lies a broken slab, the covering of the tomb of the White Knights of the clan Gibbon. There is shown a small hollow in this tomb, which is pretended to have been formed by a continual drop of

[1] Wakeman.

rain, *non vi sed saepe cadendo.* This is called the "Braon Shinsior", or hereditary drop, and is regarded as a mark of the divine displeasure for the cruelty of the White Knight to his Catholic countrymen. In the cloister is flung another broken tombstone of three brothers of the Burgate family, martyrs of loyalty, slain in the war of 1641. The conventual buildings which lie at the north side of the cloister, consist of the usual compartments of such buildings, such as a great kitchen, refectory, dormitories, schools, prior's and professors' apartments.

In an inquisition taken in twenty-ninth Elizabeth, the abbey is valued at the annual sum of 6s. 8d., and is called by the name of Flacispaghe, a designation not very intelligible.

In 1028 Caithnia Ua Tighernain, Lector of Cill Dachellock, died.

1050. Conaill Airchinneach or Warden of Cill Mochallag and its lector previously died.

It is asserted that Killmallock was a walled town before the Anglo-Norman invasion.

1291. A Dominican monastery founded east of the town, by Gilbert, son of John of Callan, Lord of Offaly, by others said by Geraldine, Lord of Desmond.

1340. General chapter of the order held here. Granted to the corporation at the dissolution.

1412. Eadleis and the son of the Earl of Kildare fell by each other's hands at Kilmallock.

1482. Again incorporated by Edward IV., and royal mint established there.

1568. Principal military station of the English during the wars in the reign of Elizabeth. Taken by surprise this year by James Fitz-Maurice, who put all the principal inhabitants to death, and burned the town, to prevent its occupation by the Lord Deputy, who was marching against him from Buttevant. Gerald, Earl of Desmond, taken prisoner.

1572. Sir J. Perrot, President of Munster, compelled James Fitz-Maurice to surrender, and received his submission kneeling in the parish church, with the point of the president's sword at his breast, to show that he had his life at the Queen's hands.

1579. Sir W. Drury, coming here with 900 men to oppose Sir John of Desmond, with his Spanish and Irish forces, summons the nobility of Munster to repair to his standard, but dies soon after his defeat at Gort-na-Tobrid.

1582. The events of this period are related in the previous history. Part of the garrison attacked Gerald, the sixteenth Earl of Desmond, and nearly captured him.

1584. The town receives a new charter from Queen Elizabeth, with various privileges.

1590. Town besieged by James Fitzgerald (the self-styled Earl), who was repulsed by Norris and Ormonde.

1600. James, son of the late earl, sent over by the English to destroy the popularity of the usurping earl. The circumstances attending this event have been already related.

1642. The Irish army, under Lord Mountgarret, took possession of the town, which was unsuccessfully besieged next year by Inchiquin.

1645. Lord Castlehaven, commander-in-chief of the Irish army, deposits

all his arms and stores in the town, which soon after fell into the hands of the Parliamentarians. The fortifications were soon after dismantled by Oliver Cromwell; they were subsequently restored by the corporation.

1648. The Rev. Father Gerald Fitzgerald, and David Fox, lay-brother, were killed for the faith in the Dominican convent here.

1673. A coin or token was struck here bearing the legend of Mathew Meade, merchant, of Kilmallock.

1690. The Duke of Berwick withdrew his forces, having marched through Kilmallock, for the succour of Kinsale and Cork, then beseiged by his nephew, De Churchill.

Kilmallock was, as we have said, the residence of many of the nobility and gentry, a few of whose town houses, dating from the time of James or Elizabeth, remained up to a comparatively recent period, but they are now in a ruinous condition. They are distinguished by spacious semicircular arched entrances, opening into small halls; windows small, square, and compartmented, sometimes divided by a cross of stone. The two mansions that still remain, belonged to the Earl of Buckinghamshire and the family of Godsall.[1]

Kilmallock was a parliamentary borough before the Union; the names of the representatives appear in Addenda B, pages 742-3.

KNOCKLONG AND KNOCKANY.

Damh Goire was the ancient name of Knocklong.[2] The present Irish name of Knocklong is Cnocluinga. Knocklong castle, on an eminence, the remains of which are in a wretched state, was the seat of O'Hurley. O'Hurley's beautiful tomb is at Emly.[3] The coignstones, frames of doors, windows, etc., have been ruthlessly removed; it was not a lofty structure. Its form a square, with four gables, one of which remains surmounted by a

[1] Kilmallock gave the title of Viscount to the Sarsfields; Lough Gur, the title of Baron to the Fanes; the Tracys, Viscounts of Rathcoole, were also Baronets of the County of Limerick. —Crossley's *Peerage*, p. 117.

[2] For Drom Damhgaire, now Knocklong, see O'Donovan, Four. M. appendix, p. 2433. See also Keating's *History of Ireland*, for a full account of the battle of Drom Damhgaire, which is an abridgment of the wild and magical tale of that name.

[3] The tomb at Emly, referred to in Fitzgerald's *History of Limerick* as that of Sir Thomas Hurley, belongs to Maurice, and not Thomas. The following is the inscription.—

DOM. DOM.
Perillustris Dominus D. Mauritius Hurlæus Armiger, Monument.
Hoc sibi suisque charissimis conjugibus Graniæ Hoganæ et
Graciæ Thorentonæ totique posteritati posuit elaborarique fecit
Hic jacet hospitii columen, pietatis asylum, A.N.D.I. 1632.
Ingenio clarus, clarus et eloquio,
Laus patriae, litum suppressor, pacis amator,
Regula justitiæ, religionis ebur,
Hostibus Hurlæus fuit hostis, amicus amicis,
Mauritius moderans tempore temporibus,
Fax fidei, fulcrum miserorum, gemma virorum,
Stemmatis antiqua, magna gloria sui,
Huic decus, huic probitas, sors corporis integra, mille
Naturæ dotes, unicus omne capit,
Vixisti mundo, vives in sæculo vivis,
Fortuna fælix, prole pereximia,
Ergo Vive Deo, vive cui vivere vita est
Sic tibi, dante Deo, vita perennis erit,
Sumptibus Hurlæi fabricarunt hoc monumentum
Patricius Kerin, Nicholausque Cowley.

plain chimney. The interior had been arched, but the arch has fallen. The stone steps up the staircase have been taken away. The period of this structure was about the fourteenth century. At a short distance to the south-west are the ruins of an old church, with a small burial ground. The building was a small oblong, 44 feet 9 inches long, by 22 feet broad. The eastern wall has fallen. The walls show different periods, the more ancient exhibit large blocks without courses, the latter portion work of the fourteenth or fifteenth century. The door was at the north side, but the wall where it had been presents a large breach.

A VISIT TO KNOCKLONG AND KNOCKANY.

On the summit of the hill, in a field to the south west, there is a lime stone dallan about four feet thirteen inches thick. It stands now on the edge of a lime-stone precipice, and is in peril. Nothing is known of its history. A countryman who accosted me with a " God save you, Sir", pointed out on a plain to the north-west where the king, he said, had encamped. He did not know who the king was, but he believed he was king of the " Dandonians". He said the troops were terribly distressed for water in consequence of a great drought, but that a druid relieved them by shooting up a sleagh or javelin into the air, and where it fell there flowed out a beautiful spring of water, which still flows. This is the well of Curraheen, at the north-east foot of the hill. From the foot of the hill also, on to Emly, in the east, whose spire was plainly visible to me from where I stood, had been, for a long time, one broad lake. Another person told me that where the druid stood was on *Sliabh Riach*, at the south, the dark heathy ridge which bounded my view in that direction. Between me and the Galtees he pointed out the hill of Dun Tri Liag, as also Clareen, two miles to the west.

On the plain at some short distance from the foot of the hill, we visited a *moat*, a structure to be scarcely met with in Cork or Kerry. It is a variety of the lios, which it nearly altogether supersedes in the midland counties. This moat is called Lios Cnoc Luinga, or the Lios of Knocklong. It has no rampart, but is surrounded with a deep fosse. The area is about fifty-six feet diameter, and the mound itself about twenty feet in height, from bottom to fosse. The gap is at the south-east.

Passing on to the north, we saw on the same townland the remains of a square fort: about two-thirds of it was ruined. Adjoining the square fort is a round moat, to the west. The mound is thirteen feet high, its sides were luxuriant with numerous hawthorns. The area twenty paces diameter, or fifty-six feet. It has a deep fosse; a dog was swallowed up in the middle area, and never came back (a cave?). Beyond these, we were shown another, the moat or lios of Ballycahill, which is planted. The area measures thirty-three paces, or ninety feet.

We were told of Aghadoon, stated to be only a quarter of a mile from Knocklong: it is really two miles. Here was a fort five times higher than the others. Hither we drove by Elton cross roads and Fair Green. Aghadoon is on the lands of Knoctora. It is an earthen dun, or fort, about twenty feet in height, planted, and thirty-six paces in diameter; the area forms a hollow, from the rampart, which is only about three feet in height. The gap, or entrance, is at the east side. In these dimensions there is nothing to justify the statement that it is five times the height of the other moats examined.

By the ordnance sheet the ruins of Athneasy church, as also Athneasy *fort* (not moat), are placed at a short distance to the west, and about one mile west of that, a fort of extraordinary size, having three rings, and near it a diminutive moat, are placed on the lands of Ballin Scanla.

From Aghadoon to Knockany, a flat, rich tract of land. Knockany hill, a lime-stone ridge, five hundred and thirty-seven feet high, is three miles north of Elton. Near its base is the lower part of a square (fourteenth century) castle.

Knockany hill, a long ship-like (keel-inverted) hill, limestone, a scattered, small hamlet, a chapel, and a church. In the latter are two old tombstones, one in the porch with rude raised characters on the margin, to one of the O'Gradys, I think. The other, in the church near the communion table, on the floor, also raised letters, Latin inscription, and rude figures of birds or animals, date 1622. This is the tombstone of a Protestant.

Tobber Gobbun is near to the south, and beside it a round grave-yard, evidently a Killeen, which we did not visit.

Kilballyowen (O'Grady) is about a mile to the west. Turned aside to Baggotstown castle, a double structure, one of the roses, arched naval stairs; and attached to it a Tudor remain. One wall only, with large cross-barred mullioned windows, a bartizan at angle. The chimney shafts handsome, with open ribbed crown. They are, doubtless, of a far later period than the original castle, on whose gables they have been placed. Baggotstown is nearly two miles south of Knockany. Bulgaden, a stump of a square castle, also a handsome moat of larger extent than those seen earlier in the day. It is called Rathbawn, and its height above the level of the sea is three hundred and seventy-four feet, on the ordnance sheet.

NEWCASTLE,

(anciently Castle Roe and Nua), a prosperous and busy market and post town, and anciently a borough town, twenty miles S.W. from Limerick.

1184. Castle erected here, whence the name and origin of the town, by the Knights Templars. A tradition prevails that, owing to the evil repute of the Templars, the people rose up, killed many of them, etc., Lapsed to the crown, and became the property of the Geraldines. Three battles fought near the town. The castle is occupied as the dwelling of the agent of the extensive estates of the Earl of Devon, E. Curling, Esq., and the "Desmond Hall", and other interesting remains of ancient days, are noble memorials of the past. The acorn, the emblem of the Knights Templars, may be seen cut in stone on several of the remains within the castle enclosure. At Adare Manor museum are some specimens of the spinctræ or bath tickets of the ancient Romans of Tiberius's reign, which are impressed with abominable figures, and which, according to the *Memorials of Adare*, were dug up about sixty years ago in or about the Castle, and presented to the late Lord Dunraven by Mr. Looke.

1591. Granted after the death of the great earl, to Sir Wm. Courtenay, with instructions to plant English settlers.

1638. Property regranted to Sir George Courtenay, after Sir William and his son had been dispossessed by the crown. From Sir George they have descended to the Earl of Devon, who is justly popular as an excellent landlord.

It contains a small Protestant church, near the Desmond Castle, and a

handsome Catholic church, (as there is in every other town in the county,[1]) which the Very Rev. Dean O'Brien, D.D., P.P., V.G., has resolved to extend and beautify. It has also a convent and schools of the Sisters of Mercy, and schools, to which the Earl of Devon is a liberal contributor, presided over by the Christian Brothers.

Saturday is market day. Population 2,452. A great butter market is held here. There are branches of the Provincial Bank of Ireland and National Bank here.

In the Desmond hall a large mantel-piece of black marble is placed, which is said to have been taken from the ruins of one of the great houses at Kilmallock. It has the following inscription:—

S.H.	I.H.S.	E.H.
16		38

PALLAS.

This town adjoins the hill of Knockgraine (Hill of the Sun), which is remarkable for a mound, upon which was built a castle in olden times. In Pallas church was a monument to the MacBriens of Ballytarsney.

RATHKEALE,

a market and post-town, fourteen miles s. w. by w. of Limerick, consisting chiefly of one street, about a mile in length. It is a thriving, prosperous town, ranking second in the county, and is finely situated. It owes not a little of its prosperity to the Palatines, who settled in and near it in 1708, under the auspices of Lord Southwell.

1289. A priory of Augustinian Canons, of the Order of St. Aroasia, founded by Gilbert Harvey. It was further endowed by his descendant, Eleanor Purcell, who caused it to be dedicated to the B.V.M. The side walls, gable, and towers, are still extant; and some years ago a project was entertained of roofing in the ruins of the ancient church for the purposes of a Catholic parochial church.

1580. On the arrival of the Spaniards at Smerewick, the Queen's forces, under Grey and Ormonde, assembled here.

Captain Walter Raleigh, afterwards Sir Walter, presented with the freedom of the city by the corporation, for his success in surprising in ambush a number of the Irish assembled to plunder the camp when the English left it; in return, repaired the castles of Rathkeale (built by Desmond) and Matrix.[2]

1654. Fixed as the polling place for electing members for Clare, Limerick, and Kerry, in the parliament of Oliver Cromwell, who disfranchised the town because it refused his army provisions. Its privileges were never after restored.

A Protestant church is built in the suburb, beyond the Deel—Archdeacon Hassard is the vicar; and at present a beautiful Catholic church is

[1] The number of Catholic Churches in the diocese of Limerick is over 100; of Catholic parishes there are 44.

[2] For other remarkable places in the county of Limerick, I refer to Appendix D.

projected, from designs by J. J. M'Carthy, Esq., Dublin, by the Very Rev. James O'Shea, parish priest, and the parishioners. The Sister of Mercy have an admirable convent and school, and the Christian Brothers have extensive schools also here.

SEATS.—Rathkeale Abbey (G. W. Leech, Esq.), Castle Matrix, Beechmount (T. Lloyd, Esq., D.L.), Ballywilliam (D. Maunsell, Esq.), and Mount Browne (J. Browne, Esq.)

There is a branch of the Provincial Bank of Ireland, and of the National Bank of Ireland here.

The History of Limerick closes appropriately with the recognition by the goverpment of Lord Palmerston, who has since been numbered with the dead, of the justice and expediency of the principle of denominational education, so far at least as the intimation that has been given of a liberal modification of the Queen's Colleges to meet Catholic requirements is concerned. We have said "appropriately", because Limerick was the first locality in Ireland to agitate in favour of that movement, the author of this history having been the first to move in the corporation that a memorial should be presented to the Lord Lieutenant, in favour of a charter to the Catholic University of Ireland, and the first scholarships having been endowed by citizens of Limerick. The two other memorable events of the year which is now about to close, are the succession of Earl Russell to Lord Palmerston, and the suppression of the Fenian conspiracy, the chief actor in which has effected so singular an escape from Richmond Prison, and the subordinates have been very severely punished—a conspiracy which we sincerely hope may be the last faint echo of that rebellious spirit which before the tardy and incomplete emancipation effected by the Relief Bill, was the not unnatural result of such flagrant iniquities as the violated Treaty of Limerick.

APPENDIX.

A.

PRINCIPAL CHARTERS OF LIMERICK.

Charter granted by			John	...	dated 18th December,	1197-8
"	"	"	Edward I.,	"	4th February,	1291
"	"	"	Ditto	"	6th May,	1303
"	"	"	Henry IV.	"	26th June,	1400
"	"	"	Henry V.	"	20th January,	1413
"	"	"	Henry VI.	"	27th November,	1423
"	"	"	Ditto,	"	18th November,	1429
"	"	"	Henry VI.,	"	26th July,	1449
"	"	"	Edward VI.	"	20th February,	1551
"	"	"	Elizabeth,	"	27th October,	1575
"	"	"	Ditto,	"	19th March,	1582 *
"	"	"	James I.	"	3d March,	1609

Among the muniments of the Corporation is an Inspex. of Oliver Cromwell, dated 10th of February, 1657; and an Inspex. of Charles II.

LIMERICK GRANTS, AND WHERE TO BE FOUND (NOT ABSTRACTED).

31st Edw. I. a 13. Confirmatio Libertatis.
3d 4th Edw. II. 134. Murage.
4th Edw. II.
6th Edw. II. Writ for repairing the castle.
13th Edw. II. Writ against levying money from the city.
17th, 18th Edw. II. Order to repair the town walls and bridge.
1st Sept., 49th Edward III. Grant customs for murage.
8th Henry IV. Murage.
13th Henry IV.
2d Henry V. Inspex Chart. Edward I.
6th Edw. VI., 20th Feb. Inspex.
21st Elizabeth. License to tan leather.
25th Elizabeth, 25th Feb. Second license for free schools and privileges.
25th Eliza., 29th Mar. Conf. et Inspex. charter.
6th James I. 3d March.
7th James I.

* Page 100.—Charter of Elizabeth, dated 29th March, twenty-fifth Elizabeth (1582). This charter is of very great length; is a confirmation and inspeximus of previous charters, and grants to the city of Limerick, and sets forth in full, the charter of John Earl of Moreton, and the other charters in succession, by which the powers of mayor and bailiffs were enlarged, by which the mayor was constituted "escheator, coroner, and inquisitor", and by which he is given cocket customs, etc., etc., and the authority of collecting and receiving all manner of fines, amercements, and issues, to the justices of the peace appertaining, and all other forfeitures, chattels of fugitives, and chattels of felons, etc., etc., etc., "and the profits of a certain fishery which is called Lax Were, with its appurtenances, to the said mayor and commonality, and their successors for ever". It sets forth a previous charter granted by Elizabeth in the sixteenth year of her reign, by which, "as a token of more honourable esteem", she gave and granted license, "for us, our heirs and successors, to our said liege subjects, the present mayor, bailiffs, and citizens of the said city, and their successors, that the mayor of the city aforesaid, for the time being, in all places within the walls of the said city and suburbs thereof, shall and may have a sword with fit scabbard, and adorned with our ensign, to be carried before the mayor who now is, and before all other mayors for the time being, in all places within the walls of the aforesaid city, and within the suburbs and the liberties of the same; and we will that the sword bearer be adorned with a notable hat, commonly called a 'hat of maintenance', when and where they shall think fit, for the reasons afores'd". The charter of 1582 then sets out that, "considering the fidelity and obedience which the citizens of that city to us in all things hitherto freely showed, and were ready to show at their own very great expenses, labours, and charges, especially in the most wicked rebellion by Gerald, Earl of Desmond, and his confederates, against us and our royal power, very lately attempted and perpetrated", etc., etc. "We have willed etc., that our city of Limerick shall be and remain for ever hereafter a city in itself, and that the citizens of the said city be and for ever hereafter shall remain one body corporate and politic, in deed, fact, and name, by the name of mayor, bailiffs, and citizens of the city of Limerick", etc. This charter grants to the mayor, bailiffs, etc., "all those weirs and pooles in the water of Shannon, within the liberties of the said city, called the Lex Werres, and Fisher's Stent, etc., etc., etc., yielding of the weirs called Fishers Stent, 6s. 8d.", etc.

Note 1, p. 134, in which we give an abstract of the Charter of James I. (*Pat Roll.* vi. James I.), dated 3rd March, 1609, declares extent of the county of the city:—"that all and singular houses, etc., waters, water courses, soil and bottom, etc, for space of three miles at every side, to be measured by the Earl of Thomond and others, etc., etc., shall be likewise annexed to the aforesaid county of the aforesaid city of Limerick, as part and parcel entirely of the aforesaid city, distinct and separate from our county of Limerick", etc., etc., "and together with our aforesaid island of Inniscattery, shall be one county of itself"; and grants power to the mayor, sheriffs, and citizens, to have and to hold one admiralty court of record in every week through the year (or when and so often as it shall seem meet to them), before the mayor, recorder, and aldermen of the said city, etc. It conferred extensive power on the Court of Admiralty. In this charter there is no prohibition as in the charter of Elizabeth, to the effect that, "no person who is by blood an Irishman, or who shall live as an Irishman, etc., etc., etc., shall be preferred to any dignity or ecclesiastical benefice in the cathedral church of Limerick without license, dispensation, or toleration of the dignity", etc. In previous charters no "Irishman" was permitted to be mayor, etc., etc.

13th Rich. II. Grants customs to the Bishop of Leighlin.
18th Rich. II. a. 55. Exemption against the King's collectors.
3rd Henry IV. Grant of the weirs.
8th James I.
8th James I., Grant Cocket.
3d 4th James II., 14th March.
3d James II., 13th Jan., or 4th James II.

CHARTERS AND GRANTS OF FAIRS, ETC., (IRELAND) INSCRIBED ON PATENT ROLLS CHANCERY IN ROLLS OFFICE, DUBLIN.

February 20th, 1551, is set out.
March 19th, 1592, ,,
March 3d, 1609, ,,
Sept. 1st, 1375. A grant of the Staple (B 7. 49 Edw. III).
Nov. 16th, 1576. Grant of power to appoint two citizens to be guagers and se rchers in time of war, to traffic with foreigners and strangers, and the Queen's enemies for the benefit of the city.
February, 1301. 307 Grant, 31st Edw. I. No. 13 Burn.
April 24th, 1578, set out
January 3d, 1611, ,,
July 24th, 1388, ,,
February 3d, 1388, ,,
June 28th, 1400, ,,
January 28th, 1401, ,,
April 27th, 1547 ,,
October 10th, 1678, ,,

CATHERKENLISH.

1338 Nov. 9. Grant for stone wall.

LIMERICK COUNTY.

1291. July 4. Market and fair, Limerick City.
1551. July 20. Confirmed.

Pallaice.
Castletown.
Owney.
Bruffe.
Ballynyntlea.
Kilfinan.
The Hospital.
Askeatten.
Rathkeleagh
Ardagh.
Galbullye.
Shanegowleigh.
Ballingary.

Dec. 5, 1612, to Wm. Lacie, gent., a Tuesday market, and a fair on 24th June and the day following. Rent, 6s. 8d. Irish.

Downmoylin.
Kilcolman.
Lismolayne.
Keilmeedy.
Newcastle.

1624. To Sir W.n. Courtney, Newcastle.

Dromcolloher.
Stradbally.
Meaghowna.
Glanorbery.
Caherkenlish.
Abington.
Nantinan.
Ballygrenan.
Murroe.
Knockaderry.
Ballyscanlan.
Glenogra.
Dromin.
Croome.
Singland.
Tubbermurry.
Brury.
Kilfinny.
Ballinoreeny.
Porterushey, *alias* Montpelier.
Cahirelly West.
Tullow.
Anglesborough.
Ballybrood.
Portenard.
Court and Curraheen.
Almer.
Ballingarrydown.
Croagh, Burgess.*

Instructions by the king to Maister Wm. Lacy, sent unto the lande of Ireland, relating much to Thos. Fitzgerald, Esq., of Kildare, who was to be desired to accept of the office of deputy lieutenant of Ireland, under Prince Edward, the king's son, whom, etc.†

CHARTERS TO KILMALLOCK BORO.

Feb. 15, 1482, 4th Edward VI.
April 24, 1594, 36th Elizabeth.
March 1, 1374, grant Bir. Tur. 49th Edward III., abstract.
July 15, 1482, 22nd Edward IV., set out.
April 15, 1584, set out.
January 11, 1584, ,,

ASKEYTON BORO.

March 30, 1613, set out.
June 10, 1610 ,,

* In addition, there are charters for fairs at Adare, Ardpatrick, Ballybrood, Herbertstown, Knocktoran, Kilmallock Kilmore, Kilteely, Pallasgreane, Patrickswell, and Turagh. There are three patents for Newcastle granted to the ancestors of the Earl of Devon.

† Letter of King Edward III. to the Lord Barry of Mounster 29th September.

B.

REPRESENTATIVES IN PARLIAMENT FOR THE CITY OF LIMERICK SINCE A.D. 1559.

1559	Clements Fanning, Esq.
Elizabeth.	Edward Arthur, Esq.
1585	Thomas Arthur, Esq.
Elizabeth.	Stephen White, Esq.
1613	Counsellor James Galway.
James I.	Alderman Nicholas Arthur.
1639	Dominick White, LL.D.
Charles I.	Pierse Creagh FitzAndrew, Esq.
1654	William Purefoy, Esq., repre-
O. Cromwell.	sented Limerick and Kilmallock.
	Walter Waller, Esq., represented Limerick and Kilmallock.
1658	Capt. George Ingoldsby, repre-
R. Cromwell.	sented Limerick and Kilmallock.
	Standish Hartstonge, Esq.
1661	Gerald Fitzgerald, Esq.
Chich. House.	
1689	Alderman Nicholas Arthur.
James II.	Alderman Thomas Harold.
1692	Sir Charles Fielding, Knt.
Wm. & Mary.	Joseph Coughlan, Esq.
1695	Sir J. Williamson, Knt., J. Coughlan, Esq
1703	Robert Biennerhasset, Esq.
Anne.	Major-General Richard Ingoldsby.
1713	Henry Ingoldsby, Esq.
	George Roche, Esq.
1715	George Roche, Esq.
George I.	William Ford, Esq.
1727	Lieutenant-General Thomas Pierse.
George II.	Henry Ingoldsby, Esq.
1731	Charles Smyth succeeded Ingoldsby.
1739	William Wilson succeeded Pierse.
1741	Richard Maunsell‡ succeeded Wilson.
1761	Edmund Sexten Pery, Esq.
George III.	Charles Smyth, Esq.
1768	Right Hon., Edmund Sexten Pery.
	Charles Smyth, Esq.
1776	Right Hon. Edmund Sexten Pery.
	Thomas Smyth, Esq.
1783	Right Hon. Edmund Sexten Pery.
	Thomas Smyth, Esq.
1785	John Prendergast Smyth, Esq. succeeded T. Smith, decd.
1786	Edmund Henry Pery, Esq., succeeded Edmund Sexten Pery, created a peer.
1790	John Prendergast Smyth, Esq.
	Charles Vereker, Esq.
1797	Charles Vereker, Esq.
	Henry D. Grady, Esq.
1802	Right Hon. Charles Vereker.*
1806	Right Hon. Charles Vereker.
1807	Right Hon. Charles Vereker.
1810	Right Hon. Charles Vereker.
1812	Right Hon. Charles Vereker.
1817	Hon. J. P. Vereker.
1818	Hon. J. P. Vereker.
Geo. IV., 1820.	
1820	Thomas Spring Rice.
1826	T. Spring Rice.
William IV., 1830.	
1830	T. Spring Rice.
1831	T. Spring Rice.
1833†	Wm. Roche, David Roche.
1835	Wm. Roche, David Roche.
Victoria, 1837.	
1837	Wm. Roche, David Roche.
1841	Sir David. Roche, Bart., John O'Brien.
1845	Sir David Roche resigned, James Kelly returned.
1847	John O'Brien, John O'Connell, (double return of John O'Connell sat for Limerick city).
August, 1851	Hon. Henry Granville, Earl of Arundel and Surrey, in place of John O'Connell resigned.
July, 1852	Robert Potter, Fras. Wm. Russell.
1854	James O'Brien, returned Dec. 1854, vice R. Potter, decd.
1857	James O'Brien, Fras. Wm. Russell.
Feb. 1858	Major Geo. Gavin returned, vice James O'Brien, appointed one of the Justices of Q. B.
May, 1858	James Spaight, returned, vice Major George Gavin, void election.
May, 1859	Francis W. Russell, Major George Gavin.
July, 1865	Major George Gavin, F. W. Russell.

* The Act of Union deprived the city of one representative. First Parliament after the Union.

† The Reform Bill gave two members to the city.

‡ This gentleman was great-grandfather of Henry Maunsell, Esq, J.P., of Fanstown, Kilmallock. Richard Maunsell's eldest son, Thomas, was member for Kilmallock, A.D. 1769; he was King's Counsel, and died while going circuit in Ennis, from a cold caught in Galway. Thomas Maunsell, Esq., of Plassey, was member for the Borough of Granard, and then for Thomastown, Co. Kilkenny, in the Irish parliament.

REPRESENTATIVES IN PARLIAMENT FOR THE COUNTY OF LIMERICK SINCE THE YEAR 1585.

1585	Sir Thos. Norris, Knt.
Elizabeth.	Richard Bourke, Esq.
1613	Rt. Hon. F. Berkley.
James I.	T. Browne Miles, Esq.
1639	Sir Edw. Fitzharris, Bt.
Charles I.	Sir Hard. Waller, Knt.
1654	Sir H. Waller, Knt.
O. Cromwell.	Col. Henry Ingolsby.*
1656	Sir Hard. Waller, Knt.
	Col. Henry Ingoldsby.
1658	Sir H. Ingoldsby, Bt.
R. Cromwell.	Sir H. Waller, Knt.
1661	Sir William King, Knt.
Chich. House.	Robert Oliver, Esq.
1689	Sir John Fitzgerald, Bt.
James II.	Gerald Fitzgerald, Esq.
1692	Sir William King, Knt.
Wm. & Mary.	George Evans, Esq.†
1695	Sir T. Southwell, Bt.‡
	Sir Wm. King, Knt.
1703	Sir T. Southwell, Bart.
Anne	Charles Oliver, Esq.
1713	George King, Esq.
	George Evans, jun. Esq.
1715	Sir T. Southwell, Bart.
George I.	Robert Oliver, Esq.
1717	Eyre Evans, Esq, succeeded Sir T. Sonthwell, who was created a Baron.
1727	Eyre Evans, Esq.
George II.	Richd. Southwell, Esq.
1729	Honourable H. Southwell, vice Richard Southwell.
1759	Hugh Massy, Esq.§ vice Hon. Southwell.
1761	Hon. T. G. Southwell.
George III.	Hugh Massy, Esq.
1768	Silver Oliver, Esq.
	Hugh Massy, Esq.
1776	Right. Hon. Silver Oliver.
	Sir H. Hartstonge, Bt.
1783	Hon. Hugh Massy.
	Sir H. Hartstonge, Bt.
1790	John Waller, Esq.
	Hon. John Massy.
1797	C. Silver Oliver, Esq.
	Lieut.-Col. W. Odell.
1801	Charles S. Oliver, Esq.
	Lieut-Col. W. Odell.
1806	Lieut-Col. W. Odell.
	Hon. Windham Quin.
1807	Lieut.-Col. W. Odell.
	Hon Windham Quin.
1812	Lieut-Col. W. Odell.
	Hon. Windham Quin.
1818	Hon R. H. Fitzgibbon.
	Hon. Windham Quin.
George IV.	Hon. H. R. Fitzgibbon.
1820	Capt. Standish O'Grady.
William IV.	Fitzgibbon, S. O'Grady.
1831	Fitzgibbon, O'Grady.
1833	Fitzgibbon, O'Grady.
1835	Fitzgibbon, W. S. O'Brien.
Victoria.	
1837	Fitzgibbon, W. S. O'Brien.
1841	W. S. O'Brien, Caleb Powell.
1847	W. S. O'Brien, W. Monsell.
1849	Samuel Dickson, in place of William S. O'Brien, convicted of High Treason at the Special Commission in Clonmel, October, 1848.‖
1851	Wyndham Goold, in place of S. Dickson, deceased.
1852	W. Monsell, W. Goold.
1854	W. Monsell, Clerk of the Ordnance, reëlected.
1855	S. Ed. De Vere elected, vice W. Goold, deceased.
Feb, 1857	W. Monsell, President of Board of Health, reëlected.
April, 1857	W. Monsell, S. E. De Vere.
1859	W. Monsell, S. A. Dickson.
1865	W. Monsell, E. J. Synan.

REPRESENTATIVES IN PARLIAMENT FOR THE BOROUGH OF KILMALLOCK, FROM THE YEAR 1583 TO THE UNION.

1585	John Verdon, Esq.
Elizabeth.	Thomas Hurley, Esq.
1613	Henry Verdon, Gent.
James I.	Patrick Kearney, Gent.
1639	Wm. St. Leger. Esq.
Charles I.	John Power, Esq.
1654	Wm. Purefoy, Esq., represen-
O. Cromwell.	ted Limerick and Kilmallock.
1656	Walter Waller represented Limerick and Kilmallock.
1658	Capt. Geo. Ingoldsby represented Limerick and Kilmallock.
1661	John Bridges, Esq.
Chich. House.	Brook Bridges, Esq.
	Murrough Boyle succeeded John Bridges, deceased.

* They also represented Kerry and Clare.

† This gentleman exerted himself so strennously in behalf of the Hanoverian succession, that King George I. appointed him Governor of the Castle of Limerick in 1714, and May 9, 1715, he was created Baron Carbery, of Carbery, in the county of Cork. He was of the Privy Council to George I. and George II., and was member in the British parliament for Westbury in Wiltshire. See *Almon's Peerage of Ireland*, vol. ii. p. 182.

‡ Sir Thomas Southwell was condemned at Galway, for his attachment to King William's interest, as mentioned in a former page; but after the victory at the Boyne he was released. In 1714, he was appointed one of the Privy Council, and one of the Commissioners and Governors of his Majesty's revenue in Ireland; and in 1717, he was created Baron Southwell, of Castlematress, in the county of Limerick.

§ Created Lord Baron Massy in 1776.

‖ Mr. W. S. O'Brien, having spent some years in penal exile in New South Wales, received the royal pardon afterwards, and returned home, where he was beloved and esteemed for the possession of every excellent

1689	Sir Wm. Hurley, Bart.
James II.	John Lacy, Esq.
1692	John Ormsby, Esq.
Wm. & Mary.	Robert Ormsby, Esq.
1695	Stan. Hartstonge, Esq.
	Chidley Coote, Esq.
1703	John Ormsby, Esq.
Anne.	Robert Oliver, Esq.
1713	Sir Philips Coote, Knt.
	Henry Boyle, Esq.
1715	Kilner Brazier, Esq.
George I.	George King, Esq.
1723	John Croker, Esq., succeeded King.
1725	Wm. Blakeney succeeded Brazier.
1727	Robert Oliver, Esq.
George II.	Wm. Blakeney, Esq.
1747	Philip Oliver, Esq., succeeded Robt. Oliver.
1757	Silver Oliver, Esq., succeeded W. Blakeney.
1761	Silver Oliver, Esq.
George III.	Edward Villiers, Esq.
1768	Thomas Maunsell, Esq.
	Wyndham Quin, Esq.
1776	Wm. Christmas, Fsq.
	John Finlay, Esq
1783	Rt. Hon. J. Fitzgibbon.
	John Armstrong, Esq.
1789	Charles W. Bury, Esq.
1790	Peter Holmes, Esq., succeeded Armstrong, deceased.
1797	John Waller, Esq.
	Silver Oliver, jun., Esq.
1799	Sir Richard Quin, Bart.
1800	Thomas Casey, Esq.

REPRESENTATIVES IN PARLIAMENT FOR THE BOROUGH OF ASKEATON, FROM THE YEAR 1613 TO THE UNION.

1613	Anthy. Stoughton, Esq.
James I.	Roger Rice, Gent.
1639	Maur. Williams, Esq.
Charles I.	George Crofton, Esq.
1661	Peter Pett, Esq.
Chich. House.	Rich. Southwell, Esq.
1689	John Bourke, Esq.
James II.	Edward Rice, Esq.
1692	Robert Taylor, Esq.
Wm. & Mary.	John Odell, Esq.
1695	George Evans, Esq.
	Robert Taylor, Esq.
	Chichester Philips, Esq., succeeded Taylor deceased.
1703	Robert Taylor, Esq.
Anne.	Chichester Philips, Esq.
1713	Robert Taylor, Esq.
	Philip Percival, Esq.
1715	John Bury, Esq.
George I.	Edward Denny, Esq.
1723	Berkley Taylor, Esq., succeeded Bury.
1727	Berkley Taylor, Esq.
George II.	Edmond Taylor, Esq.
1729	Wm. Taylor succeeded Berkley Taylor.
1747	J. Minchin Walcot succeeded Wm. Taylor.
1753	Edmond Malone succeeded Walcot.
1761	Joseph Hoare, Esq.
George III.	Sir James Cotter, Bart.
1768	Joseph Hoare, Esq.
	John Tunnadine, Esq.
1776	Joseph Hoare, Esq.
	Hon. Hugh Massy.
1783	Sir Joseph Hoare, Bart.
	Richard Griffith, Esq.
1790	Sir Joseph Hoare, Bart.
	Henry Alexander, Esq.
1797	John Seward, Esq.
1799	Sir Vere Hunt, Bart.

C.

HIGH SHERIFFS OF THE COUNTY OF LIMERICK SINCE THE YEAR 1371.*

1371 William Cadygan,
1372 James De la Hyde,
1376 Sir Thomas Clifford, Knt.
1403 Thos. Fitzmaurice, brother to the Earl of Kildare.
1424 Sir William Fitzthomas, Knt.
1425 Sir William Fitzwilliam, Knt.
1453 Maurice Fitzthomas Fitzgerot Fitzmaurice Fitzgerald,
1545 Teige M'Brene,
1558 Gerald Fitzgerald, of Thomastown,
1613 George Courtenay,
1634 James Bourke,
1661 Symon Eaton,
1663 Richard Southwell,
1665 Sir William King, Knt.
1669 Arthur Ormesby,
1670 Robert Taylour,
1671 John Maunsell,
1672 George Evans,
1673 John Bury,
1674 Hugh Massy, Duntryleague,
1675 Nicholas Monckton,
1676 Giles Powell,†
1677 George Aylmer,
1678 John Odell,

quality and the exercise of the duties of a kind and exemplary landlord. He was elected chairman of the Newcastle Board of Guardians, the duties of which he admirably fulfilled. He died in 1864, at Bangor, North Wales. His remains are interred at the Mausoleum, Cahermoyle.

* There are several omissions in the early part of this roll, but no more perfect one could be made out.

† Brother of Robert Powell, ancestor of Caleb Powell, M.P. Co. Limerick, in 1841.

1679 John Odell,
1680 Gerald Fitzgerald, Knight of the Glyn,
1682 John Jephson,
1683 William Harrison,
1684 William Harrison,
1685 Drury Wray,
1686 Joseph Stepney, of Abington,*
1687 Edward Rice,
1688 Edward Rice,
1689 Maurice Fitzgerald,
1690 Maurice Fitzgerald,
1692 Charles Oliver,
1693 George Mansell,
1694 Michael Searle,
1695 Ralph Wilson, of Bilboa,
1696 George King, of Kilpeacon,
1697 Thomas Maunsell,
1698 Thomas Maunsell
1699 Richard Pope,
1700 Joseph Stepney, of Abington,
1701 John Walcot, of Croagh,
1702 Henry Widenham, of Court,
1703 William Pierce,
1704 Abraham Green, of Ballymacrees,
1705 Samuel Frend,
1706 Robert Taylor, of Ballynort,†
1707 Richard Southwell, of Inniscouch,‡
1708 Ralph Wilson, of Bohir,
1709 Edward Croker, Rawleighstown,
1710 Robert Ryves, of Castle Jane,
1711 Hugh Massy, of Duntryleague,§
1712 John Newell,
1713 John Gabbett, of Rathjordan,
1714 Henry Baylee, of Lough Gur,‖
1715 Thomas Maunsell, of Mount Sion,
1716 Richard Taylor, of Hollypark,
1717 Samuel Maunsell, of Ballybrood,
1718 Francis Drew, of Drew's Court,
1719 William Harrison, of Ballyvorneen,
1720 Nicholas Lysaght, of Brickfield,
1721 William Wilson, of Cahirconlish,¶
1722 Thomas Evans, of Miltown,**
1723 Rice Blennerhasset, of Riddlestown,
1724 Berkley Taylor, of Ballynort,††
1725 John Waller, of Castletown,
1726 William Bury, of Shannon Grove,
1727 Edward Taylor, of Ballynort,‡‡
1728 Gamaliel Fitzgerald, of Cloghready,
1729 Connell Vereker, of Roxborough,
1730 John Purdon, of Tullagh,
1731 John Lysaght, of Brickfield,
1732 George Green, of Abbey,
1733 Ralph Wilson, of Bohir,
1734 Henry Green, of Ballymacrees,
1735 Ed. Croker, of Rawleighstown,
1736 Joseph Gabbett, of Ballyvorneen,
1737 Colthurst Langton, of Bruree,
1738 Anthony Parker, of Dunkip,
1739 Hugh Massy, of Lisard,§§
1740 Robert Coote, of Ballycolough,
1741 William Ryves, of Castle Jane,
1742 John Fitz Maurice, of Springfield,
1743 Hon. J. Evans, of Bulgadin,‖‖
1744 George Fosbery, of Clorane,
1745 John Westrop, of Attyflin,
1746 Stepney Rawson Stepney, of Abington,
1747 Wyndham Quin, of Adare,¶¶
1748 John Creed, of Uregare,
1749 John Bateman, of Calow,
1750 Hon. Henry Southwell, of Stoneville,***
1751 John Odell, of Bealdurogy,
1752 Hugh Massy, of Cloghonarld,
1753 Richard Powell, of New Garden,
1754 William Green, of Ballymacrees,
1755 John Croker, of Ballyneguard,†††
1756 Gerald Blenerhasset, of Riddlestown,
1757 Edward Warter Wilson, of Bilboa, ‡‡‡
1758 Richard Bourke, of Drumsally,§§§
1759 Hon. Thomas Southwell,
1760 John Brown, of Danesfort,
1761 Anthony Parker, jun., of Dunkip,
1762 John Thomas Waller, of Castletown,
1763 Thomas Royse, of Nantenan,
1764 Silver Oliver, of Castle Oliver,‖‖‖

* Lord Clarendon, in his diary, says: "He was false to his king, his country, and his neighbours". His estate in Limerick now belongs to Lord Cloncurry.

† Elected member for Askeaton, 1692, 1695, 1703, and 1713.

‡ Brother to the first Lord Southwell, and member for the county in 1727.

§ Father to Lord Baron Massy.

‖ Baylee, of Lough Gur, who was related to the Pery family, passed a very jovial career among the "flaunting wassailers of high and low degree", possessing a large revenue in determinable interests in lands

¶ Elected member for the city of Limerick in 1739.

** Brother to the first Lord Carbery.

†† Elected member for Askeaton in 1723.

‡‡ Elected member for Askeaton in 1727.

§§ Created Lord Baron Massy, in 1776.

‖‖ Son to the first Lord Carbery.

¶¶ Elected member for Kilmallock in 1768; died in May, 1789.

*** Second son to the first Lord Southwell, and Mayor of Limerick in 1750.

††† Elected Member for Fethard in 1768; died in Newtown Pery, 11th February, 1795, aged 65, being born in 1730; buried at Caherconney.

‡‡‡ Edward Warter Wilson, of Bilboa, eldest branch of Sir Ralph Wilson's family, married Frances Anne, daughter of the second Lord Carbery, and had issue an only child, married to Sir John Rouse. The Wilson estate being settled on him, he bequeathed it to his son by a second marriage, who sold the greater part in the year 1830, to the Honble. Waller O'Grady, second son of Chief Baron Viscount Guillamore. The mansion house of Bilboa was a large pile, (built of brick imported from Holland, about the year 1740,) with an extensive well timbered demesne, deer park, containing 400 acres, etc. The insurgents attacked Bilboa Court in 1798, and carried away large quantities of lead and copper from the roof.

§§§ Created a baronet in 1785. Eldest son of Richard Bourke, of Drumsally, a solicitor, who was great-grandfather of the late General Sir Richard Bourke, of Thonfields, and great-great-grandfather of Richard Bourke, Esq., of Thonfields, one of the Inspectors of Irish Poor Laws, and of Sir Richard De Burgo, Bart., of Island House, Castle Connell. Richard, the solicitor, is said to have left £100,000 to his children. He died, aged 80, in 1756.

‖‖‖ Elected a member for Kilmallock in 1757, in the room of William Blakeney, Esq., and at the general election in 1761, he was elected to the same borough. In 1768 he was returned to Parliament for the county

1765 Hugh Massy, of Ballynort,*
1766 George Rose, of Mount Pleasant,
1767 Edward Villiers, of Kilpeacon,†
1768 Richard Taylor, of Holly Park,
1769 Standish Grady, of Elton,
1770 Thomas Smyth, of Bohirlode,‡
1771 Hugh Ingoldsby Massy, of New Garden,§
1772 Simon Purdon, of Cloghnedromin,
1773 Caleb Powell, of Clonshavoy,‖
1774 John Tuthill, of Kilmore,
1775 William Gabbett, of Caherline,¶
1776 Benjamin Frend, of Boskill,
1777 Edward Croker, of Riverstown,
1778 William Fitzgerald, of Ballinard,**
1779 William Odell, of Fortwilliam,
1780 Hugh Lloyd, of Kildromin,
1781 John Grady, of Cahir,
1782 John Fitzgibbon, of Mount Shannon,††
1783 Percival Harte, of Ccolruss,
1784 Sir Vere Hunt, of Curragh, Bart.,
1785 Darby O'Grady, of Mount Prospect,‡‡
1786 James Langton, of Bruree,
1787 Michael Furnell, of Ballyclough,
1788 Sir Christopher Knight, Knight, of Limerick,§§
1789 Crosbie Morgell, of Rathkeale,‖‖
1790 Standish O'Grady, of Mount Prospect,
1791 C. Silver Oliver, of Castle Oliver,
1792 John Waller, of Castletown,¶¶
1793 Thomas Fitzgibbon,
1794 John T. Westropp, of Ballysteen,
1795 Michael Furnell, of Ballycahane,
1796 Henry Bevan, of Camas,
1797 M. Scanlan, jun., of Ballinaha,
1798 John Westropp, of Attyflin,
1799 De Courcy O'Grady, of Kilballyowen,
1800 George Evans Bruce, of Hermitage,***
1801 John Hunt, of Ballynort,
1802 William Jackson Harte, of Coolruss,
1803 Bolton Waller, of Bushy Island,
1804 Thomas Gibbon Fitzgibbon, of Ballyseeda,
1805 Thomas O'Grady, of Belmont,†††
1806 Joseph Gubbins, of Kenmare Castle,
1807 Stephen Dickson, jun., of Ballynaguile,
1808 Brudenell Plummer, of Mount Plummer,
1809 Thomas Alexander Odell, of Odellville,
1810 Eyre Evans, of Ash-hill,
1811 Aubrey De Vere Hunt, of Currah,
1812 Gerald Blennerhassett, of Riddlestown,
1813 William Gabbett, of Caherline,
1814 Richard Smyth, of Smythfield,
1815 William Ryves, of Ryves Castle,
1816 Thomas Royse, of Nantenan,
1817 John Lowe, of Castle Jane,
1818 Richard Taylor, of Holly Park,
1819 Michael Lloyd Apjohn, of Linfield,
1820 Edward Villiers, of Kilpeacon,
1821 De Courcy O'Grady, of Kilballyowen,
1822 John Thomas Waller, of Castletown,
1823 George Tuthill, of Faha,
1824 Joseph Gubbins, of Kilfrush,
1825 Hon. John Massy, of Limerick,
1826 John Bolton Massy, of Ballywire,
1827 Chidley Coote, of Mount Coote,
1828 Samuel Dickson, Limerick,
1829 William Scanlan, Ballynockane,
1830 Jn. F. Fitzgerald (Knight of Glin),
1831 John Croker, Ballinagarde,

of Limerick, and at the general election of 1783, his health not permitting him to to undergo the fatigues of a senator, he declined to offer himself a candidate for this county.

*Son of Lord Massy, elected Member for Askeaton in 1761, and for the county of Limerick in 1783. Among a collection of portraits at Clonshavoy, the residence of Caleb Powell, Esq., ex-M.P., is one of the Rev. George Massy, Archdeacon of Ardfert, next brother of the first Lord Massy, and known in his generation by the soubriquet of "Dirty Boots", which originated as follows: About the year A.D. 1750, the public communication between Limerick and Dublin was effected by a cumbrous machine, drawn by four horses, consuming four days and a-half transporting the passengers, who it may be supposed must have learned something of each other during the journey, and the Rev. George Massy having ascertained that one of his *compagnons de voyage* was a clergyman of considerable political influence (the way to church preferment, in those days at least), about to apply for a benefice then vacant, and in the gift of the government—the very one which the Rev. George Massy was about to apply for—he, without delaying to change his travelling attire, repaired forthwith from his conveyance to the Castle of Dublin, had an interview with the then Irish Secretary, who at once complied with his request, and bestowed upon him the living in question. Very shortly after, his competitor, who had gone to a hotel to change his dress, made his appearance in full figure in the Secretary's apartment, just as the Rev. George Massy withdrew from it; and having preferred his claim, the Secretary exclaimed, "How unlucky you are, sir! Dirty Boots, whom you must have met, has just got it". The venerable Archdeacon kept a pack of hounds at Elm Park, was "a mighty hunter before the Lord", extremely hospitable, lived jovially till upwards of 80, and expired suddenly in an apoplectic fit, bequeathing his estate to his youngest brother, General Eyre Massy, created Baron Clarina in 1800, and was grandfather of the present nobleman bearing that title.

† Elected Member for Kilmallock in 1761, and Mayor of Limerick in 1762.

‡ Mayor of Limerick in 1764 and 1776, and elected a *member* for the city in 1776.

§ Son of Hugh Massy, of Knockevan, Mayor of Limerick, 1722; *left a son*, Hugh Ingoldsby, who died without issue, and left his estate to his cousin, third Lord Massy, *who sold it to John Massy*, Esq., of Limerick.

‖ Caleb Powell, Collector of Limerick, grandfather of Caleb Powell, Sheriff in 1858.

¶ Mayor of Limerick in 1775.

** Mayor of Limerick in 1786.

†† Elected Member for Kilmallock in 1783, became afterwards Earl of Clare, and Lord High Chancellor of Ireland.

‡‡ Father of Chief Baron O'Grady, created Viscount Guillamore.

§§ Mayor of Limerick in 1785.

‖‖ An Attorney, of whom Daniel O'Connell used to speak disparagingly.

¶¶ Elected Member for the County in 1720.

*** Mr. Bruce, who purchased the estate of Hermitage, containing 200 acres, from Mr. Waller, of Castletown, for £5,000, in 1789, built the house and made improvements estimated at £10,000, all which he disposed of in 1802 to the third Lord Massy, for £20,000. Mr. Bruce was founder of the Limerick Club, and a banker; his bank house was the house No. 6 Rutland Street, now an auction mart.

††† Author of the *Nosegay*. He used to say that his cousin, Standish O'Grady, of Grange, "sent his children to church through fear of his wife, and went to Mass himself through fear of the devil".

1832 Henry O'Grady, The Grange,
1833 Thomas Lloyd, Beechmount,
1834 G. M. Maunsell, Ballywilliam,
1835 Wm. Monsell, Tervoe,
1836 Vere Edmond De Vere, Curragh Chase,
1837 Stephen Edward Spring Rice, Mount Trenchard,
1838 James Denis Lyons, Croom House,
1839 General Sir Richard Bourke, Thornfield,
1840 Richard Harte, Coolruss,
1841 James Kelly, Ballynanty,
1842 Michael Furnell, Caherilly Castle,
1843 Robert Maxwell, Islandmore,
1844 Richard Quin Sleeman, Cahara,
1845 Edward Crips Villiers, Kilpeacon,
1846 Wm. H. Barrington, Glenstal Castle,
1847 Sir David Roche, Carass,
1848 Francis W. Goold, Dromadda,
1849 Samuel Frederick Dickson, of Vermont,
1850 Eyre Lloyd, Prospect,
1851 Henry Maunsell, Fanstown,
1852 John Low, Sunvale,
1853 Hugh Massy, Riversdale,
1854 F. C. F. Gascoigne, Castle Oliver,
1855 Sir R. D. De Burgo, Island House, Castle Connell,
1856 John White, Belmont,
1857 George Gavin, Kilpeacon,
1858 Caleb Powell, Clonshavoy,
1859 Heffernan Considine, Derk House,
1860 Henry Lyons, Croom House,
1861 Helenus White, Mount Sion House,
1862 Edward Croker, Ballinagarde,
1863 Joseph Gubbins, Kilfrush,
1864 John Franks, Ballyscaddane,
1865 Sir David Vandeleur Roche, Bart., Carass Court,
1866 Henry Westropp, Esq. (M.P. for Bridgewater), of Greenpark.

The Right Hon. the Earl of Dunraven is Lord Lieutenant of the county and Custos Rotulorum.

D.

CAHERIVAHALA.

Near this locality is "the Rock of the first (or the hundred) fires", *Carrig an Ceud tinne*, a bold and lofty rock; also remains of ancient fortifications, a large rath, and an old church. Near Ballinagarde is the Hill of Knockla, which appears to have been strongly fortified.

FEDAMORE AND FRIARSTOWN.

In this neighbourhood is *Cloch-na-Monach*, or the "Monk's Stone", the remains of some ancient buildings; the fine remains of two ancient abbeys, founders unknown; also a large dun or fort.

HOSPITAL,

a town four miles east of Bruff. In the church is the figure of a knight, said to be the founder, in the niche in the chancel. It was formerly a locality of the Knights Templars, and passed by gift of Queen Elizabeth to Sir Valentine Browne, who erected a fortress called Kenmare. The hospital is gone, and the castle very nearly so. The commandery of Knights Templars was founded by Geoffrey de Mariscis, about 1215.

RALEIGHSTOWN

is near Hospital. In the church of the Recollects (Paris), was a monument erected to the memory of a scion of the house of Raleigh of Raleighstown, with the following inscription:—

Messire Michel de Raleigh de la famille de Raleighstown, vivant captain commandant au regiment infanterie Irelandise de Berwick, Chevalier de l'ordre militaire de Saint Louis, qui eut l'honneur de servir 42 ans, sous les regnes de Louis XIV. et XV. et mourut 31st Decemr, 1732, age de 76 ans.

I am informed that Mr. Richard Raleigh, of Patrick Street, Limerick, Mr. Gibbon Raleigh, of Castlemahon, and Mr. John Raleigh, of Kyle, in the county of Limerick, are descendants of this ancient family.

SHANAGOLDEN.

A post town, twenty miles w. of Limerick. Here is a curious circular compartmented moat. The entrance was from the east, by which it is said the Irish forts were distinguished from those of the Danes. A little to the south is the ruin of Shanid Castle, whence the Desmonds, who deprived the MacSheehys of it, derived their war cry of "Shanid-a-boo". Between Shanagolden and Foynes is Knockpatrick Hill, on the slope of which a church is said to have been built by St. Patrick, whose chair and well are shown in the adjoining field. The hill, which is 574 feet high, commands an extensive view of five counties. *Seats.*—Shanagolden House and the Glebe House.

PALLASKENRY.

A market and post town, twelve miles w. of Limerick. The Chapel Russell Loan Fund, established in 1823, gave a great stimulus to trade in this neighbourhood. Flax dressing, spinning,

and linen weaving are still carried on here. Numerous petrifactions have been found in the waters of a stream and pond near the town. The castle, of which the ruins are not far distant, was built by the O'Donovans, but subsequently held by the Fitzgeralds. An ancient silver bodkin and a golden fibula have been found near the church.—*Seats*—Castletown (Rev. J. T. Waller).

GREANE

was formerly an incorporate town, and had a collegiate church. A.D. 968, at Sulcohid Pass the Danes defeated by the Irish, and driven to Limerick. By the old road which passes near Derk, the handsome seat of H. Considine, Esq., J.P., King William marched his army to Limerick. There is a moat about a mile from the church, eastwards of the old castle of Kilduff. Near Lynfield are the remains of Kilcolman church, which was founded in the seventh century, and also Knocksifien on the top of Knockgreane, where, in penal times, tradition has it the priest used to officiate. Mass Rock, or Carriganfain, is shown to the visitor. The rocks at Lynfield are basaltic.

MEMORIAL STONES.

Pillars, Steles, or Inscribed Stones, have been found in Limerick. There are two Ogham Stones in the Earl of Dunraven's demesne, for which see his *Memorials of Adare*.

ROUND TOWERS.

Dr. Petrie states that the majority of these towers were erected about the ninth and tenth centuries, though history gives the foundation of a round tower in the sixth century. To some towers, as at Clonmacnoise, he assigns the date of the twelfth century. The generally received opinion which he has argued out, is, that they were used for the double purpose of belfries and castles. Others think that they were anchorite towers, or penitential houses, or fire temples, or built by the Danes, perhaps for watch towers. In Irish they are called generally *Cloictheach*, and in a few districts *Clogar* or *Cuiltheagh*, all meaning "belfries". The finest of all is in Devenish Island in Lough Erne.

THE SO-CALLED DANISH FORTS AND TOMBS OF THE EARLY IRISH.

Sir W. Wilde, in his interesting lecture on "Ireland, Past and Present", remarks that if the Danes had erected these curious mounds, the popular belief would not ascribe them to the Fairies or "Good People"; more probably they were constructed by the Tuatha de Danaans, whose name they preserve. These were "globular-headed, intellectual, and refined specimens of humanity", as compared with the "long-headed, thick-skulled Firbolgs". The latter or "early pre-metallic Irish", buried their dead lying at full length in a stone sepulchre, covered with a huge monolith, of which there are two specimens in the Phœnix Park—one in the Zoological Gardens, and the other behind the Military School; the Tuatha de Danaans buried their dead in the "Kistvaen" or stone chamber, sometimes small and sunk beneath the level of the soil, sometimes rising into the great cromlech, miscalled Druid's altars, and consisting of one large superincumbent stone supported by four others. These latter have been denuded of their tumuli, and rifled of their contents at the beginning of the Christian era. The body must have been placed in a doubled up or crouching attitude. Mortuary urns containing fragments of burnt bones have been found in some of the latter tombs. *Two thousand years* at least, according to Sir W. Wilde, have elapsed since the construction of these earthen raths, stone circles, great forts, and sepulchral monuments. The sarcophagi of the Firbolgs and their contemporaries contain flint weapons and shell ornaments, but no metal, and were originally covered by mounds of earth. We suppose many of these raths were fortified in the wars of Strongbow and Cromwell.

FOSSIL DEER.

Several fine specimens of these huge animals are preserved in Adare Manor. Numerous specimens of these Fossil Deer have been found by William Hinchy of Thomond Gate, in Kilcullane Bog, within two miles of Lough Gur, in which a great number of the bones of the Fossil Cow have also been found. Hinchy had lately one of these deer measuring twelve feet eight in a straight line from the tail to the mouth, and ten feet across the antlers. He had two others of somewhat lesser size. He sold two of them to the Dublin Society for the sum of £60. They were male and female. Lord Powerscourt gave him fifty guineas for another.

CROPS AND CLIMATE OF LIMERICK.

The Registrar General's statistics, published in 1865, state the total extent under crops in Limerick at 194,267 acres, which shows an increase of more than 3,000 acres on the year 1864.

"The county of Limerick", says Fitzgerald, "is so much exposed to the winds from the Atlantic ocean, that the air is generally moist. The following is the result of atmospherical observations made in two consecutive years:—

	1810.	1811.
Days with rain	217	246
Nights with frost	76	53

Greatest general height of the thermometer, in shade, in summer, 72; greatest depression, 58: in winter these figures are 54 and 28 respectively, yet the natives are remarkable for longevity" In Limerick, however, as elsewhere, the climate is somewhat altered since Fitzgerald wrote.

THE NATURAL HISTORY OF LIMERICK.

Neither in the fauna, flora, nor sylva of this county is there anything that requires particular notice. Wood is scarce, though in this and the county Clare the county is famous for orchards, producing the cider called Cacagee. Two of these near Loughmore, have of late years been cut down. The eagles that once frequented Lough Gur are hardly ever seen now, and even the singing birds and other small birds have been nearly annihilated by the severity of past winters. The wild swans have forsaken the marshes of Cahercorney, Carrickee, and other parts of the county, and the flights of wild geese are no longer so numerous as of old. The county must have been formerly well wooded, if we are to judge from the oak, fir, beech, and other trees, which we find in the bogs, and which, from their bearing the marks of fire, seem to have been cut and burned by the natives. A "moving bog", like that which created such a sensation about 1822 near Clara, in the King's County, occasioned similar excitement at Kilmallock on the 7th of July, 1697. Bones and horns of the Irish elk have been found near Lough Gur, at Castle-farm, Rathcannon, and at Knockee, one of which, a perfect specimen, Archdeacon Maunsell sent to the Royal Dublin Society. Flint instruments, including celts, spear heads, etc., have been found at Lough-Gur.

THE WHITE KNIGHT

was so called from the first knight being hoary headed. He is now represented by the Earl of Kingston. In 1604 the White Knight lived in the abbot's residence and that of several of the sovereigns of the borough, previous to its occupation by the White Knight, close to the river near Kilmallock. The ruins in the Spitalfield, a mile north of the town, were once a leper hospital.

E.

GRANTS UNDER THE COMMISSION OF GRACE.

The following "grants" were made under the "Commission of Grace", printed folio:—

1684. To Digby Foulkes, of various lands in Cork and Limerick, p. 5 and 6.
„ Grant to John Crips, of estates in the county of Limerick, and within the liberties, id. p. 6.
„ Grant of ditto to Thomas Maunsell, in this county, p. 6.
„ Ditto to George and Simon Purdon, of lands in this county and in Clare county, id. p. 6.
„ Ditto to Thady Quin, of lands in Clare and Limerick including weirs and fisheries, id. p 7.
„ Ditto to Joseph Ormsby, id. p. 8.
„ Ditto to Thomas Power, id. p. 9.
„ Ditto to Edward Rice, of lands in the the barony of Connelee, id. p. 12.
„ Ditto to Henry Widdendam, id. p. 17.
„ Ditto to Brooke Briges, id. p. 18.
„ Ditto to Patrick Sarsfield, id. p. 18.
1685. To Laurence Clayton, in Cork county and in Limerick county and city, id. 34.
„ Ditto in the city of Limerick, to Dr. Jeremy Hall, id. 36.
„ Ditto to Samuel Burton, id. 36.
„ Ditto in Cork and Limerick, to Nicholas Lysaght, id. p. 36.
„ Ditto to ditto, in the liberties of Limerick and Kilmallock, id. 37.
„ Ditto within the city of Limerick, very extensively, to Archbishop Alibale Ball, id. p. 37-8.
„ Ditto to Dame Mabell Tynte and to Henry Tynte, id. p. 41.
1686. Grant of a small portion of lands in this county, with extensive possessions in Mayo and Sligo, to ditto, p. 46-7.
„ Ditto to Daniel Webb, id. p. 47.

MSS. BRIT. MUS.

"An abstract of the expenses of James II. by actual payments in money for three years, from Lady Day 1685, to 1688.

	L. D. 1686.	1687.	1688.
Army, navy, household, official, fees, salaries, pensions, bounties, privy purse, mint, contingencies, including	93,890 16 6	85,941 13 8	90,072 14 10¾
Secret service, Mr Gray, Sec. of State,	5,000	8,950	4,280
Sir Stn. Fox,	10,000	9,000	8,600
Totals of the above	£1,451,87	1,822,542	1,782,534

The losses and income are given.
(These seem to refer to England rather than united to Ireland.)

THE WALLS AND GATES OF LIMERICK.

Portions of the famous old wall are still remaining between St. Munchin's Churchyard and the Shannon, where the wall is flanked by towers. Also between Island Road and Barrack Street, extending from the crossing to Dominick Street to the crossing of the New Road, near St. Mary's Chapel, where it forms an angle, and extends along Change Street. From Water-gate to the site of the old Linen Hall there is another segment; and from the corner of Lock Quay to the Fever Hospital, another and by far the most interesting portion, the ground adjacent to and occupied by the latter building having formed the Black Battery, between which and St. John's Gate was the breach. The "Ramparts", as the line from this corner to old Clare Street was called, even to a late period, which were also breached, and defended by the women of Limerick, were a sloping mound of earth, powerfully strengthening the wall interiorly, and now, along with the walls, forming the sites of Mr. Cregan's, Mr. Brown's, and a Mrs. Callaghan's gardens. In the former, a small swivel gun, quite perfect, about a foot and a-half long, and capable of throwing two-ounce balls, was found with three iron tubes of about the same length, but larger calibre, and are still mounted on the walls in embrasures lately made to receive them. Here the walls are nearly 36 feet thick, and have been lately tunnelled by the proprietor, in order to connect the interior and exterior garden; in the latter of which a passage like a chimney runs up to the top of that part of the wall which forms Mr. Brown's garden, where the wall has had a passage cut through, with steps, as old as the time of the Siege, when it formed a sallyport. The chimney-like passage is traditionally said to have been used for obtaining supplies for the garrison. This part of the wall is parallel to John Street, and the present occupiers are so very obliging that respectable visitors will find no difficulty in procuring admission. The entrance is in what is now called Father Quinn's Lane. The Devil's Battery was at the angle facing the lane.

The names of the gates of Limerick sufficiently indicate their position. John's Gate, nearly opposite the site of the Black Battery, is the most celebrated. The position of the West Watergate was near the bakery still called after it, in a yard belonging to which stations in honour of St. Gubbinet are said to have been performed round a well, which is at present shut up. This saint, who was very beautiful, is said to have prayed that she might become deformed in order to prevent temptation; when she is traditionally recorded to have been attacked by the small pox, traces of which are still marked on her image, of which a small stone bust still remains. Some person blackened it lately with tar. In the year 1760 there were 17 gates still standing; but in 1787 only the Watergate of King John's Castle remained. The names of these we gave in a former chapter.

THE CROSSING OF THE SHANNON BY THE WILLIAMITES.

Story's map, in which three islands adjacent to each other are represented nearly opposite Penny Well heights, and within some five hundred yards of Islanroan at their most southern point, gives the idea that the river, at the first crossing, was passed here at the place still called the Islands. The description of the point, as near Annabeg, seems to confirm this idea; but I have followed local tradition in the text, which describes the crossing to have taken place within about four hundred yards of St. Thomas's Island. Could Story have meant this by "Thomond Isle"? Some say King's Island was so called originally. Opposite this latter Island, on the Clare side, are still the marks of extensive entrenchments.

THE RUINED HOUSE AT SINGLAND.

Neither the fathers nor grandfathers of the present generation have been able to learn when this house was built. It was evidently standing at the time of the Siege, being exactly delineated in Story's map, published two years after the Siege.

THE ENGLISH LINES.

A line drawn from St. Patrick's churchyard to a point nearly opposite the present Steamboat Quay, will pretty well indicate the English trenches and circumvallations. This line connected the old church fort, Ireton's and Cromwell's forts, out of which the Irish had been driven, with the batteries on the left. The Irish had a sort of Redan and a fort on the other side of the river, opposite the latter, besides the battery at Cromwell's fort on the King's Island. They do not appear to have had any other outworks, except another fort near Penny Well. The Cromwell fort, first mentioned, occupies the ground now the site of the Waterworks. Its natural elevation was raised with turf taken from the hollow grounds; and when dug up, several balls, pieces of arms, and armour were found. Ireton's fort is a short distance to the right of this, and is still discernible. William had a narrow escape while entering this. The English camp lay about an English mile south of this line.

A PLURALIST.

The Right Hon. George Evans, M.P., father of the first Lord Carbery, was Custos Rotulorum, Governor of the County, Colonel of the Militia, Judge of Assize presiding in Limerick, at one and same time, in the year 1693-4.

A HERO OF THE SIEGE.

In the nineteenth chapter of Macaulay's *History of England*, in speaking of John Bart, A.D. 1692, he adds: "About the same time a young adventurer, destined to equal or surpass Bart, Du Guay Trouin, was entrusted with command of a small armed vessel. The intrepid boy—for he was not yet twenty years old—entered the estuary of the *Shannon*, sacked a mansion in the county of *Clare*, and did not reimbark till a detachment from the garrison of Limerick marched against him". For this fact Lord Macaulay cites *Memoirs de Du Guay Trouin.*

PENAL LAWS.

The principal statutes against the Catholics were passed by James I. and Charles II. King James disallowed them to bring actions; not to hold public office or charge; widows not to claim part of husband's estate; no estate by courtesy, nor by way of dower; not to go five miles from home without license; not to come to court; not to keep arms; not to go within ten miles of London; forfeit two parts of a jointure or dower; £20 for not receiving sacrament yearly; £100 for marriage not according to the Church of England; £100 for omission of church baptism; £20 for unlawful burial. That their houses may be searched for reliques, to be burnt, and they fined and committed; against giving or receiving Popish education; against selling or buying Popish books; against Papists presenting to churches.

Charles II.—The oaths of supremacy for members of parliament; to take oath for place at court, and offices civil and military. These were extended by William and Mary, and George I.,

Charles I.—Against convents and nunneries for education, etc.

ARTICLES OF LIMERICK.

The civil articles amounted to 13, the military to 29. The "secret proclamation", as it was jocosely called, offered more liberal terms, but was suppressed by the Lords Justices by whom it had been prepared, on the intelligence of Ginckle's treaty. Sir Toby Butler had *liberalized* the articles very freely, but was called to order by Sarsfield.—*Gordon.*

THE KING'S ISLAND,

in the southern part of which stands the English town, while the northern is used as a military field for reviews and exercises, is about a mile long, and was some years ago occupied by houses and gardens, of which latter, part of the enclosures only remain, and might be mistaken for some of the numerous military entrenchments thrown up during the olden times. Cromwell's fort, in the N. W. part, can be distinctly traced, and may be roughly squared at 100 yards a side. It was a star fort.

F.

MISCELLANEOUS NOTES.

Note pages 473, 474.—Monsell of Tervoe.—Ephraim Monsell had two estates in England, one at Frome and the other at Nunny Moadly. He sold the former, and possessed himself, in 1644, of several large tracts of land in the county Limerick. By his first wife, Miss Samborn, he had two sons, Samborn and Thomas. Samborn, who was a friend of Farquhar the poet, died unmarried; Thomas lived near Carrig o' Gunnell. It was this Thomas who, when high sheriff of the county, was fined in a large sum for presuming to take one of his tenants down from the gallows on the supposition of the man's innocence. His son Samuel, in the year 1688, his father having been stripped and plundered during the civil wars, was obliged to pass over to England, where, in order to restock his lands, and for other purposes, he mortgaged the estate of Nunny Moadly to a Mr. Whitchurch, who left the securities to his daughter, married to a Mr. Theobald, a timber merchant in London, which estate, through the neglect of the eldest son of Samuel Monsell, Major John Monsell, in paying neither principal nor interest for twenty years, was lost to the family. By a rent roll taken at a manor court, held by his father, the 30th October, 1696, the estate produced £406 a year.

Page 429.—Vereker, Colonel.—The third Viscount Gort was John Prendergast Vereker, son of second viscount, Born 1790, succeeded 1842, married 1814, daughter of the first viscount. M.P. for Limerick 1826–30. Heir, his son Standish Prendergast Vereker.

1865.—Death of Lord Gort.—We regret to announce the death of Viscount Gort, which occurred at East Cowes Castle, his seat in the Isle of Wight, on the 20th inst. He was born on the 1st July, 1799, and was educated at Harrow School, where Lord Byron, Sir Robert Peel, and the late Viscount Palmerston were amongst his senior schoolfellows. He was for some time member for Limerick, the contests which he fought with the present Lord Monteagle for the representation of that city having been remarkable for their length and severity. He was afterwards one of the representative peers for Ireland, and colonel of the Limerick artiller

militia. In politics he was ever a warm supporter of the Conservative party. He was married, first to the Hon. Maria O'Grady, daughter of Standish, first Viscount Guillamore; and, secondly, to Elizabeth Mary, daughter and heir of Mr. John Jones; and by the former has left a family to mourn his loss. His lordship's death creates a vacancy in the Irish representative peerage.

Page 333.—Cornet Pierse's brother saved the crown jewels at the great fire at the Tower of London in 1840; and he was held back by force, as represented to the commissioners: he was rewarded with—munificent thanks! The Duke of Wellington was his patron. He was a native of Newcastle, county Limerick, and nephew of General Maurice De Lacy, "a good Catholic".

Page 214.—Schonberg, Duke of. A strong contest in the English Courts of Equity arose in 1843, regarding a portrait of Schonberg, bequeathed by will of the Duke of Leeds. The case is reported in the *Law Journal*, under the title of "Duke of Leeds *v.* Earl Amherst".

Page 450.—Colleen Bawn.—Mr. Dion Boucicault most successfully dramatised this piece, and it had an extraordinary run in London, as well as his "Arrah-na-Pogue". Both were also running in full performance in America, Australia, and London, at the same time, 1864–5.

Page 738.—Fenians.—A strongly organized conspiracy, originating in America, and having for its object the overthrow of the English rule and the substitution of a republic, was discovered and broken up in 1865. Some arrests in the county Limerick were made, but there have been no prosecutions in Limerick by the crown lawyers under the "Treason Felony Act" of 1848.

Page 688.—Note.—The Honourable Mr. Justice Shee is called "Justice Shee". This might mean a simple justice of the peace: the judges in England are called "Mr. Justice". His lordship is the first Roman Catholic made judge in the Queen's Court in England since the Reformation. His lordship is a native of Thomastown, county of Kilkenny.

Tierney, Dr. Sir Matthew.—The first baronet was a native of Rathkeale, where his father kept a small shop. He rose to great eminence, as did his brother Edward, the crown lawyer of Dublin and the hero of the famous suit of "Earl of Egmont *v.* Dayrell, baronet", in 1864, to recover back the Egmont estates, which the Tierney family enjoyed under an alleged will of the late earl.

St. Mary's Cathedral and St. Mary's Church.—In reference to p. 552, and to Myler Fitz-Henry's Inquisition, we see it is in the inquisition of 1201, in the B copy of the *Black Book*, taken by Dr. Todd St. Mar. Rotund*a*. Cum. per.; and the same in a copy from the original, in the possession of the Hon. Robert O'Brien, that is in the inquisition taken before Myler FitzHenry. In Dr. Todd's copy of the second inquisition, before William de Burgo, it is "Eccliam Sci. Marie Rotunda", in the charter of Lord John FitzJohn King of England, and, therefore, antecedent to 1201, Singland is granted to the church of the Blessed Mary of Lymerick, and the canons there serving God. These matters have been pointed out to the very eminent antiquarian and writer, Dr. Reeves, of Armagh, and he considers St. Mary Rotund*a*, (not Rotund*us* as printed at p. 552), to be St. Mary Magdalene, which we find assigned in the *Black Book* by Bishop Donough O'Brien, ante, 1207, for the sustentation of the canons of the church of St. Mary the Virgin, of Lymeric, thus showing there were two St. Mary's churches at that early period, in the city. Kellmurille, near Limerick, is dedicated to St. Mary Magdalene; but we have no reason to state that it is not the same church. In the heading of chapter liv. the word "taxation" should be "inquisition".

"THE FIFTEEN CORPORATIONS".

The Congregated Trades,- note pp. 361–2. Though "the fifteen corporations" no longer exist, as set forth in the above note, yet the congregated trades of Limerick constitute a numerous and deserving body of industrious, intelligent artizans, whose news room, library, and place of meeting, the Mechanics' Institute, Bank Place, are very well conducted. Some of the charters which the corporation granted to certain trades, if not to all of them, in other times, are extant, but the great majority of them have perished. The fifteen corporations made a conspicuous figure on all public occasions in former days, while it must be added that the congregated trades have been at all times foremost in the candid manifestation of their sympathy and coöperation in the struggles of Daniel O'Connell for Catholic Emancipation, parliamentary and municipal reform, etc. Lectures have been occasionally given at the Mechanics' Institute; and it is highly creditable to the public spirit of the congregated trades that they have been able, even in times of depression and difficulty, to support an institute which is calculated to confer many advantages upon its members. The most ancient seal extant connected with the trades of Limerick is that of "the barbers chirurgeons". It has the motto under the arms "Christus, Salus Nostra"—and the legend surrounding the arms, "The arms of the barbers, chirurgeons, or Guild of St. My. Magdalene". "Granted by Henry VI.".

THE LIMERICK CEMETERIES.

The new cemetery of St. Lawrence, which may be called the miniature Pere-la-chaise of Limerick, occupies a considerable space of ground at Gortnemana, near the Black Boy, and is very neatly laid out with walks, and adorned with a variety of shrubs and flowers. It contains several handsome monuments, and was consecrated about thirteen years ago. Four of the other churchyards of Limerick are now all but closed as places of burial, and are taken very little care of;

they are:—St. Michael's, still occasionally used; Ross Brien, near the Foynes Railway; and Killilee, near Patrick's churchyard. There is also a burial ground for the military on the King's Island, and one for the Society of Friends at Ballinacurra. They had also a burial place near Garryowen, and another near Peter's Cell, now disused—both neatly kept. Killelia, Killquane, and the pauper's burial ground at Ballynanty, are outside the borough bounds.

CASTLE TROY.

I find that this castle was originally erected in the time of Henry III., by one of the O'Briens.

OCCUPANTS OF HOUSES IN LIMERICK.

In 1851 there was an average of 9.65 persons to each of 5,548 houses; in 1861 the population, diminished by 9,177 persons, occupied 5,689 houses, being an average of 7.85 per house.

THE RECORDERSHIP OF LIMERICK.

In 1820, when expected to become vacant, O'Connell applied for this situation, with the view of opening it to civic election, but did not press his suit when the time of appointment came—(*Dublin Mag.*, p. 52, 1865). The Recordership was abolished by the Reformed Corporation, the duties of Recorder being performed by the chairman of the county of the city.

LIMERICK ATHENÆUM

is in Upper Cecil Street. The Right Hon. Wm. Monsell, M.P., has been elected President. Literary lectures are occasionally given; it possesses a news room, library, and other advantages.

THE ENVIRONS OF LIMERICK.

Although the great want of a public promenade near the city has been frequently complained of, the walks on the north circular road, on which several of the gentry and traders of Limerick have their country seats, in a great measure meet the public requirements in this respect. But the desideratum can hardly be said to be supplied by this or the Island Bank, another pleasant walk, until the completion of the People's Park, which is expected to take the place of one of the unsightly corkases near the city.

"MONSTER HOUSES".

There are three great drapery and tailoring establishments in Limerick, which employ altogether some hundreds of intelligent assistants, male and female. These are the houses of Messrs. Todd and Co., William Street; of Messrs. Revington and Co., George's Street; and of Messrs. Cannock, Tait, and Co., George's Street. Their trade is enormous, absorbing as it does nearly all the drapery and much of the tailoring business of the city, and supplying many of the country traders in the smaller towns of the county, and of the counties of Clare, Tipperary, Kerry, etc., with cottons, linens, silks, ribbons, woollens, etc., etc. They are conducted in a spirited business manner.

NEWSPAPERS.

Note pages 360-61, shows that in newspapers Limerick took an early lead in the last century. In the present century there have been several newspapers projected and launched, many of which were destined to meet with almost immediate shipwreck; some of which, however, flourish. Among the journals that existed in the earlier portion of the century, were the *Limerick Evening Post and Clare Sentinel*, of which Daniel Geary, Esq., was the proprietor; the *Limerick Star*, of which his son, William D. Geary, Esq., and Joseph Hayden, Esq., were the proprietors; the *Limerick Times*, of which the above Joseph Hayden, author of the *Dictionary of Dates*, was the proprietor; the *Limerick Herald*, of which William R. Yielding, Esq., was the proprietor; the *Limerick Guardian*, which was published for a short time in 1833, and the *Munster Journal* in 1832; the *Limerick Standard* in 1840-1, of which G. W. Dartnell, Esq., was the proprietor; the *Limerick and Clare Examiner* in 1845, of which Messrs. Lynch and Co., were proprietors, and afterwards Messrs. McCarthy and Mr. J. R. Browne; the *Limerick Observer*, in 1856, of which Patrick Lynch, Esq., solicitor, was the proprietor; the *Limerick Herald*, by Messrs. Purdon, of Dublin, in 1853. Mr. William Glover started the *Munster Telegraph* in 1819, but it did not survive long. Mr. Alexander M'Donnell published the *Limerick Advertiser* in Rutland Street. There are at present in the city the *Limerick Chronicle*, established in 1766, of which William Hosford, Esq., and Mrs. Sarah Bassett, are the proprietors. The *Limerick Reporter and Tipperary Vindicator*, the first named established on the 12th of July, 1839; the latter in Nenagh on the 21st January, 1844; both incorporated on the 1st of January, 1850, of which Maurice Lenihan, Esq., the author of this History, is the proprietor. The *Munster News*, established in 1852, of which F. Counihan, Esq., is the proprietor; and the *Limerick Southern Chronicle*, established in 1863, of which G. W. Bassett, Esq., is the proprietor.

SARSFIELD TESTIMONIAL.

Referring to p. 505, the movement has been revived since 1845. Nearly £1,000 have been subscribed towards a testimonial to Patrick Sarsfield, Earl of Lucan, by the admirers of his patriotism and bravery. The secretary to the Sarsfield Testimonial Committee is Thomas Baker Jones, Esq., who has been indefatigably zealous, and it is to be hoped that the project may soon be fully realized.

CLOCK TOWER.

A handsome Clock Tower to be erected by public subscription, at Baker Place, nearly opposite the Dominican Church, was commenced in 1865, as a testimonial to Alderman Tait, Mayor of Limerick for 1866, for his enterprise as an employer and manufacturer. The design is by W. E. Corbett, Esq., architect.

THE FIRST MAYOR OF LIMERICK.

An old tradition has it that the citizens not agreeing about the choice of a mayor, they resolved to choose the first man that presented himself after crossing the Shannon, who happened to be John Sarvent, or "*Shawn na Scoob*", that is "John of the Brooms", which article it appears this first of the mayors sold. But then, what about *Adam Sarvent*, who figures first upon all the lists? *Non hæc cohærent.*

G.

THE LIMERICK CITY REGIMENT OF MILITIA.

The Limerick city regiment of militia was raised early in the year 1793, John Prendergast Smyth, Esq., then member of parliament for the city of Limerick, and afterwards Viscount Gort, being appointed (14th April, 1793), by the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, colonel of the regiment. The law provided for its being raised by ballot, but the officers and leading citizens subscribed liberally to a fund for the payment of bounties, and the corps was fully completed by voluntary enlistments alone. In the following month the colonel appointed the Honourable Edmond Henry Pery (afterwards first Earl of Limerick) to be lieutenant colonel, Charles Vereker, late of the 1st Royals (afterwards second Viscount *Gort*), to be major, and George Gough, Esq., to be one of the captains thereof—the Lord Lieutenant approving. The other earliest appointed officers were:—

Captain-Lieutenant—Samuel Tomkins (afterwards major), 25th May, 1793.
Adjutant—Henry Horsfall, lieutenant 39th foot, 15th May, 1793.
Lieutenant—John Waller, (afterwards adjutant), 16th May, 1793.
Ensign—Hugh Gough (now Field Marshal Viscount Gough), 16th May, 1793.
Ensign—David Nash (afterwards captain), 16th May, 1793.
Ensign—Exham Morony (afterwards lieutenant), 16th May, 1793.

Shortly after being raised, the regiment was embodied, and made its first march to Birr, 19th July, 1793, receiving in charge the ammunition for the King's County militia, which they were to meet on the march from that town. Lieutenant Colonel the Honourable Henry Pery having previously resigned, Major Vereker became lieutenant colonel, and Charles Smyth became major (15th July, 1793). Captain and Adjutant Horsfall having resigned, Major Smyth took the adjutantcy (29th October, '93), Captain George Gough became major, Captain-Lieutenant Tomkins was made captain, Lieutenant John Waller was promoted to be captain-lieutenant, and Ensign Hugh Gough became lieutenant. The latter distinguished soldier was appointed to the line as ensign in October following.

On the receipt of Lieutenant-General Massy's report of the forward state of the regiment, on the day of inspection, the colonel, by order from the adjutant-general (24th October, 1793), was at liberty to grant leave of absence to the officers whenever he may think the service would not suffer by it. In the month of March following, the regiment, whilst on the march from Birr *en route* to Cork, was ordered to halt at Fermoy, and divide itself between that, Rathcormack, and Castle Lyons—the whole county Cork being then in commotion.*

The establishment of the regiment at this time, as per letter of 18th March, 1788, from Messrs. Armit, Borough, and Co., was fixed at:—

1 Lieutenant-Colonel	1 Adjutant.
1 Major.	1 Chaplain.
4 Captains.	1 Sergeant-Major.
1 Captain-Lieutenant.	1 Drum-Major.
6 Lieutenants.	17 Sergeants.
5 Ensigns.	18 Corporals.
1 Quartermaster.	255 Privates.
1 Surgeon.	13 Drummers.

Passing now over the intervening years, without following the several marches consequent on change of quarters by the regiment, the succession of its officers, and other matters which

* Major-General Stuart's letter, Cork, March 9, 1794.

have, for the most part, reference mainly to the interior arrangements of the corps, we come down to that eventful period in the history of our country, a period fruitful in events which since that time all along to our own time, is, and must be during all time, ever memorable in the historic association of the brilliant achievements of the city Limerick regiment of militia—the year 1798.

The regiment, then 420 strong, was stationed in the province of Leinster, and was employed in quelling the disturbances in that province. On the invasion of Ireland by the French under General Humbert, in that year, it was ordered to Sligo; and when the French, after the victory at Castlebar, attempted to invade the province of Ulster, the Limerick City Militia, under Colonel Vereker, and supported by some dragoons and fencibles, met them at Coloony, and checked their advance with so much gallantry, that they gave up their intention of entering Ulster, and, marching to the south, came in for the large army under Lord Cornwallis, to whom they were compelled to surrender themselves prisoners of war. Lieutenant Rumley was killed, Colonel Vereker and four officers wounded. The official records of the killed and wounded amongst the non-commissioned officers and men being unfortunately lost or incautiously destroyed.

Of this action, for his gallantry in which Colonel Vereker was granted by his late Majesty George III. the privilege of bearing supporters and other honourable augmentations to his arms, with the motto "Coloony", the Corporation of Limerick marked their opinion by the following resolution, dated 8th October, 1798:

"RESOLVED—That the steady, loyal, and gallant conduct of our fellow citizens of the Limerick City Regiment of Militia on the 5th September last, under the command of Colonel Vereker, so intrepidly engaged and successfully opposed the progress of the whole French and rebel army at Coloony, merits our sincerest thanks and warmest applause; a conduct which has not only covered them as a regiment with eternal honour, but has also cast an additional lustre on this their native city, already so eminently distinguished for its loyalty and zeal for our happy constitution".

"RESOLVED—That the sum of fifty guineas be paid by our chamberlain towards raising a fund to purchase a piece of plate for the officers' mess, and proper medals for such of the non-commissioned officers and privates of the regiment as were engaged in the action of that day".

Relative to the disposal of the French prisoners in the hands of the regiment after the battle, J. Taylor, then A.D.C. to Major-General French, writes on the 30th November, saying:

"The general desires that the French prisoners may be transmitted to Dublin under a sufficient escort. It will be necessary to appoint some careful person to act as provost martial to accompany and subsist them on the road, unless the agent for French prisoners has already appointed some person to act in that capacity".

On the 5th December following, the corporation of Limerick, in addition to the fifty guineas referred to in the resolution of the 8th October, also ordered the purchase of a sword of honour to be presented to the colonel of that regiment by the mayor, and caused his description of the battle to be inserted in their minutes.

In noticing this engagement, Plowden, in his *History of Ireland*, remarks that Humbert said that Colonel Vereker was the only general he met in Ireland.

Colonel Adair, in his papers on *The National Defences and the Militia*, referring to the field services of the militia, remarks:—"Then, again, at the pass of Coloony, where Colonel Vereker and the city of Limerick regiment defeated a force of French and others, four times greater than his own, the French general experienced the steady skill of the commander, and the vigour of a national regiment combating on their own soil".

In Brennan's *History of Ireland*, published some few years ago, the gallant Colonel Vereker and the regiment under his command on that occasion, is touched on in passing. In a word, it may be asked with pride by our city regiment, in speaking of their valour, *Quo regis in terris non plena fortitudinis?* for we find that on the 12th July previous to their victory at Coloony, a party consisting of sixty five men, were taken to attack a fortified camp some miles from Edenderry, which, after a severe struggle, they took with the loss only of two men, and brought back with them to Edenderry the greater part of what was in it. The prize money falling to each man for his share in this affair amounting to £5 13s. 1½d.

In August, 1801, the regiment offered to extend its services to any part of the United Kingdom. In May, 1802, the probability of a lasting peace, the regiment was disembodied.

On the 25th March, 1803, the regiment was again embodied. In the month of October, 1803, the newly embodied regiment was inspected by Brigadier General Affleck, who reported very favourably of the corps.

In 1804, the regiment was stationed at Ballinrobe; in July, 1805, at Boyle; and in August, 1805, the head quarters were at Enniskillen.

In January, 1806, the regiment was augmented to 100 men per company.

In the beginning of 1807 the head quarters were at Ballyshannon.

In August, 1808, they were at Cavan, and in June, 1809, were removed to Naas, where they continued until the spring of 1811, when they were in Dublin.

In July, 1811, the regiment was thanked by H.R.H. the Duke of York, for "the zealous offer of their extended services", made by all the officers and nearly 400 men.

Major John Vereker having resigned his commission as major, was succeeded by Lieutenant John Prendergast Vereker, commission dated 1811.

The regiment again marched to Cavan in the month of June, 1812.

In the month of May, 1813, the regiment proceeded to Cork, and remained there until the disembodiment of the militia in consequence of the peace of Fontainbleau, and it marched to Limerick for disembodiment in July, 1814.

In the month of July, 1815, the regiment was again embodied. Only one major being allowed on the new establishment, Major Tomkins was selected to serve. The head quarters, etc., proceeded to Kinsale and Charlesfort in August and September of that year, and remained there until again disembodied, on the 22nd March, 1816, in Limerick, when the privates numbered 393, and the full establishment of officers was present.

On the decease of Lieutenant-Colonel Gough, in 1837, the Honourable Charles Smyth Vereker succeeded him as lieutenant-colonel, and the Honourable Standish Prendergast Vereker succeeded Major Tomkins in the majority in 1842. On the 7th December of the latter year, John Prendergast, third Viscount Gort, who had served in the regiment as major during its second embodiment, succeeded his father as colonel.

In the year 1854, in consequence of the war breaking out with Russia, and in compliance with the provisions of the new militia act, the city of Limerick regiment was made an artillery corps of three companies and 234 rank and file.

On the 3rd February, 1855, the regiment was embodied, and on the 28th September following, marched from Limerick to Kinsale, (forty years having then elapsed since the regiment were stationed there in 1815).

Some months after, whilst the regiment was stationed at Youghal, a disastrous fire was observed before the early dawn of morn to have broken out in the main street, and which bid fair to destroy the whole town, but through the indefatigable exertion of the officers and men, the fire was kept under, thereby saving much property, and, in all human probability, many lives, that must otherwise have been inevitably destroyed by the flames.

The town council of Youghal at their next meeting passed a warm vote of thanks to the officers and men of the regiment for their praiseworthy conduct on that occasion. And on a more recent occasion, in our own city, on the morning of the great fire in William Street, in 1860, the conduct of the Limerick artillery was the theme of general admiration.

While these pages were passing through the press, the regiment has lost its esteemed colonel, Viscount Gort. He had held a commission in the corps for fifty-nine years, for fifty-four of which he served as a field officer. He was a good officer, and much attached to this regiment, with which his family has ever been intimately connected. Since it was first raised, seventy-two years ago, it has been commanded, without intermission, by the first, second, and third Viscounts Gort; and the present and fourth possessor of the title has been as major for twenty three years, and commandant since 1854.

COUNTY OF LIMERICK REGIMENT OF MILITIA.

As regards the county regiment, Robert, first Lord Muskerry, was the colonel appointed in 1793. The corps was considered a very efficient one, and was given the title of Royal by King George III., in its first embodiment, prior to 1800. Lord Muskerry continued colonel until his death in 1818, when he was succeeded by the Hon. Richard Hobart FitzGibbon, afterwards third Lord Clare, who, on his death was succeeded by the Right Hon. Wm. Monsell, M.P., the present colonel, J. Dickson, of Clounshire, was lieutenant colonel for many years, and on his death was succeeded by the present Lieutenant-colonel S. A. Dickson, late M.P. for the County of Limerick.

VOLUNTEER CORPS OF THE COUNTY.

The following is a list of the Volunteer Corps of the county, as they stood when war broke out again between England and France, at the close of 1804:

CORPS.	COMMANDANT.
Adare,	Captain Lord Adare.
Bruff Infantry,	„ James O'Grady.
Royal Clanwilliam Cavalry,	„ Hon. John Massy.
Upper Connelloe Cavalry,	„ Michael Scanlan.
Lower Connelloe Cavalry,	„ John Massy.
Coonagh Cavalry,	„ Richard Lloyd.
Costlea Cavalry,	„ Hugh Massey.
Glynn Cavalry,	„ Gerald Blennerhasset.
Kenry Cavalry,	„ John Waller.
Kilfinane Cavalry,	„ Charles S. Oliver.
Kilfinane Infantry,	„ Richard Oliver.
Limerick County Cavalry,	„ Christopher Tuthill.
First Limerick Cavalry,	„ Hon. George Massy.
Limerick City Cavalry,	„ J. G. Fitzgibbon.
Limerick Garrison Battalion Infantry,	„ Roger Finch.
Limerick Merchants' Infantry,	„ Thomas Maunsell.

CORPS.	COMMANDANT.
Limerick Revenue Infantry,	Captain George Maunsell.
Loyal Limerick Infantry,	„ Ralph Westropp.
Loyal Limerick Rangers' Infantry,	„ William Taylor.
Manister Rangers' Infantry,	„ Michael Farrell.
Newcastle Cavalry,	„ W. F. Leake.*
Palatine Infantry,	„ Viscount Southwell.
Small County Cavalry,	„ De Courcy O'Grady.

H.

THE ANCIENT ARMS OF LIMERICK.

Pages 151-2, 690, 708.—While these sheets have been going through the press a controversy has arisen on the subject of the ancient arms of Limerick, in which an endeavour has been made by a writer in one of the Limerick newspapers, to show that the City Seal does not represent the ancient arms. In sustainment of this allegation, the writer refers to the figure of the castles on the stone described at pp. 151-2, which he states represents the ancient arms, and to the figure cut on the Mayoralty House stone (1720), and now placed in front of Newtown Pery Mills, Henry Street, and also to the figures on the stone at the city Brewery, Newgate Lane (1739), none of which have the cross, neither have they the flag or ensign. The engraver of the cut at page 152 is in some particulars not exact, and I here reproduce the inscription and figure just as they are:

The above figure bears no resemblance whatever to any representation of the City Arms that has ever been recognised as such; it appears rather to be a representation of the New Tower and gate built in 1643, viz., Mungret GATE tower—the stone in question having been fixed in the walls of that tower, as we are assured on the authority of White's MSS. (p. 151-2), and it lay, after the destruction of Mungret Gate, among rubbish, until placed at Plassy Mills, by Mr. Maunsell. Lewis, in his *Topographical Dictionary of Ireland*, article *Limerick*, gives the City Seal (but in a reduced shape), as we have given it, *fac simile*, at page 690. That seal having been cut in the reign of the first George, who ascended the throne in 1714, and died in 1730, and very probably cut in the early part of that reign, before the Mayoralty House stone was cut, and certainly many years anterior to the stone at the city brewery; we may conclude that it is an exact copy of a more ancient seal, and that by prescription and right, it contains a true representation of the ancient accredited arms of Limerick. Limerick was one of the Irish cities designated "Royal", and holding a charter directly from the crown of England before the close of the thirteenth century. Dublin, Cork, and Waterford were the other Royal Irish cities. Galway did not enjoy the designation or privilege, and though strongly fortified, and protected by the chief of the great Anglo-Norman Sept, of which the Marquis of Clanricarde is the present representative, was obliged to pay an annual tribute of twelve tuns of wine, as already stated at page 56, in 1277, to Dermot More O'Brien of Tromora, for the protection of its harbour and commerce. Lewis gives a representation of the seals of Dublin, Cork, and Waterford, as well as of

* This gentleman, I am informed, filled the office of lieutenant-colonel of the county Limerick regiment for some time; he was father of George Leake, Esq., who built the house at Rathkeale abbey, where the family had its residence for a very long period of time, and was grandfather of George D'Alton Leake, Esq., for several years master of the county Limerick fox hounds, and remarkable as a keen sporteman. At D'Alton Leake's funeral the members of the county hunt all attended in hunting costume; and at the express desire of the deceased, the huntsman and hounds followed his remains to the family vault in Rathkeale churchyard. D'Alton Leake was the brother of the late William Leake, Esq., who filled the office of county sub-sheriff with popularity and respect. George D'Alton Leake died unmarried; his brother William married Anna Maria, sister of E. F. G. Ryan, Esq., R. M., Midleton, and M. R. Ryan, Esq., J.P., Templemungret, leaving one child, Maria Alice, the last survivor in the direct line of the Leake family.

Limerick, and to none of them has exception been taken, or a question been raised. The mayor's seal of Dublin and Waterford was similar to that of Limerick, viz., three lions passant on a shield; but the Limerick seal does not appear to have existed since the mayoralty of Dr. John Barrett in 1768, when it bore the legend, "Sigillum civitatis Limer", as printed in Ferrar's *History of Limerick*, p. 229, instead of "majoris Limer". Some of the borough boundary marks give both cross and ensign.

In Dineley's *Tour through Ireland*, in the reign of Charles II., which is being published in the *Journal of the Kilkenny Archæological Society*, by E. P. Shirley, Esq., M.A., M.P., we are also informed that Mungret Gate bore the above inscription, and that a similar inscription was on "Key-Gate" (Quay-Gate), but with the year MDCXLII.

Limerick gives the title of earl and viscount to the family of Sexton Pery.

I.

EMINENT NATIVES OF LIMERICK.

The pages of this work teem with proofs of the existence in every age of eminent natives of Limerick, which has given prelates to the Church, statesmen to the cabinet, warriors to the field, writers in several branches of literature, including philosophy, divinity, history, romance, etc., etc.; chemists, naturalists, poets, and painters. The index shows where their names appear throughout the preceding pages, and it is not necessary that they should be recapitulated here. Suffice it to say, that in arts and arms, in literature and science, in music and in song, Limerick has had no superior amongst the provincial cities of Ireland; and that it continues to uphold the well won fame for which it has been through so many generations preëminently distinguished. As to Gerald Griffin, we have already referred with honour to his splendid fame. Amongst the most eminent of Limerick men, mention should be made of the late Major General Sir Richard Bourke, K.C.B., of Thornfields, whose administration as governor of New South Wales, to which he was appointed in 1831, forms, according to the work of R. Terry, Esq., late one of the judges of the Supreme Court of New South Wales, "the brightest page in the annals" of that colony, and whose name has been held in merited honour there. In his early military career, he was severely wounded in action in Spain and Flanders. The late Sir Aubrey de Vere, Bart., of Curraghchase, was an exquisite poet, the author of *Mary Tudor*, a *Lamentation of Ireland*, *Julian the Apostate*, and other poems and dramas. His son Aubrey De Vere, Esq., is also an elegant poet, whose publications abound in the most patriotic and truly Catholic sentiments. In song, and as an actress, the late Madame Catherine Hayes, who was born in the house, No. 4 Patrick Street, Limerick, was one of the most eminent of her time, her fame having extended all over the world. She was *Prima Donna* at the Royal Opera House of San Carlo, Milan. She sang and acted not only in the principal capitals of Europe, but in those of America, California, Australia, etc. In London and Dublin she was a deserved favourite, whilst in the city of her birth her popularity was unbounded. She was called "the Swan of Erin"; and having realised a large fortune by her wonderful voice, she lived respected and esteemed, and died in London* on the 11th of August, 1861, having bequeathed her riches to George John Power, Esq., of the county of Waterford. George Osborne, son of an organist of the Protestant Cathedral, of same name, went early in life to Paris and studied under the first masters, and distinguished himself as a public performer and composer. He had to leave with all the English residents in Paris after the Revolution of 1848. Mr. Osborne materially assisted in forwarding Catherine Hayes as an artist when she first visited Paris in 1844. Of remarkable persons to whom no reference has been already made the following names occur:—

LITERATURE, ETC.

Kennedy, Matthew, Judge of the Admiralty, 1705.

Keogh, John, born at Rivers,—Mathematical and Oriental Scholar, 1650. An inscription over one of the halls at Oxford testifies to his having solved a mathematical problem in which all others had failed.

Nihill, John, F.R.S., "Observations on the pulse".

Fitzgibbon, John, born at Ballysheeda, 1708, "Cases determined at Westminster", "Es on Commerce".

Martin, John, M.D., 1770—"On the Castle Connell Spa".

Webb, Daniel, born at Maidstone—"Correspondence of Music and Poetry".

Woulfe, Peter, Tircullane, 1730. Reputed the first chymist in Europe.

Duhigg, Bartholomew, 1752—"Law Reports".

Hayes, Sir John M'Namara, Physician to the Prince of Wales, and Inspector General Ordnance Hospitals, 1797. Of unbounded generossty to his countrymen.

Jackson, Walter, Musician.

Ouseley, Ralph, M.R.I.A.,—Antiquarian, whose tomb is in St. Mary's churchyard.

* This truly gifted and accomplished lady had been married to Mr. Bushnell, an American gentle died some short time before her.

Tierney, Sir Matthew, educated at Athlacca, physician to George III., noted for great friendship to his countrymen; dying in 1845, he was succeeded in the baronetcy by his brother Edward, who was one of the Crown Solicitors for Ireland.

Ouseley, Sir Gore, Ambassador in Persia, and afterwards at St. Petersburg.

Long, St. John, died 1834, medical practitioner; acquired notoriety in London by his specifics for consumption and other diseases generally considered incurable; not being educated for the profession, he was twice put on his trial for the death of his patients, and on one of these occasions no less than sixty-three persons of the higher classes appeared in his favour.—"Discourses on the Art of Healing".

Fitzgerald, Rev. Patrick, Vicar of Cahircorney, educated at Bruff. "History of Limerick".

NAVAL AND MILITARY HEROES.

Wolfe, Captain George, grandfather of General James Wolfe, one of our brightest heroes, whom the elder Pitt, discerning his genius, and disregarding the conventional claims of seniority, entrusted with the conquest of French America.

Blakeney, Lieutenant General Lord, 1720, signalized by his famous defence of Port Mahon in Minorca, against the French; his monument is in Kilmallock Cathedral.

Coote, Sir Eyre, born at Ash Hill, Kilmallock; the Conqueror of Hyder Ali.

Nagle, Admiral Sir Edmund, born near Bruff, and

Seymour, Admiral Sir Michael; both full often "rocked in the cradle of the deep", and distinguished for gallant and successful actions.

Croker, Major William, of Ballynagard, received the particular thanks of the commander-in-chief, for his conduct in the Indian war against Holkar.

O'Grady, Col. Neale, of the Kilballyowen stock, commander of an infantry regiment at the battle of Aspern, fought between the Austrians and Napoleon in 1809, and was amongst the officers who received public thanks from the Archduke.

To these might be added the names of many who in the recent war in the Crimea have proved worthy of honourable mention; Massys, Westropps, and Mr. Martin Gubbins, whose "noble conduct" is mentioned by the late General Havelock; etc., etc.

Pages 80, 579, 580.—In reference to Bishop John Coyn, or Quin (the brother of the ancestor of the Earl of Dunraven), we have given the fullest details to show that the venerable prelate ever clung with unabated attachment to the Catholic faith, notwithstanding the assertion made in the state papers of Henry VIII. (quoted at page 80), that he had taken the oath, with the mayor and other citizens of Limerick. Dr. Moran, to whom ecclesiastical historical literature is so much indebted, has contributed a paper to the *Irish Ecclesiastical Record*, No. XIII.,* to prove that Dr. Quin had always remained steadfast to his principles, and furthermore that Hugh de Lacy's name is enrolled in the precious list of those "qui nunquam ab unitate sanctæ matris Ecclesiæ deviàverunt", and that he is described as "vir in fide Catholica constans, qui dum vocabatur a reginæ Angliæ commissariis, rogatus ut morigerum se in omnibus præberet ipsi reginæ, hoc responsi dedit: *Unum agnosco in terris Ecclesiæ summum caput, eique et non alter obedientiam dare pollicitus sum, itaque nun quam a proposito desistam*".† Brucdin states that Hugh de Lacy was confined in Cork jail, and thence escaped to France during the reign of Edward VI. So great was the confidence of the Holy See in the prudence and devotedness of the zealous bishop, that Dr. Moran adds, "Episcopal faculties were expedited for him from Rome in 1575, and these faculties were given to him for the whole province of Cashel".

Page 554.—In reference to the *Liber Niger*, or Black Book of Limerick, another copy of this valuable record has been made and has been presented to the Right Rev. Dr. Butler, Catholic Bishop of Limerick, by the Very Rev. Dr. Russell, President of Maynooth College. This copy is admirably executed, and is bound in black morocco leather.

Pages 756-7.—William Tennison Pery, second Earl of Limerick, Viscount Limerick, and Baron Glentworth in the Irish peerage, and Baron Foxford in that of the United Kingdom, died on Friday, the 5th of January, 1866, suddenly, of bronchitis, in London. He was the second son of Henry Hartstonge, Lord Glentworth, eldest son of Edmund Henry, first Earl of Limerick, and Alice Mary, the only daughter and heir of Henry Ormsby, of Cloghan, county of Mayo, by Annabella Tennison, second daughter of Mr. Tennison Edwards, of Old Court, county Wicklow. The deceased earl was born 9th October, 1812, and married, first 16th April, 1838, Susanna, daughter of Mr. Wm. Sheaffe, and niece of the late Sir Roger Hall Sheaffe, Bart., which lady died 21st August, 1841. His lordship married, secondly, 6th April, 1842, Margaret Jane, only daughter of Captain Nicholas Horsley. By his first marriage he had surviving issue an only son, William Hale John Charles Lord Glentworth, born 17th Jan., 1840. By his second marriage, which was dissolved in 1862, the late earl leaves a family of six sons and one daughter. He succeeded to the family honours on the death of his grandfather in Dec., 1844. Lord Glentworth, before mentioned, succeeds his father as third earl. He married in 1862, his cousin, Miss Gray, daughter of the Rev. Henry Gray, vicar of Almondsbury, Gloucestershire, and Lady Emily Caroline Gray. The present earl was formerly

* Fowler, Dublin. † Ex Archiv. Vatic. in appendix to Archbishops of Dublin, p. 240.

in the Rifle Brigade, but retired from the army in 1862. The remains of the late Earl were interred on Friday, January 12, in the Pery Chapel, St. Mary's Cathedral, Limerick.

Page 187, etc.—Lord Inchiquin—Lucius O'Brien, fifth baronet, is the thirteenth baron of Inchiquin; he is brother of the late William Smith O'Brien, Esq., and of the Hon. Edward, Robert, and Henry O'Brien. He is one of the representative peers of Ireland, and his pedigree proves his descent from Brian Boroimhe, Monarch of Ireland in A.D. 1002.

NATIVE BARDS.

Of bards who wrote in Irish, natives of the county of Limerick, there have been several, viz., David O'Bruadair (Broderick), who was living in 1692; Patrick Kelly, who died in 1741; John Roberts lived in 1778; Patrick Fennell, a schoolmaster at Ballingarry in 1771; John Lloyd, whose contributions in Irish fill some pages of the collection of the *Poets of Munster*, and who wrote a short history of the county of Clare, was a native of the county of Limerick. He resided principally in the west of Clare, and taught in private families there. His death was attended by melancholy circumstances at Moyarta, about the year 1790. John Tuomy, some of whose poems also appear among the collections above referred to, died in 1775, in Limerick; Maurice Griffin, who lived at Slevereigh, near Ballingarry, in 1778; James Daly, of Loughmore, who was living in 1770, and who composed several exquisite elegies; Thomas Gleeson, of Adare, an expert Latin and Irish scholar; David O'Clery, of Newcastle; James Kennedy, of Kilmallock; Andrew M'Mahon, who kept a tanyard, at Limerick, and who wrote several satires; Nicholas O'Donnell, a native also, who was "high sheriff of the Appolonian court, Cork". These are among the Irish writing bards. In the present century Patrick O'Kelly, author of *Killarney*, and other English poems, and mentioned in Lockhart's life of Scott, resided here for many years. He was, we believe, a Roscommon man by birth. Edward Moran, in 1823, wrote and published several meritorious verses which he dedicated to Thomas Moore; Mr. Moran afterwards became attached to the *Globe and Traveller* newspaper in London, of which he was sub-editor for some years. J. Walsh also wrote some good verses, as has the latest of our local bards Michael Hogan, the "Bard of Thomond", who has published several pleasing ballads, and whose poems have appeared in a collected form.

ST. MARY'S CATHEDRAL.

The restorations and improvements in this cathedral, of which we have given the history, etc., in previous chapters, have not concluded with the year 1865. More recently, additional carved oak stalls have been placed in the aisle; and the spirit which urges these improvements is likely to add further to the beauty, etc., of this ancient and historic church. Through the generous exertions of the Hon. Robert O'Brien (Old Church), in conjunction with Richard Bourke, Esq., (Thornfields), and aided by the Dean and Chapter, the prebendal stalls in the western end of the choir have recently been backed with oak frame work, filled with plate glass; and it is hoped that ere long the adjoining arch on either side shall be furnished with similar fittings, the effect of which, both in the way of ornament and comfort, was most desirable. The heating of the cathedral by hot air is also projected, and other improvements are *in posse*. But much, very much as has been already accomplished by munificence, energy, and good taste, there remains a large supplement lacking, before perfect restoration shall be achieved.

LIMERICK CIVIC HOSPITALITIES.

Alderman Tait, the proprietor of the great Army Clothing Factory, and Mayor of Limerick for 1866, inaugurated his mayoralty by a very sumptuous banquet, followed by one of the most numerously attended balls ever given in Limerick. The banquet, which took place at New Hall, Prospect Hill, on Thursday night, the 18th of January, 1866, was attended by nearly four hundred persons, comprising the members of the Corporation, the Catholic bishop of the diocese, the head of the Presbyterian congregration in Limerick, the county and city members, a large number of the gentry, professional and mercantile classes of county and city, the officers of her Majesty's Engineers, of the 73rd Highland Regiment, of her Majesty's iron clad ship Prince Consort, of the Artillery, etc., etc. The hall was a scene of dazzling splendour; the decorations were in excellent taste. On the following night the ball given by the Mayor and Mrs. Tait, took place, and was attended by about 1,300 of the nobility, gentry, citizens, etc.

CLARE AND LIMERICK COPPER COINS AND TOKENS.

Page 200. The numerical references in the plate of the Clare and Limerick copper coins, do not belong to Dr. Smith's list given at page 200. The author could not obtain copies of No. 6, 7, and 15 in Dr. Smith's catalogue for the engraver, by whom the figures have been placed at his own discretion.

Pages 235-6.—"Thomcore Castle", so called in the Arthur MSS. Dineley in his *Tour Through Ireland*, etc., reign of Charles II., calls it Droumore, and gives a sort of derivation of its meaning, but inconsistent with the authentic particulars given by Dr. Arthur; White (MSS.) also calls it Thomcore; and is followed by Ferrar as quoted.

NOTE ON GEOFFREY ARTHUR'S EPITAPH.

Page 578.—Reading "*qui*", the more accurate version is, "do thou, who passing shall say a *Pater* and *Ave* be on thy guard". But perhaps we should read "*quod*".

DEATH OF LORD MONTEAGLE.

Pages 444, 446, 448, 458, 487.—Whilst these sheets have been passing through the press, death has summoned another distinguished Limerick man, in the person of the Right Hon. Thomas Spring Rice, first Baron Monteagle (United Kingdom, 1839), P. C. England and Ireland. His lordship was born on the 8th of February, 1790, at No. 21 Mungret Street (not No. 1, as in page 444), and was just 76 years at the period of his death, which took place at five o'clock, a.m., on Wednesday, the 7th of February, 1866. He was M.P. for Limerick, 1820-32; Chancellor of the Exchequer, 1835-39. Married Lady Theodosia Pery (died 1839), second daughter first Earl of Limerick; 2nd, 13th April, 1841, Mary Anne, daughter of the late John Marshall, Esq., M.P. for Yorkshire. He represented Cambridge 1832-39. He was a nobleman of high intellectual attainments, a F.R.S., M.A., member of the University of London, and of the Queen's University, Dublin. He was Under Secretary of State for the Home Department, 1827; Secretary of the Treasury, 1830-34; Colonial Secretary of State, 1834. His lordship is succeeded in the title and estates by his grandson, Thomas Spring Rice, who was born in the year 1849. The deceased nobleman was interred on Tuesday the 13th of February, 1866, at Shanagolden.

THE MARBLE QUARRIES AND ANCIENT HOUSES OF LIMERICK.

At Ballysimon, within a few miles of Limerick, is a famous marble quarry, which has supplied the materials of the cathedral of Newfoundland and other foreign buildings, and was spoken of in connection with the new houses of parliament, though not employed for that purpose. The black marble quarries of Garryowen, though not so celebrated in later years, are said to have supplied materials for the castle, citadel, walls, monuments, bridges, houses, and other buildings of Limerick, before the arrival of William and his followers, who introduced brick. Dineley states that even the streets were paved with it, and describes the houses as tall, built of black and polished marble, with partitions some five feet thick, with battlements on the top, "the best cellars for so many, in any city of England or Ireland". Tradition states that the house described at page 127, was the first which was faced with brick in Limerick. Though the "Stone Houses" were many at the time, the "cage built", or wicker houses were more numerous. Limerick, in the sixteenth century, was called a City of Castles.

WHITAMORE'S CASTLE.

This ruin, which is concealed by the houses, is nearly in the centre of Mary Street, opposite the old city jail. Perhaps it was so called from Francis Whitamore, proprietor of the Globe Tavern, which Dineley, in his tour through Ireland, in the time of Charles II., who visited Limerick about the time that Whitamore was mayor, in 1681, says it was famous for its excellent draughts of claret, described by him as "better, but not so great as in most taverns of London". The second best inn was then kept by one William Allen. The wine was so plentiful and superior in quality at this time in Limerick, that Dublin merchants used to send thither for their Canary. Sarsfield is said to have resided for a time in Whitamore's Castle, which is sometimes called Sarsfield's Castle, and the Castle of Limerick.

NOTE ON BISHOP JOHN O'MOLONY II.

Pages 612, 617—A question having arisen, we may state that the *Stuart Papers*, in the Bodleian Library, Oxford, which make mention of Dr. O'Molony, were written by the Nairnes, secretaries to King James II., and his son the Chevalier. The original letter book is now in Oxford. At one time it was in the Scots College, Paris, and was thought to have perished with other valuable papers at the time of the Revolution, whereas Carte and Mackintosh (the translator of Ossian) and compiler of some papers on the reign of Charles II., James II., and William III., had previously got them by some stratagem. Unquestionably Dr. O'Molony was appointed Bishop of Limerick and administrator of Killaloe, his old see, at the instance of James II.; and by referring to *O'Renehan's Collections*, pp. 296-7, we see him paid very bad compliments in a statement of the king's on the authority of one of the *Stuart Papers*. There is some mistake in the list given in *O'Renehan*, p. 295, as to the bishops stopping at St. Germains, 31st December, 1691 (on the authority of the *Theineir MSS.*), for our bishop is called *James* instead of *John*. Unfortunately, the important letter of Dr. O'Molony to Bishop Tyrrell of Clogher, dated 8th March, 1689, in King's *State of the Protestants of Ireland*, bears no subscription.

LONGEVITY.

Instances of longevity in the city and county are given at pages 416, 417, 431, 434, and 436. Mr. James Blackwell, who was governor of the city jail in 1798, and who was the first man who ever gave a fee to Daniel O'Connell to defend a prisoner, died in 1865, at the age of 100 years. Mr. Charles Holmes, a respectable landholder, died on the 31st of December, 1862, at Athlunkard, aged 104 years. Peter Daly, who had been for 76 years a professed lay brother of the Order of Preachers, died in Limerick on the 12th of January, 1861, aged over 100 years.

THE END.

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NOTE.

The following was accidentally omitted:—

THE CATHOLIC SUCCESSOR OF BISHOP HUGH LACY.—The question[1] who was Bishop Lacy's successor, after having been frequently canvassed by ecclesiastical historians, has at last been set to rest by a state paper in the public Record Office, London, in which that successor is expressly styled "Cornelius O'Neill Hybernus, Episcopus Limericensis".[2] He was appointed to the see in 1581, was in Spain in 1583 and 1584, and, as appears from the state paper referred to, again in 1591. This paper was drawn up on the 22nd of July, 1597, being the *Interrogatory* of Bernard O'Donnell, who was arrested at Lisle, on his return from Spain in that year.

One of the questions, which are given in Latin, is as follows:

Q. "What business had you in Spain?

A. "Chiefly to visit a certain Bishop who was known to me, and also another, an Archbishop. The Archbishop was an Irishman, and was styled Aimandus Magauran, Archbishop of Armagh. The Bishop was called Cornelius O'Neill, an Irishman, Bishop of Limerick".

The only written particulars concerning his episcopate that the author of the article referred to in a preceding note was able to obtain, were two letters addressed by him to Rome, where they are preserved in the Vatican archives, during the Desmond War, at which period the Bishop of Limerick appears to have been busily engaged in the Spanish court, soliciting aid for the Irish chieftains. Both are dated Madrid, 16th November, 1584. In the first, he recommends to his correspondent William Nugent, Baron of Scryne, then at Rome after many sufferings for his religion, for which he had abandoned all, "the better to obey the word of the Gospel". In the second, written at the request of Maurice Fitzgerald, "the last remaining leader of the army of the Geraldines", and nephew of the celebrated Earl of Desmond, the writer corroborates his testimonials, and begs his correspondent, whom he addresses as "Your Holiness", to aid his cause, and to write to the King of Spain in his favour, in order to remove by his assistance "the yoke of the English off the necks of the Irish".

(1) See an interesting article headed "The See of Limerick", published in the *Irish Ecclesiastical Record* for October, 1865, written by the Rev. Dr. Moran, of the Irish College, Rome, and already referred to.

(2) We have mentioned before, that there was another CORNELIUS O'NEILL, the martyred Trinitarian, and coadjutor of Bishop Quin, who is also styled "Episcopus Limericensis" in the Spanish records.

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